



Queen Ann

A
Complete History
OF
ENGLAND:
WITH THE
LIVES
OF ALL THE
KINGS and QUEENS
THERE OF;

From the Earliest Account of Time, to the
Death of His late Majesty King *WILLIAM III.*

CONTAINING
A Faithful RELATION of all AFFAIRS of STATE
ECCLESIASTICAL and CIVIL.

The Whole Illustrated with Large and Useful NOTES, taken from divers
Manuscripts, and other good Authors: And the EFFIGIES of the KINGS and QUEENS
from the Originals, Engraven by the best Masters.

In Three VOLUMES, with *Alphabetical Indexes* to each.

VOL. I.

- I. Beginning with the HISTORY of *BRITAIN* to *WILLIAM the Conqueror.*
By Mr. *John Milton.*
II. From the Conquest to the End of King *EDWARD III.* By *Samuel Daniel, Esq;*
III. The Reigns of King *RICHARD II.* King *HENRY IV, V, and VI.* All
new Writ in Mr. *Daniel's* Method.
IV. The Reign of King *EDWARD IV.* By *John Habington, Esq;*
V. The Lives of King *EDWARD V.* and *RICHARD III.* By Sir *Tho. Moore.*
Translated from the *Latin* Original.
VI. The Life of King *RICHARD III.* By *George Buck, Esq;*
VII. The Life of King *HENRY VII.* By *Francis Lord Bacon.*
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The SECOND EDITION Corrected; With Amendments, and Additions to
the Third Volume.

L O N D O N:

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PREFACE.



HO' History wants not the most solid Arguments that can be to recommend it to the Esteem of all, who wou'd attain a competent Knowledge of Mankind and the Affairs of the World, yet the Pleasure it affords is the general Inducement of its Readers, who for the most part are well enough content if they are but agreeably amused. That busie Humour which makes People curious to know what others have done, or are doing, which furnishes common Conversation, and puts every Body upon Enquiries after News, invites Men of Leisure and Taſt to ſearch the Records of their own and former Ages. But whatever be the Motive, 'tis hardly poſſible but the Time thus employ'd will be rewarded with ſome real Improvement; and he that reads will have no Cauſe to complain, if in the Event he find his Judgment increas'd, tho' perhaps he only intended that his Fancy ſhou'd be entertain'd.

This is a conſiderable Advantage which History has in laying hold of Mens Natural Curioſity, and employing uſefully a Paſſion which is not only exerciſed for the moſt part frivolouſly, and to no good, but often to very ill Purpoſes. The Riſe and Fall of Empires, the gradual Changes in their Laws, Manners, Arts and Government, the ſurpriſing Events and Revolutions in their Story, and the Conduct and Fortunes of particular Men, have all that can be to entertain a curious Mind; and there are few of ſo little Penetration, but are capable of drawing from ſuch a Variety of Matter many proper Reflections, which may be ſerviceable in a private as well as publick Life. Beſides which, 'tis no vain Suppoſition, that Mens Morals may be ſometimes improv'd together with their Underſtandings; and that the diſtinguiſh'd Characters of Vertue, which they find upon Record, may have ſomewhat of an aſſimilating Influence: For what we admire we are eaſily diſpoſed to imitate; and let every one conſult his own Breſt, whether he does not feel it touch'd with a generous Sentiment of thoſe Men who are repreſented to have accompliſh'd great and worthy Deſigns, to have been the Authors of wiſe and good Counſels, or to have expoſed their Lives, and ſacrificed their Fortunes for the publick Good and Security.

Whatever may be ſaid to the Advantage of History in general, is yet with better Reaſon to be affirm'd of the *Engliſh* History. 'Tis natural to all People, to have a Veneration for their Anceſtors, and a more particular Deſire to be inform'd of what paſſ'd on the ſame Scene where themſelves are now acting: and as *England* has been a Scene of as various and as memorable Tranſactions as moſt Parts of the World beſides, an Account of theſe cannot but be equally agreeable to an *Engliſh* Reader. As for the uſeful Part, 'tis a Queſtion eaſily reſolv'd, Whether 'tis not moſt for any Man's Advantage, to be chiefly familiar with thoſe Affairs to which he is neareſt related? The Original of our Laws and Cuſtoms is a part of Knowledge ſo requiſite to Men of Learning or of publick Employment, ſo neceſſary to the Underſtanding of our Conſtitution, Rights, and Liberties, and to the clearing of Controverſies which daily happen in private Converſation as well as in Courts of Judicature; and Matters of Fact have ſuch a Force in Precedents to all thoſe that have any Share in the Legiſlature or Adminiſtration, or wou'd judge of either, that 'tis needleſs to prove what every Body owns. However it may not be improper to take notice, that it has ſometimes been reproach'd us by Foreigners, that the Humour of the *Engliſh* too often leads 'em abroad to learn the Curioſities of other Countries, before they have taken any Care to be tolerably inform'd of their own.

The mean and imperfect Performances of our moſt common Hiſtorians, is certainly the Reaſon why Many are more negligent of reading our Story than they would perhaps have been, if they had met with it better related. For tho' the Matter of Hiſtory is the firſt thing to recommend it, the Form, which depends wholly on the Writer, is almoſt of equal Conſequence: Now the Laws and Rules which the Criticks have preſcrib'd for it, are ſo endleſs and refin'd, that it may reaſonably be queſtion'd, Whether the Character of a perfect Hero, or that of a perfect Hiſtorian, be the greater Chimæra; and 'will be eaſily allow'd by thoſe who well conſider the Compariſon, that to Record great Actions in the fineſt manner is a Task no leſs difficult than to perform 'em.

'Tis neceſſary, that all Readers of History ſhou'd be apprized of this, that they may judge fairly as well as freely of the Authors they meet with, and not be ſo unreaſonable

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in the Expectations, not so prepossess'd by any great Names, as to look for what a Judge of Writing has stil'd on another Occasion,

A Faultless Monster that the World ne'er saw.

And whether a perfect Historian is not to be thought such, let it appear by this short Description. He is requir'd to be a Man born with all the Felicities of a lively penetrating Wit, and unbounded Genius: Form'd by great Study, Experience and Practice in the World; one that is both a Scholar and a Man of Business; a good Geographer, Chronologist, Antiquary, Linguist; conversant in Courts, Councils, Treaties, in Affairs Military as well as Civil, and in short in every thing that is the Subject of History; furnish'd with all proper Materials and Records, and a perfect Master of all the Graces of the Language he writes in. This is a great deal, but not enough; for what is yet more extraordinary, he must have no Passions or Prejudices, but be a kind of Deity that from a Superior Orb looks unmov'd on Parties, Changes of State, and grand Revolutions. And you are to suppose him bless'd with Health, Leisure, and easie Fortune, and a stedfast Application to his Subject. After which, the Perfections requisite in his Performance are almost innumerable; a judicious Proportion of all the Parts of his Story; a beautiful Simplicity of Narration; a noble, yet unaffected Style; few and significant Epithets; Descriptions lively, but not Poetical; Reflections short and proper; and lastly, besides a multitude of Particulars which cannot be mention'd here, a good Conduct thro' the whole, and an animating Spirit that may engage the Reader in every Action as if personally concern'd, and give him the firm Assurance that he sees things in their own Light and Colours, and not in those which the Art or Mistake of the Writer has brought upon 'em.

* Lucian.
Le Moyne.
Rapin.
Le Clerc's
Parrha-
siana.

'Twould be easie to enlarge this Discourse; the Laws of History are all but the Dictates of good Sense, drawn out and methodiz'd in Rules; of which a long detail may be found in * Books written purposely on this Subject. But what is here only touch'd, may suffice to represent the extream Difficulty of writing History. And the Difficulty much increases, when the Subject is of so large a Scope as the General History of any Nation, which is esteem'd of all the several Kinds, the greatest, as an Epick Poem is in Poetry. And as some will scarce allow, that there have been more than two Epick Poets, *Homer* and *Virgil*; so the Name and Honour of General Historians have been restrain'd by the Criticks to almost the same Number. *Livy* among the Ancients, and *Mariana* among the Moderns, are plac'd in the highest Rank, tho' others have their Parties and Favourers, and are allow'd many Beauties, which every one magnifies or lessens, according to his particular Relish.

But it has been a long Complaint, that whatever be the Difficulty of compiling a General History, other Nations have master'd it better than our own, which yet all the World knows has not been unfruitful of very great Men, in all Capacities, both of acting and Writing. Some Attempts have indeed been made, but with what Success is too well known; for 'tis not a tedious Chronicle fill'd with a world of frivolous Matter and minute Circumstances, tho' ever so true and faithful, nor a laborious Plunder of Libraries, Manuscripts, publick Rolls and Records, tho' put together by many Years Application, in a cold and barren Style, that will be valu'd as a History. No body, that is acquainted with our Performances in other Parts of Learning and Wit, in all which we are allow'd to equal most of our Neighbours, and in some to excel 'em, or that considers the Solidity and Vigor of Genius, which is the known Character of the *English*, can doubt but that we have had many among us of Qualifications for such a Work, equal at least with any other Nation. But whether a modest Distrust of themselves, or want of Leisure and Encouragement, or whatever else has been the Impediment, it must be own'd we have not yet seen it done with Approbation; and if we may ever hope for it, 'tis perhaps a Happiness in reserve, till the many Wonders of Her Majesty's most Wise, Just, and Fortunate Reign, shall have made the Glory of the *English* Annals compleat.

Preface
to Nichol-
son's Eng-
lish Histo-
rical Li-
brary.

However, 'tis thought a Design of such Consequence cannot be well executed by one Man; and therefore || some have wish'd to see it carry'd on by a Society or Club of Men of Parts and Learning, some whereof are Masters of our ancient Languages, and others of the Modern; some vers'd in the Writings of the old Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and others thoroughly acquainted with the Historians since the Conquest; some that know the Geography, and others the Law of the Realm; some that have been bred at Court, and others in the Camp; and that it shou'd be an Engagement generously enter'd into by Men of Leisure and Fortune. This indeed is a rational Project, and might probably succeed, if the Gentlemen cou'd be found, who are both willing and fit to engage in it. But few are drawn to laborious Tasks, or have Constancy enough to struggle with great Difficulties, when they are not animated by some other Motive than raising a Reputation to themselves, and doing a Service to the Publick.

In the mean time, the present Collection is the nearest such a Design of any thing that has appear'd; for we are not so entirely at a Loss for a History of *England*, but that we have already many Parts of it by several Hands, in just Esteem; and these are the standing Authorities and Guides to which all Attempters in this Way must ever have Recourse. Many of 'em answer the Characters mention'd in that imaginary Society, and some had the additional Advantage of living in or near the Times they describe, so that theirs may be reckon'd Pictures by the Life, which have usually the most of Spirit as well as the truest Likeness; whereas succeeding Hands, tho' they copy ever so skilfully, can scarce avoid losing much of the Force, and Justness, and Grace of the Original.

Their Reputation, as was hinted before, is not now to be made in the World, which is generally slow and sparing, and disagreed in distributing its Applause to Books even of the highest Merit, if their Authors are living. The procuring 'em severally was formerly found troublesome and expensive; some of 'em were scarce, and others had suffer'd by the multiplying of Editions and wanted a careful Correction; the Design of Printing 'em in this Method, so as to compose a compleat History of our Affairs, has been for several Years recommended, and the Undertakers encourag'd to it by Letters from Eminent Hands in many Parts of the Kingdom; and to give it all proper Advantages, Care has been taken to procure many Manuscripts and Papers of Value, by means of which, and other Helps, such Additions have been made as were thought necessary for a Supplement or Illustration of the History. The Stiles of the *English* Authors, tho' some of 'em a little antiquated, are preserv'd according to their Originals, but the *Latin* Lives, Papers, Verses, &c. are translated for the Benefit of common Readers. If any one imagines the Difference of Stiles an Objection, others are of a contrary Opinion, and think that this Variety may divert and relieve the Mind, which is often tir'd by Voluminous Works by one Hand, tho' written ever so elegantly.

For the Times before *William* the First, tho' the Views of 'em have been left less distinct than the rest, and in some Places look like Scenes of Fairy-Land, yet so much as cou'd be trac'd and put into order, has been admirably done by Mr. *John Milton*, with whose Book this Collection begins. His great natural and acquir'd Parts, and his excelling in so many different kinds of Learning, besides his daring and uncommon Genius in Poetry, have made him generally look'd upon as one of the most extraordinary Persons that the last Age produc'd: And even the greatest Admirers of Antiquity have a particular Reason to rank him with most of the Ancients, whom he so nearly resembles. For this seems to be his distinguishing Character, and is agreeable to what Monsieur * *Fontenelle* observes, That "The Wit of one Climate more easily suffers transplanting into another, than its Trees and Fruit; and that tho' 'tis said there's more Diversity among Wits than Faces, yet one Face by stedfastly regarding another cannot take a new Resemblance, but Wit may. And 'tis thus, that People do not always retain the Turn of Thought which they derive from their Native Climate, but by reading *Greek* Books, become as it were ally'd to the *Greeks*."

* Digression
sur les An-
ciens, &c.
dans le dis-
cours sur la
Nature
d'Eglogue.

Mr. *Milton*'s History, as well as his Poetical Works, proves this; where, in his Thoughts and Language, he appears with the Majestick Air of old *Greece* or *Rome*. This makes him indeed look particular, and perhaps to some uncouth, like the *Roman* Architecture heretofore, when the *Gothick* was in Fashion. But whether his or the more Modern Diction be the best, let the Controversers of old and new Books decide as they please. 'Tis sufficient if his History, as was said, be the best Draught of those rude Times he chose to describe. His Abilities and Diligence to perform that Part were unquestionable, and his Impartiality too, which would not have been, if he had written the History of later Times. Sir *William Temple*, tho' he has very ingeniously treated the same Subject, is not particular enough, and seems so much in haste to come to his Favourite Character of *William* the *Norman*, that the rest of his Book is indeed but an Introduction.

Mr. *Daniel*'s History follows next, containing the Reigns of *William* I, and II. *Henry* I. King *Stephen*, *Henry* II. *Richard* I. King *John*, *Henry* III. *Edward* I, II, and III. The Author had a Place at Court in the Reign of King *James* I. being Groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen, and seems to have taken all the Refinement a Court could give him. 'Tis said he had a good Vein in Poetry, and 'tis certain he has shewn great Judgment in keeping it, as he did, from infecting his Prose, and destroying that Simplicity which is a principal Beauty in the Stile of an Historian. His Narration is smooth and clear, and carries every where an Air of good Sense and just Eloquence, and his *English* is much more modern than *Milton*, tho' he liv'd before him: But Mr. *Milton* chose to write (if the Expression may be allow'd) a hundred Years backward, whereas 'tis particularly to be admir'd how Mr. *Daniel* could so long ago, express himself with the same Purity and Grace as our most sensible Writers do now, tho' we flatter our selves that we have considerably improv'd the Language.

The Continuation of his History thro' the Reigns of *Richard* II. *Henry* IV, V, and VI. was so meanly perform'd by Mr. *Trussel*, and the Stile so wretched, that there was a Necessity

cessity to have those Reigns new writ, which have therefore been done much larger and more exact, and after Mr. *Daniel's* Method. In this, and the former Work, and so throughout the First Volume, is added at the end of every Reign an Account of Eminent Men, and Remarkable Occurrences, from *Hollingshead* and others. That the like Method is omitted in the succeeding Volumes, is because 'twas thought unnecessary; for the Historians are larger, and have not omitted any worth mentioning, and the Index supplies it once for all.

The next Author is Mr. *Habington*, whose History is the best extant of *Edward IV.* No Reign afforded a Prospect of more surprising Turns and Reverses of Fortune than this, all which he has largely and eloquently describ'd; yet to speak impartially, he seems to Moralize too much; and if he had been more sparing of his General Remarks and Sentences, the Thread of his Story would have run off even: But this by the way, and with the utmost Deference to his excellent Performance, in which he has highly merited by painting in such lively Colours those Times of most remarkable Confusion.

Sir *Thomas Moor*, that learned Lord Chancellor of *England*, writ his History of the Short and Unhappy Reign of King *Edward V.* and of the Beginning of King *Richard III.* in *Latin*: His Masterly Command of the Delicacies of that Language, considerably help'd to spread his Fame all over *Europe*; but to render the Work more uniform, and of more general Use, there was a Necessity to have this carefully translated. Nothing can be said to add to the Author's great Reputation; his high Employments were conferr'd on him as well in Reward of his Learning as of his other Merit, by a King, who was known chiefly to value himself upon being a Scholar and a Judge of Books. In this Reign the Intrigues of the Protector and his Creatures against the young Princes, are related with wonderful Clearness and Judgment in the Affairs of State; the Speeches are sensible, and the Descriptions proper; that of King *Richard's* guilty Terrors after the Murther of his Nephews, is admirable, which is mention'd here, because 'tis certain, Description in History as well as in Poetry is a dangerous Part to manage, and the soonest betrays an affected and injudicious Writer.

Sir *Thomas Moor* left the Reign of *Richard III.* unfinish'd; the Supplement to it is therefore extracted out of *Hall* and *Hollingshead*; after which follows *George Buck's* Life of the same King, which makes this Part of the History compleat. His Relation is particular, and very remarkable for the Pains he takes to wipe off the bloody Stains upon King *Richard's* Character, and to vindicate from common Imputation one of the blackest Reigns in all our Story. Whether he has done it with Reason or not, let the Reader judge; for there are various Opinions about it, and 'tis upon this Account that the Book-sellers were advis'd to Print it. His Book indeed, tho' it were all Truth, is much too loosely writ for a History; 'tis pedantick and full of Harangue, and may more properly be call'd a Defence of King *Richard* than any thing else; yet as he is the only Advocate of Note that has appear'd in so odd a Cause, 'tis well worth the while to give him a Place here, tho' among so many of his Betters. In some things 'tis highly probable he has done that King but Justice; yet 'tis strange that he'll neither allow him to have had any Deformity in Mind or Body; for he is angry to find him describ'd by others crook-back'd, and of an ill Visage, and seems to be for reversing his Character throughout. 'Twas not fit to let this Work pass without some Animadversions; and to set all things as much in the Light as possible, Mr. *Stripe*, an industrious Antiquary, has added large Notes and Remarks, from an Authentick Manuscript which he had by him, and from other Authors.

We come now to one of the most applauded Pieces of History that has ever been writ in our own or any other Language, either Ancient or Modern, the incomparable Lord *Bacon's* Life and Reign of King *Henry VII.* which, with the Reverence due to so great a Man, is Printed here in his own Style without the Alteration of a Word. 'Tis impossible to exceed in his Praise: One may observe in him all the Depth of a Statesman and Philosopher, all the Ornament of a discreet Orator, and the Conduct of a just Historian. From him alone might sufficiently be learn'd the Idea of that true Sublime which enobles History; which consists rather in a Greatness of Thinking than in a Pomp of Expression, and is therefore reconcileable with that Simplicity requir'd too, tho' these are Beauties rarely seen united. He traces things with extraordinary Judgment, relates 'em with Clearness of Sense and good Connexion, and has the Secret of making every Part of the Story instructive, without sprinkling it over with perpetual Adages and Observations, which retard it, and are the false Jewels for which Coquet Writers affect to be admir'd. Another masterly Excellence in him is, that he does not content himself with a superficial Narration, but enters deeper into his Subject, and discovers the Motives of Affairs, which every where seem true Representations, and not fanciful Conjectures; this is the more worthy of notice, because *Tacitus*, who is much admir'd for it by many, is by others thought to have over-acted the* Politician, and by too nice a Subtilty to have expounded the

* Sa maniere de critiquer est fine par elle-meme: Mais elle devient grossiere, par l'envie qu'il a de critiquer tout. Rapin. Reflex. C'est plus la Politique que la Verité qui le fait parler. Ibid.

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the simplest Actions in the World into Design and Artifice. But as nothing is more improving than this Way of Writing when well manag'd, so it seems to be the Talent of a wise rather than of a cunning Head.

'Tis remarkable that three of our Historians of greatest Fame (of whom two have their Works in this Collection) have been Lords High-Chancellors of *England*; and 'tis certain, the Qualifications which properly recommend Men to that Trust and Honour, are such as make 'em likewise better capable than most others of writing a good *English* History.

The Notes which are added to the Lord *Bacon's* Book, are chiefly extracted from that which was written by Sir *James Ware*, in Relation to the Affairs of *Ireland*, which was publish'd first in *Latin* at the End of the *Antiquitates Hibernicae*, in 8vo, and afterwards turn'd into *English*, and Printed lately with his other Works in Folio at *Dublin*. And this concludes the Account of the Historians in the First Volume.

The Second begins with the Ingenious Lord *Herbert of Cherbury's* Life of King *Henry VIII.* which for its great Reputation may well be compar'd with the Lord *Bacon's*. These two Historians seem by their Sense as well as Quality, of a Rank superiour to most others; for few besides have the Art of being particular in their Narration without growing flat and tiresome, and of making Remarks which are always worth the Reader's attending to, and no where offend by an unnatural or ambitious Air. The Lord *Herbert*, to qualifie him for this Undertaking, had an Education Military as well as Learned, the Improvement of Travel, and the Advantage of great Employments. He was of the Council to King *James I.* who, after he had employ'd him five Years in an Embassy to *Louis XIII.* of *France*, made him Baron of *Castle-Island* in *Ireland*. He afterwards serv'd King *Charles I.* both in the Field and in Council, and was by him created an *English* Peer. In order to write King *Henry VIII's* Life, he made a vast Collection of Manuscripts and other Materials; of which the *Athenæ Oxonienses* mentions four thick Folio Volumes which that Author says he has seen. The Original Copy of his History, written by his own Hand, is in the Possession of the University of *Oxford*, to which he presented it. 'Tis large and copious, as the multiply'd Affairs of a busie Reign requir'd; and as all *Europe* was concern'd in the Intrigues of those Times, the Politicks then were so intricate and variable, and of such an unusual Turn, that 'twas not possible for a common Hand to trace 'em; nor can we imagine that any one beside himself could so happily have conquer'd the Difficulty he complains of, viz. *To write that Prince's History, of whom no one thing might constantly be affirm'd, and to draw his Picture well, who had several Countenances.*

Vol. II.

In this Edition the Pope's Bulls, the Letters, and other Pieces, which were in in *Latin* before, are Printed both in *Latin* and *English*.

The Life and Reign of King *Edward VI.* was written by Sir *John Hayward*, Doctor of Laws, and Historiographer to King *James I.* The same Hand had written the Reign of King *Henry IV.* but this of King *Edward* was publish'd after the Author's Death. 'Tis here Printed with large Notes from a valuable Collection of Papers relating to the Reformation. 'Tis no Wonder, that in those Party-Times, the Characters of many Persons and Circumstances of Affairs were left so variously and doubtfully represented as might mislead even a diligent Writer; wherefore an impartial Censure of this Author is prefix'd to his Book by Mr. *Stripe*, to which the Reader is referr'd.

The next is the Annals of Queen *Mary*, written originally by *Francis Godwin* Lord Bishop of *Hereford*, who together with this wrote likewise the Reigns of King *Henry VIII.* and King *Edward VI.* in *Latin*, for the Use of Foreigners. His Stile is grave and succinct, and he appears to have been a good Master of that Language, and a faithful and sensible Historian. His Son *Morgan Godwin*, Doctor of Laws, publish'd this Book afterwards in our own Tongue, with some Enlargements by the Author's Consent. That which is here Printed is new translated in more modern *English*; and Mr. *Stripe*, who has a large Manuscript of this Queen's Reign, has likewise perform'd his Part by adding Notes, and has inserted some few Passages in the Margin, which he has observ'd to be in the former *English* Edition.

The long and happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is describ'd at large with the utmost Exactness by the Learned Mr. *Cambden*, call'd frequently the Prince of modern Antiquaries. This elaborate Work was begun at the Instigation of his great Patron the Lord Treasurer *Burghley* in 1597, the same Year that Mr. *Cambden* was made *Clerenceux* King at Arms; but that Nobleman had only the Satisfaction and Honour of laying the first Stone of the Building, without living to see it in any Forwardness, for he dy'd the next Year. This Loss much afflicted Mr. *Cambden*, and interrupted his Design; and the Queen herself dying about five Years after, it remain'd for some time at a stand; but, in the Year 1608, he fell to it again with great Application, and never perhaps had any Man more universal Qualifications or greater Advantages. He had premeditated it many Years, his chief Study had long before been the Antiquities of his Native Country, and the Transactions he

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he was now to record were such as pass'd in his own Time ; he began it slow, and after his Studies were ripe, and his Judgment in full Maturity ; for his *Britannia* was first compleated, which left him wholly at Liberty, and better instructed for this Undertaking. He wanted no Helps from Men of the greatest Learning in *England*, who were proud of supplying him with Papers and Books ; all Libraries were open to him, and if he had not been Master of an admirable Judgment for separating, chusing and digesting his Materials, the Variety must have put him in Confusion. The Queen's Collection of Writings, Letters, and Memorials, had been imparted to him by the Lord *Burgbley*, who likewise furnish'd him with his own, and he afterwards receiv'd great Assistance from his Friend Sir *Robert Cotton*, all which he mentions in his Preface ; but nothing could equal his own Industry and indefatigable Study, which was indeed wonderful.

For the Moral Qualifications of an Historian, such as Fidelity, Disinterest, and a sincere Affection to Truth, he has given all the Proofs of 'em that can be desir'd ; For besides the Air of Probity, which is seen in his Annals, 'tis remarkable that he at first design'd they should not be publish'd in his Life-time, but had bequeath'd 'em by Will to the Famous *Thuanus*, with whom he had a particular Friendship. However, he was prevail'd on to alter this Resolution, and in the Year 1615, came out the first Volume reaching to the Year 1589. It had the natural Effect of a well-writ Piece of Modern History, for it gain'd him much Applause, and many Enemies ; which last, tho' a good Proof of his Merit, was a severe one, and discourag'd him from venturing abroad his Second Volume till the Year 1625, and then it was in a manner extorted from him by Importunity, after it had lain finish'd for a considerable time.

The Affairs of *Spain*, *France*, and *Scotland*, were much interwoven with those of *England* in that Queen's Reign, and consequently Mr. *Cambden* has given 'em their proper Place in his Composure. 'Twas his Character to leave nothing imperfect that his Art or Labour cou'd compleat. In his manner of relating he rather chose to be Exact than Ornamental, and dispos'd his Matter into the plain Form of *Annals*, by that to excuse himself from all superfluous Finery. His Preface gives a very good Idea of his Book ; and for the Particulars of his Life, the Reader may find 'em in *Latin* by Dr. *Smith*, Printed with the Collection of *Cambden's* Letters, &c. and in *English* by Mr. *Gibson*, prefix'd to the last Edition of his *Britannia*. Several Translations have been made of these Annals from the Original *Latin* ; but 'twas thought necessary to have 'em new translated, examin'd and corrected, in a just Regard to the Author's Reputation. His Sketch of the Annals of King *James*, tho' consisting only of short Heads, is likewise added in *English*, that nothing from so great a Hand ought to be omitted.

The last Historian, in the Second Volume, is Mr. *Wilson*, who wrote the Life of King *James I.* The Learned Dr. *Welwood* has been prevail'd with to add some Notes and Observations of his own upon it, and has furnish'd some few Original Papers relating to that Reign, which hitherto never saw the Light ; all which Notes and Observations are Printed at the bottom of the Pages. At the Beginning the Author has given us in course Rhime what he calls his own Picture, but in the Note there added, the Reader will find it drawn with a truer Likeness than that which he drew himself, and with better Skill than can be done in this Preface.

For what remains to be said concerning the Third Volume, the Judicious and Accomplish'd Writer of it, has thought fit in his own Words to address the Publick as follows.

To the R E A D E R.

THIS Third and Last Volume of our English History requires but a short and easie Introduction to it. For here is no Collection of Writers, that need a Character and Account of them, as in the two former Volumes. This Continuation is a New Work done by a particular Hand, with a strict Regard to Truth and Justice.

Since the Period of the Second Volume, the Death of King *James I.* no one Reign hath been so exactly written, or at least brought into so just a Compass, as to deserve to be here intirely inserted. And therefore it was thought more fair and reasonable to draw up all the following Reigns into a New Prospect, just and proportionable, and not deceiving the Eye. The Person who draws it is not so delighted with it, as to value himself on the Performance : He did it for his own Diversion, rather than for the Satisfaction of the World. For he knows, that of all things History is least understood by the Generality of Mankind : And what is very strange, People are for the most part least able to judge of the History of their own Times : They have imperfect Remembrances, they have confused Notions, they have a Partiality to one side, and a Prejudice to another, they have their Presumptions, and their Conjectures, and like some distemper'd Heads have a Sight so uncertain, that it deceives them more than Blindness itself could do. For this Reason, no prudent Writer would set a Name to the History

P R E F A C E.

story of his own Times; for it is impossible to please, or to be thought impartial, till Posterity find out his plain and honest Dealing.

Therefore the Hand chiefly concern'd in those Papers withdraws it self from the Notice of the World, and does rest satisfied with its own Intention; which was to hold an Even Balance, and to let nothing turn it but Truth and Justice. A great Regard has been had to the excellent History written by my Lord Clarendon, which is far from serving any one Side only; and the Characters which are the best Part of it are most of them here transcrib'd. The following Reigns are done with some few Discoveries of what had not been before publish'd in the general and common Affairs; the Story is told according to the best Writers, and very often in their very Words.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

SINCE this Book was near finish'd, it has been thought proper to add an Appendix to Mr. Camden's Life of Queen Elizabeth, in order to give farther Light into some weighty Matters. And there being nothing of it mention'd in the Index, a Catalogue of the Papers contain'd is here printed for the Reader's Satisfaction.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the
Norman Conquest.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON.
BOOK I.

A B C

THE Beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom Sacred Books have spoken, is to this Day unknown, but the Deeds also of many succeeding Ages, yea, Periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obscur'd and blemish'd with Fables. Whether it were that the Use of Letters came in long after, or were it the Violence of barbarous Inundations, or they themselves, at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; whereby the Monuments of more ancient Civility have been some destroy'd, some lost. Perhaps Disesteem and Contempt of the Publick Affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in Cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise Men, and of best Ability, have forborn to write the Acts of their own Days, while they beheld with a just Loathing and Disdain, not only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all History the Persons and their Actions were; who either by Fortune, or some rude Election, had attain'd as a fore Judgment, and Ignominy upon the Land, to have chief Sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any Law, or Superstition of our old Philosophers the *Druids*, forbade the *Britains* to write their memorable Deeds, I know not why

any out of *Cesar* should alledge: He indeed saith, that their Doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most Matters else, both private and publick, among which well may History be reckon'd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: And that the *British Druids*, who taught those in *Gaul*, would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by their Disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into the highest, would for want of Recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the Reason, this we find, that of *British Affairs*, from the first Peopling of the Island, to the Coming of *Julius Cesar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, History, or Ancient Fame, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater Part of judicious Antiquaries been long rejected for a Modern Fable.

Nevertheless, there being others besides the first suppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquity, who admit that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction; and seeing that oft-times Relations heretofore accounted fabulous, have been after found to contain in them many Footsteps, and Relicks of something true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little believed, till undoubted Witnesses taught us, that all was not

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seign'd;

There are some Objections, and those not inconsiderable, against this Assertion: *Græci Literis utuntur*, saith *Cesar*: Which does not necessarily imply that they us'd the Greek Tongue, but only their Letters: For if he had meant the Language, he would have rather said, *Græco sermone*, or *Græcâ lingua*. But this does not take off the Difficulty neither: For if they made use of the Greek Letters, it had been but a poor Contrivance of *Cesar's*, to write to *Cicero* (in *Gaul*) in the Greek Character, for fear the Letter should be intercepted, and their Designs discovered. *Hanc Græcâ conscriptam literis mittit, ne interceptâ epistolâ, nostrâ ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur*, saith *Cesar*, lib. 5. Now if the *Druids* (the great Ministers of State) us'd the Greek Character in their common Business, why should *Cesar* think, that this Character would conceal his Designs? The learned *Selden* believes, *Græci* to have been foisted into that Place of *Cesar*, where he speaks of the *Druids* (lib. 6.) and will have him mean no more, than that Religious Matters were never writ down, but in all secular Affairs they made use of Writing: A Conjecture natural enough, and very probably true.

feign'd; I have therefore determin'd to bestow the telling over of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else but in Favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by their Art will know how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce Examples, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livy* and others of the *Latines*, *Polydore* and *Virunnius* among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controversies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth Course of History; much less to argue and debate long who were the first Inhabitants, with what Probabilities, what Authorities each Opinion hath been upheld, but shall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed most, with plain and lightsome Brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which imploring divine Assistance, that it may redound to his Glory, and the Good of the *British* Nation, I now begin.

THAT the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmost Point of habitable Ground, from those effectual Words of God in the Creation, may be more than conjectur'd. Hence that this Island also had her Dwellers, her Affairs, and perhaps her Stories, even in that old World those many hundred Years, with much Reason we may infer. After the Flood, and the dispersing of Nations, as they journey'd leisurely from the East, *Gomer*, the eldest Son of *Japhet*, and his Off-spring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinity of divers Names is generally believ'd, were the first that peopl'd all these West and Northern Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had done nothing, unless with all Circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this Island, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit Authors a certain *Samothes* or *Dis*, a fourth or sixth Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about two hundred Years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies, first the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaul*, and next this Island: Thence to have nam'd it *Samothea*, to have reign'd here, and after him lineally four Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But the forg'd *Berosus*, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of those whom they bring did ever pass into *Britain*, or send their People hither. So that this out-landish Figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the Room here so much as of a *British* Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from Truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, That these *Samotheans*, under the Reign of *Bardus*, were subdu'd by *Albian* a Giant, Son of *Neptune*, who call'd the Island after his own Name, and rul'd it forty four Years: Till at length passing over into *Gaul*, in Aid of his Brother *Lestrygon*, against whom *Hercules* was hasting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there slain in Fight, and *Bergion* also his Brother.

Sure enough we are that *Britain* hath been anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And *Mela* the Geographer makes men-

tion of a stony Shoar in *Languedoc*, where by Report such a Battel was fought. The rest, as his giving Name to the Isle, or ever landing here, depends altogether upon late Surmises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond Invention that waffed hither the fifty Daughters of a strange *Dioclesian* King of *Syrus*; brought in doubtless by some illiterate Pretender to something mistaken in the common poetical Story of *Danaus* King of *Argos*, while his Vanity, not pleas'd with the obscure Beginning which truest Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These Daughters, by Appointment of *Danaus* on the Marriage-Night, having murder'd all their Husbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wife's Loyalty sav'd, were by him, at the Suit of his Wife their Sister, not put to Death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the Hate; and as the Tale goes, were driven on this Island: Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as some write, or as others, a lawless Crew left here by *Albion* without Head or Governor, both entertain'd them, and had Issue by them a second Breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd the Isle till *Brutus* came.

The eldest of those Dames in their Legend they call *Albina*; and from thence, for which Cause the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the same *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may seem, so sluggish a Conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have lived above a thousand Years ago. This I find not in him, but that *Histon* sprung of *Japhet*, had four Sons, *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britains*; as true, I believe, as that those other Nations whose Names are resembled, came of the other three; if these Dreams give not just Occasion to call in doubt the Book it self, which bears that Title.

Hitherto the Things themselves have given us as a warrantable Dispatch to run them soon over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the Entrance of *Julius Caesar*, we cannot so easily be discharg'd; Descents of Ancestry, long-continu'd Laws and Exploits, not plainly seeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common Belief have wrought no small Impression; defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* Pretence were yielded up, seeing they who first devis'd to bring us from some noble Ancestor, were content at first with *Brutus* the Consul, till better Invention, although not willing to forgo the Name, taught them to remove it higher, into a more fabulous Age, and by the same Remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales, in Affectation to make the *Britain* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet those old and inborn Names of successive Kings, never any to have been real Persons, or done in their Lives, at least some Part of what so long hath been remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an Incredulity.

For

^b Concerning the first Peopling of *Britain*, Mr. *Cambden* has given us as distinct an Account, as can be drawn from probable Conjectures, and as the great distance of Time and want of Records will allow. See his *Britannia*, the English Edition, p. 10.

^c 'Tis possible enough he might give Name to the Isle, though he never landed here. *Pliny* tells us, it was call'd *Albin*, to distinguish it from the Islands round *Britain*, which went under the general Name of *Britannica*: And this likely enough was done by the *Greeks*, who delighted so much in fabulous Names.

^d The Romantick Story of *Brutus* and his Posterity, is fairly confuted by Mr. *Cambden*, English Edit. p. 6.

^e *Leland* has published a Vindication of the Story; and the *Welsh* are generally very unwilling to give it up for fabulous. If the *Britains* are so fond of a *Trojan* Original, Mr. *Cambden* has pointed out a much better Claim to it, than the Story of *Brutus* can give them: For the *Romans* (descended from the *Trojans*) by their long Continuance in this Island, could not but have many Inter-marriages with the *Britains*; whereby a great many *Britains* at this Day must be of *Roman*, and, by Consequence, of *Trojan* Extraction.

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For these, and those Causes above-mention'd, that which hath receiv'd Approbation from so many, I have chosen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the Credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps aloof from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient Writers from Books more ancient, I refuse not, as the due and proper Subject of Story. The principal Author is well known to be *Geoffry of Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his Authority, who in his Age, or before him have deliver'd the same Matter, and such like general Discourses, will better stand in a Treatise by themselves. All of them agree in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*, he of *Ascanius*, whose Father was *Aeneas* a Trojan Prince, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Ascanius*, and a collected Number that escap'd, after a long Wandering on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*: Where at length by the Assistance of *Latinus* King of *Latium*, who had given him his Daughter *Lavinia*, he obtain'd to succeed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Ascanius*, whose Son *Silvius* (though *Roman* Histories deny *Silvius* to be the Son of *Ascanius*) had married secretly a Niece of *Lavinia*.

She being with Child, the Matter became known to *Ascanius*: Who commanding his Magicians, to enquire by Art, what Sex the Maid had conceiv'd? had Answer, That it was one who should be the Death of both his Parents; and banish'd for the Fact, should after all in a far Country attain to highest Honour. The Prediction fail'd not, for in Travail the Mother dy'd: And *Brutus* (the Child was so call'd) at fifteen Years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an Arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Banish'd therefore by his Kindred, he retires into *Greece*: Where meeting with the Race of *Helenus*, King *Priam's* Son, held there in servile Condition by *Pandrasus*, then King; with them he abides: For *Pyrrhus*, in Revenge of his Father slain at *Troy*, had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others, into Servitude. There *Brutus*, among his own Stock so thrives in Virtue, and in Arms, as renders him belov'd by Kings, and great Captains, above all the Youth of that Land. Whereby the *Trojans* not only begin to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the Way to Liberty. They alledge their Numbers, and the promis'd Help of *Assaracus*, a Noble *Greekish* Youth, by the Mother's Side a *Trojan*; whom for that Cause his Brother went about to dispossess of certain Castles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* considering both the Forces offer'd him, and the Strength of those Holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore, having fortify'd those Castles, he, with *Assaracus*, and the whole Multitude, betake them to the Woods and Hills, as the safest Place from whence to expostulate; and in the Name of all sends to *Pandrasus* this Message; That the *Trojans* holding it unworthy their Ancestors to serve in a Foreign Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; chusing rather a savage Life, than a slavish: If that displeas'd him, that then with his Leave they might depart to some other Soil.

As this may pass with good Allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in these Parts; for *Helenus* was by *Pyrrhus* made King of the *Chalcidians*, and the Sons of *Pyrrhus* by *Andromache*, *Hector's* Wife, could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*; so much the more it may be doubted

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how these *Trojans* could be thus in Bondage, where they had Friends and Country-men so potent. But to examine these things with Diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britain* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what have we to say, as well concerning most other Countries, as this Island, is equally under Question. Be't how it will, *Pandrasus* not expecting so bold a Message from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army; and marching toward the Woods, *Brutus*, who had notice of his Approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Town, but certainly of no *Greek* Name) over Night planting himself there with good part of his Men, suddenly sets upon him and with Slaughter of the *Greeks*, pursues him to the Passage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*; where at the Ford he overlays them afresh. This Victory obtain'd, and a sufficient Strength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the King's Brother, and his Friend *Anacletus*, whom he had taken in the Fight, returns to the residue of his Friends in the thick Woods: While *Pandrasus* with all speed recollecting, besieges the Town. *Brutus* to relieve his Men besieg'd, who earnestly call'd him, distrusting the Sufficiency of his Force, bethinks himself of this Policy: Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatening instant Death else both to him and his *Antigonus*, enjoins him, that he should go at the second Hour of Night to the *Greekish* League, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by stealth out of Prison to a certain Woody Vale, unable through the Weight of his Fetters to move further; entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus*, to save both himself and his Friend *Antigonus*, swears this; and at a fit Hour sets out alone toward the Camp: Is met, examin'd, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great Profession of Fidelity first made, he frames his Tale, as had been taught him: And they now fully assur'd, with a credulous Rashness leaving their Stations, far'd accordingly by the Ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his Men into three Parts, leads on in Silence to the Camp; commanding first each Part at a several Place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron possess'd of the King's Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The Sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge Havock begins upon the sleeping and unguarded Enemy; whom the besieged also now falling forth, on the other side, assail. *Brutus* the while had special Care to seize and secure the King's Person; whose Life still within his Custody, he knew was the surest Pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there distributes the King's Treasure, and leaving the Place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Prisoner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave Men he summons to Counsel, what they should now demand of the King.

After long Debate, *Mempricius*, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from Thought of longer stay in *Greece*, unless they meant to be deluded with a subtle Peace, and the awaited Revenge of those whose Friends they had slain, advises them to demand first the King's Eldest Daughter *Innogen* in Marriage to their Leader *Brutus*, with a rich Dowry, next Shipping, Money,

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Nennius, who liv'd in the 7th Century, makes the Island to be first inhabited by *Brute*, Son to *Ascanius* and Grandson to *Aeneas*; who, as he supposes, reign'd in *Britain* at the Time when *El* judg'd *Israel*, about the Year of the World, 2830. *Sigebertus Gemblasensis*, a French Monk, who liv'd 20 Years before *Geoffry of Monmouth*, writes, that *Brute* pass'd from *Gaul* into *Britain*; and *Henry Huntingdon*, Contemporary with *Geoffry*, is of Opinion that *Britain* was peopled by *Brute*.

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This Resolution pleasing best, the King now brought in, and placed in a high Seat, is briefly told, that on these Conditions granted, he might be free; not granted, he must prepare to die.

Prefs'd with Fear of Death, the King readily yields, especially to bestow his Daughter on whom he confess'd so Noble and so Valiant: Offers him also the Third part of his Kingdom, if they like to stay; if not, to be their Hostage himself, till he had made good his Word.

The Marriage therefore Solemniz'd, and Shipping from all Parts got together, the Trojans in a Fleet, no less written than three hundred four and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea; where with a prosperous Course, two Days and a Night bring them on a certain Island, long before dispeopl'd and left wast by Sea-Rovers; the Name whereof was then *Leogecia*, now unknown. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruin'd City, where was a Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: But not meeting first or last save wild Beasts, they return with this notice to their Ships: Wishing their General would enquire of that Oracle what Voyage to pursue.

Consultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelve of the Ancientest, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward Shrine of the Goddess, in Verse, as it seems the manner was, utters his Request, *Divia potens nemonum, &c.*

*Goddess of Shades, and Huntress, who at will
Walk'st on the rowling Sphere, and thro' the Deep,
On thy third Reign the Earth look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of Rest thou bidst me seek,
What certain Seat, where I may worship thee
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin Quires.*

To whom sleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Vision that Night thus answer'd, *Brutus, sub occasum Solis, &c.*

*Brutus, far to the West, in th' Ocean wide
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, a Land there lies:
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy People; thither bend
Thy Course, there shalt thou find a lasting Seat,
There to thy Sons another Troy shall rise,
And Kings be born of thee, whose dreaded Might
Shall awe the World, and conquer Nations bold.*

These Verses, originally Greek, were put in Latin, saith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a British Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquity of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verses are much better, than for the Age of *Geoffery* ap *Arthur*, unless perhaps *Joseph* of *Exeter*, the only smooth Poet of those Times, befriended him. In this *Diana* over-shot her Oracle thus ending, *Ipsis totius terra subditus orbis erit*, That to the Race of *Brute*, Kings of this Island, the whole Earth shall be subject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by Divine Conduct, speeds him towards the West; and after some Encounters on the *Afric* Side, arrives at a Place on the *Tyrrhene* Sea, where he happens to find the Race of those Trojans, who with *Antenor*, came into Italy; and *Corineus*, a Man much fam'd, was their Chief: Though by later Authors it be reported, that those Trojans

with *Antenor*, were seated on the other side of Italy on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhene* Shoar. But these joyning Company, and past the *Herculean* Pillars, at the Mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* cast Anchor. Where after some Discovery made of the Place, *Corineus* hunting nigh the Shoar with his Men, is by Messengers of the King *Goffarius Pictus* met, and question'd about his Errand there. Who not answering to their Mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, slays him: And the *Pictavian* himself hereupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus* and *Corineus*; who with the Battle-Ax, which he was wont to manage against the *Tyrrhene* Giants, is said to have done Marvels. But *Goffarius* having drawn to his Aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by Twelve Kings, puts his Fortune to a second Trial, wherein the Trojans, over-born by Multitude, or driven back, and besieg'd in their own Camp, which by good Foresight was strongly situate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly issuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whose Device it was, assaulting them behind from a Wood, where he had convey'd his Men the Night before, the Trojans are again Victors, but with the Loss of *Taron* a valiant Nephew of *Brutus*; whose Ashes left in that Place, gave Name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the Trojans. *Brutus* finding now his Powers much lessen'd, and this yet not the Place foretold him, leaves *Aquitain*, and with an easie Course, arriving at *Totness* in *Devonshire*, quickly perceives here to be the promis'd End of his Labours.

*Brutus
lands at
Totness.*

The Island not yet *Britain*, but *Albion*, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a Remnant of Giants; whose excessive Force and Tyranny had consum'd the rest. Them *Brutus* destroys, and to his People divides the Land, which with some Reference to his own Name, he thenceforth calls *Britain*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwall*, as we now call it, fell by Lot; the reason by him lik'd, for that the hugest Giants, in Rocks and Caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of Monsters to deal with was his old Exercise.

And here, with Leave bespoken, to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our best Poets; while *Brutus* on a certain Festival Day, solemnly kept on that Shoar where he first landed, was with the People in great Jollity and Mirth, a Crew of these Savages breaking in upon them, began on the sudden another sort of Game than at such a Meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, *Goemagog* the hugest, in height twelve Cubits, is reserv'd alive; that with him *Corenius*, who desir'd nothing more, might try his Strength; whom in a Wrestle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible Hugg broke three of his Ribs: Nevertheless *Corenius* enrag'd, heaving up by main Force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all shatter'd into the Sea, and left his Name on the Cliff, called ever since *Langoe-magog*, which is to say, the Giant's Leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a chosen place builds *Troja Nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London*, and began to enact Laws; *Heli* being then High-Priest in *Judea*; and having govern'd the whole Isle 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons, *Lochrine*, *Albanact* and *Camber*, divide the Land by Consent. *Lochrine* had the middle part *Loegria*; *Camber*

* The Time of his Landing is suppos'd to be about 1100 Years after the Flood, A. M. 2830.
He gives it a Latin Name, tho' that Language was not then us'd in Italy.

2855. Camber possess'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact*, *Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber*, King of the *Hunns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was slain in Fight, and his People driven back into *Loegria*. *Loocrine* and his Brother go out against *Humber*; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this Day retains his Name. Among the Spoils of his Camp and Navy were found certain young Maids, and *Estrildis*, above the rest, passing fair, the Daughter of a King in *Germany*, from whence *Humber*, as he went wafting the Sea-Coast, he led her Captive: Whom *Loocrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, resolves to marry. But being forc'd and threaten'd by *Corineus*, whose Authority and Power he fear'd; *Guendolen* the Daughter he yields to marry, but in secret loves the other; and oft-times retiring as to some private Sacrifice, through Vaults and Passages made under Ground; and seven Years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whose Name was *Sabra*. But when once his Fears was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not content with secret Enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he made *Estrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in Rage departs into *Cornwall*, where *Madan*, the Son she had by *Loocrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus*'s Grand-father. And gathering an Army of her Father's Friends and Subjects, gives Battle to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherein *Loocrine* shot with an Arrow ends his Life. But not so ends the Fury of *Guendolen*, for *Estrildis*, and her Daughter *Sabra* she throws into a River; and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the Stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damsel's Name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

2909. Fifteen Years she governs in behalf of her Son, then resigning to him at Age, retires to her Father's Dominion. This, saith my Author, was in the Days of *Caesar*. *Caesar* hath the Praise to have well and peacefully rul'd the Space of 40 Years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempricius* and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had first to do with the Ambition of his Brother, aspiring to share with him in the Kingdom; whom therefore at a Meeting to compose Matters, with a Treachery which his Cause needed not, he slew.

2949. Nor was he better in the sole Possession, whereof so ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly given over to unnatural Lust, in the twentieth of his Reign, hunting in a Forest, he was devour'd by Wolves.

2969. His Son *Ebranc*, a Man of mighty Strength and Stature, reign'd 40 Years. He first after *Brutus* wasted *Gaul*; and returning rich and prosperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania*, *Abelud*; Mount *Agned*, or the Castle of *Maidens*, now *Edinburgh*. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he sent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who bestow'd them on his Peers of the *Trojan* Line. His Sons under the leading of *Affaracus* their Brother, won them Lands and Signories in *Germany*, thence call'd, from these Brethren, *Germania*: a Derivation too hastily suppos'd, perhaps before the Word *Germanus* of the *Latin* Tongue was in use. Some who have describ'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomus*, and *Leffabeus*, are cited to affirm, that *Ebranc* in his War there was by *Brunchildis* Lord of *Henault* put to the worse.

Brutus therefore, surnamed *Greenshield*, succeeding to repair his Father's Lollies, as the same *Leffabeus* reports, fought a second Battle in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the Mouth of *Scaldis*,

and encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which 3000. our *Spencer* also thus sings:

Let *Scaldis* tell, and let tell *Hania*,
And let the *Marsh* of *Esthambruges* tell
What Colour were their Waters that same Day,
And all the Moor 'twixt *Elversham* and *Dell*,
With Blood of *Henelois* which therein fell;
How oft that Day did sad *Brunchildis* see
The *Greenshield* dy'd in dolorous *Vermeil*, &c.

But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greenchild*, seem newer Names than for a Story pretended thus ancient.

Him succeeded *Leil*, a Maintainer of Peace 3022. and Equity; but slacken'd in his latter End, whence arose some civil Discord. He built in the North *Caerhel*, in the Days of *Solomon*.

Rudhuddibras, or *Hudibras*, appeasing the Com- 3043. motions which his Father could not, founded *Caerkeynt* or *Canterbury*; *Caerguent*, or *Winchester*; and *Mount Paladur*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*: But this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his Son built *Caerbadas* or *Bath*, and 3085. those Medicinal Waters he dedicated to *Minerva*, in whose Temple there he kept Fire continually burning. He was a Man of great Invention, and taught *Necromancy*: Till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and so dy'd, after Twenty Years Reign.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line 3105. hath run on: But *Leir*, who next reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Issue: Govern'd laudably; and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leicester* on the Bank of *Sora*. But at last, failing through Age, he determines to bestow his Daughters, and so among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet first to try which of them lov'd him best (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wise how to try, as he seem'd to know how much the trying behov'd him) he resolves a simple Resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to believe. *Gonoril*, the Eldest, apprehending too well her Father's Weakness, makes answer, invoking Heaven, That she lov'd him above her Soul. Therefore, quoth the old Man over-joy'd, since thou so honourest my declined Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou shalt chuse, I give the third part of my Realm. So fair a Speeding for a few Words soon utter'd, was to *Regan* the second, ample Instruction what to say. She on the same Demand spares no protesting, and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her Thoughts she knew not, but that she lov'd him above all Creatures; and so receives an equal Reward with her Sister. But *Cordeilla* the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and present Hire of a little easie soothing, the Danger also, and the Loss likely to betide plain Dealing, yet moves not from the solid Purpose of a sincere and virtuous Answer. Father, saith she, my Love towards you is as my Duty bids; what should a Father seek? What can a Child promise more? They who pretend beyond this, flatter. When the old Man, sorry to hear this, and willing her to recall those Words, persisted asking; with a Loyal Sadness at her Father's Infirmary, but something on the sudden harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, than speaking her own Mind, Two ways only, saith she, I have to answer what you require me; the former, your Command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, so much is your Value, and so much I love you. Then hear thou, quoth *Leir*, now all in a Passion, what thy Ingratitude

3105.

Ingratitude hath gain'd thee; because thou hast not reverenc'd thy aged Father equal to thy Sisters; part in my Kingdom, or what else is mine reckon to have none. And without delay gives in Marriage his other Daughters, *Gonoril* to *Maglaunus* Duke of *Albania*, *Regan* to *Henninus* Duke of *Cornwall*; with them in present, half his Kingdom; the rest to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the Wisdom and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, insomuch that *Aganippus* a great King in *Gaul* (however he came by his Greek Name) seeks her to Wife; and nothing alter'd at the Loss of her Dowry, receives her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this, King *Leir*, more and more drooping with Years, became an easie Prey to his Daughters and their Husbands; who now by daily Encroachment had seiz'd the whole Kingdom into their Hands, and the old King is put to sojourn with his Eldest Daughter, attended only by threescore Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual Guests, are reduc'd to Thirty. Not brooking that Affront, the old King betakes him to his second Daughter: But there also Discord soon arising between the Servants of differing Masters in one Family, five only are suffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his Eldest could not but have more Pity on his grey Hairs: But she now refuses to admit him unless he be content with one only of his Followers. At last the Remembrance of his youngest, *Cordeilla*, comes to his Thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her Words had been, though with little Hope from one he had so injur'd, be it but to pay her the last Recompence she can have from him, his Confession of her wife Fore-warning, that so perhaps his Misery, the Proof and Experiment of her Wisdom, might something soften her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be seen a Difference between the silent and down-right spoken Affection of some Children to their Parents, and the talkative Obsequiousness of others; while the Hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges their Duty. *Cordeilla* out of mere Love, without the Suspicion of expected Reward, at the Message only of her Father in Distress pours forth true filial Tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should see him in such forlorn Condition as his Messenger declar'd, discreetly appoints one of her most trusty Servants, first to convey him privately toward some good Sea Town, there to array him, bath him, cherish him, furnish him with such Attendants and State, as becom'd his Dignity. That then, as from his first Landing, he might send word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which done with all mature and requisite Contrivance, *Cordeilla* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then first had News of his passing the Sea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful Entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wife's Father, and his Royal Guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the Power and Disposal of his whole Dominion: Permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and set her Father upon his Throne. Wherein her Piety so prosper'd, as that she vanquish'd her impious Sisters with those Dukes, and *Leir* again, as saith the Story,

three Years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all Regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leicester*. And then as right Heir succeeding, and her Husband dead, rul'd the Land five Years in Peace; until *Margannus* and *Cunedagius*, her two Sisters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom should be govern'd by a Woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that Quarrel against a Woman so worthy, make War against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to suffer, she there, as is related, kill'd her self. The Victors between them part the Land: But *Margannus* the Eldest Sister's Son, who held by Agreement from the North-side of *Humber* to *Cathness*, incited by those about him, to invade all his own Right, wars on *Cunedagius*, who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his Life, and ever since his Name to the Place.

Cunedagius was now sole King, and govern'd with much Praise many Years, about the time when *Rome* was built.^a Him succeeded *Rennio* his Son, wise also and fortunate; save what they tell us of three Days raining Blood, and Swarms of stinging Flies, whereof Men dy'd. In order then *Gurgustius*, *Jago* or *Lago*, his Nephew; ^b *Sifillus*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorbogudo*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex* and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of their Father falling to contend who should succeed, *Porrex* attempting by Treachery his Brother's Life, drives him into *France*; and in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and slays him. But by his Mother *Videna*, who less lov'd him, is himself, with the Assistance of her Women, soon after slain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*; whereupon, the whole Land with civil Broils was rent into Five Kingdoms, long time waging War on each other; and some say 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo* *Molmutius*, the Son of *Cloten* King of *Cornwall*, one of the aforesaid five, excelling in Valour and Goodliness of Person, after his Father's Decease found means to reduce again the whole Island into a Monarchy: Subduing the rest at Opportunities. First *Imner* King of *Loegria* whom he slew; then *Rudaucus* of *Cambria*, *Staternus* of *Albania*, Confederate together. In which Fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtful, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 stout Men, bids them put on the Armour of their slain Enemies, and so unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where those two Kings had plac'd themselves in Fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults and dispatches them. Then displaying his own Ensigns, which before he had conceal'd, and sending notice to the other part of his Army what was done, adds to them new Courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo* was the first in Britain that wore a Crown of Gold; and therefore by some reputed the first King. He established the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the English to this Day; written long after in Latin by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred*; so saith *Geoffrey*; but *Gildas* denies to have known ought of the Britains before *Cesar*, much less knew *Alfred*. These Laws, whoever made them, bestow'd on Temples the Privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities also, and the Ways thither leading, yea to Plows granted

3105.

3169.

3203.

3248.

3287.

3364.

3420.

3477.

The Line of Brutus ends.

3480.

3530.

^a *Romulus* built *Rome*, A. M. 3198. *Tall. Tab.*

^b *Sifillus* reign'd before *Lago*, who according to Mr. *Talbot's* Chronological Tables succeeded him, A. M. 3336, and was succeeded by *Kinmarcus* or *Kinmarchus*, A. M. 3364.

^c The Line of *Brutus* reign'd in this Island, according to *Geoffrey of Monmouth's* Account, 650 Years.

3563. granted a kind of like Refuge: And made such Riddance of Thieves and Robbers, that all Passages were safe. Forty Years he govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to ^a the Temple of Concord; which he, to the Memory of Peace restor'd, had built in *Trinovant*.

His two Sons, *Belinus* and *Brennus*, contending about the Crown, by Decision of Friends came at length to an Accord; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sovereignty of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whisper'd to him, whose Valour had so oft repell'd the Invasions of *Ceulphus* the *Morine* Duke, should now be subject to his Brother, upon new Design sails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinity with *Elfing* that King; which *Belinus* perceiving, in his Absence dispossesses him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britain*; but encounter'd by *Guithlac* the *Danish* King, who laying Claim to his Bride, pursu'd him on the Sea, his Haste was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouse: Who from the Fight by sudden Tempest, was by the *Danish* King driven on *Northumberland*, and brought to *Belinus*. *Brennus* nevertheless recollecting his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battle to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but losing the Day, escapes with one single Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane*, upon his own Offer to become tributary, sent home with his new Prize, *Belinus* returns his Thoughts to the administering of Justice, and the perfecting of his Father's Laws; and to explain what Highways might enjoy the foresaid Privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roads to the utmost Length and Breadth of the Island, and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the *Romans*. *Brennus* on the other Side soliciting to his Aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happens at last on *Segnius* Duke of the *Allobroges*, where his Worth and Comeliness of Person won him the Duke's Daughter and Heir. In whose Right he shortly succeeding, and by obtain'd Leave passing with a great Host through the Length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britain*. Nor was *Belinus* unprepar'd; and now the Battle ready to joyn, *Conuvena* the Mother of them both, all in a Fright, throws herself between, and calling earnestly to *Brennus* her Son, whose Absence had so long depriv'd her of his Sight, after Embracements and Tears, assails him with such a Motherly Power, and the mention of Things so dear and reverend, as irresistably wrung from him all his Enmity against *Belinus*.

Then are Hands joyn'd, Reconciliation made firm, and Counsel field to turn their united Preparations on foreign Parts. Thence that by these two all *Gallia* was over-run, the Story tells; and what did they in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if these be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the *Roman* Authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which here against the Stream of History, carries up and down these Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, pursuing *Gabinus* and *Porfena*, two unheard of Consuls. Thus much is more generally believ'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Britomarus*, whom the Epitomist *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britains*; the Name of the first in that Tongue signifying a King, and of the other a great *Britain*. However, *Belinus* after a while returning home, the rest of his Days rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour above all his Predecessors; building

some Cities, of which one was *Caerose* upon *Osea*, since *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant* with a Gate, a Haven, and a Tower on the *Thames*, retaining yet his Name; on the Top whereof his Ashes are said to have been laid up in a Golden Urn. 3563. Billingsgate.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and just, but yet inheriting his Father's Courage, he subdu'd the *Dacian*; or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute covenanted to *Belinus* for his Enlargement. In his Return finding about the *Orkneys* thirty Ships of *Spain*, or *Biscay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain also *Bartholimus* wrongfully banish'd, as he pleaded, besought him, that some part of his Territory might be assign'd them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own Men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd, and gave them that Island to hold of him as in Homage. ^b He was bury'd in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about. 3596.

Guitheline his Son, is also remember'd, as a just and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd so much in Wisdom, as to venture upon a new Institution of Laws: Which King *Alfred* translating, call'd *Marchen-League*, but more truly thereby is meant the *Mercian* Law; not translated by *Alfred*, but digested or incorporated with the *West-Saxon*. In the Minority of her Son she had the Rule, and then, as may be suppos'd, brought forth these Laws, not herself, for Laws are Masculine Births, but by the Advice of her sagest Counsellors; and therein she might do virtuously, since it beset her to supply the Nonage of her Son: Else nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, than that a Woman should give Laws to Men. 3615.

Her Son *Sifilius* coming to Years, receiv'd the Rule; then in order *Kimarus*; then *Danius* or *Elanius* his Brother; then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tanguestula*, a Concubine, who is recorded a Man of excessive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and Fair of Aspect, but immanely Cruel; not sparing in his Anger, Enemy or Friend, if any Weapon were in his Hand. A certain King of the *Morines*, or *Picards* invaded *Northumberland*; whose Army this King, though not wanting sufficient Numbers, chiefly by his own Prowess overcame; but dishonour'd his Victory by the cruel Usage of his Prisoners, whom his own Hands, or others in his Presence, put all to several Deaths. Well fitted to such a Bestial Cruelty was his End; for hearing of a huge Monster that from the *Irish* Sea infested the Coast, and in the Pride of his Strength, foolishly attempting to set Manly Valour against a Brute Vastness, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible Mouth he was catch'd up and devour'd. 3656. Sifilius the 2d.

Gorbonian the eldest of his five Sons, than whom a juster Man liv'd not in his Age, was a great Builder of Temples, and gave to all what was their due; to his Gods devout Worship; to Men of Desert, Honour and Preferment; to the Commons Encouragement in their Labours and Trades, Defence and Protection from Injuries and Oppressions; so that the Land flourish'd above her Neighbours; Violence and Wrong seldom was heard of: His Death was a general Loss: He was buried in *Trinovant*. *Archigallo* the second Brother follow'd not his Example; but depress'd the ancient Nobility; and by peeling the wealthier sort, stuff'd his Treasury, and took the right way to be depos'd. *Elidure* the next Brother, surnam'd the Pious, was set up in his Place; a Mind so 3676.

^a Said to be built on the Ground where *Blackwell-Hall* now stands. *Selden* mentions *Kinmarchus* in his *Janus Anglorum*.
^b He is said to have built *Lancaster* and *Warwick*. And *Cambridge*, as is pretended, was now built by *Cantabara* a *Spaniard*.

3687. so noble and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have ever been found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one Day in the Forest of Calater, he chanc'd to meet his deposed Brother wandering in mean Condition; who had been long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning foreign Aids to his Restoremēt; and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten Followers, privately return'd to find Subsistence among his secret Friends. At the unexpected sight of him, *Elidure* himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open Arms; and after many dear and sincere Welcomings, conveys him to the City *Alclud*, there hides him in his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards faining himself sick, summons all his Peers, as about greatest Affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, causes them, willing or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom, after Reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to York, and from his own Head, places the Crown on the Head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it self dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold with the admiration of a Deed so Heroick, became a true converted Man, rul'd worthily ten Years, dy'd and was bury'd in *Caerlieur*. Thus was a Brother sav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the thing that so often dazles and vitiates mortal Men, for which thousands of nearest Blood have destroy'd each other; was, in respect of Brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing.

3700. *Elidure* now, in his own behalf, re-assumes the Government; and did as was worthy such a Man to do. When Providence, that so great Vertue might want no sort of tryal to make it more illustrious, stirs up *Vigenius* and *Peredure* his youngest Brethren, against him who had deserv'd so nobly of that Relation, as least of all by a Brother to be injur'd: Yet him they defeat, him they imprison in the Tower of *Trinowant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whose Death *Peredure* obtaining all, so much the better us'd his Power, by how much the worse he got it. So that *Elidure* now is hardly miss'd. But yet in all right, owing to his Elder the due place whereof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he should die first.

3715. And *Elidure*, after many Years Imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the Throne; which at last he enjoy'd long in Peace; finishing the interrupted Course of his mild and just Reign, as full of virtuous Deeds as Days, to the end. After these five Sons of *Morindus*, succeeded also their Sons in Order: * *Reign* of *Gorbonian*, *Marganus* of *Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other Courses, was after six Years depos'd. Then *Idwallo*, taught by a near Example, govern'd soberly. Then *Runno*, then *Gerunnius*, he of *Peredure*; this last the Son of *Elidure*. From whose Loins (for that likely is the durable and surviving Race that springs of just Progenitors) issu'd a long descent of Kings; whose Names only for many Successions, without other memory, stands thus register'd, *Catellus*, *Coilbus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons; *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Olorenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*,

Oenus, *Sifillius*, twenty Kings in a continu'd row, that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at least a foul pretermillion in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himself weary, as seems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegabredus* next succeeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Musick; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his twenty Predecessors doings. Yet after him nine more succeeded in Name; his Brother *Archimachus*, *Eldol*, *Redion*, *Rederchius*, *Samulus*, *Pemsel*, *Per*, *Capoixus*, * but *Cliguellus*, with the addition of Modest, Wife and Just. His Son *Hel* reign'd forty Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Cassibelan* and *Nennius*. This *Hel* seems to be the same whom *Nennius* in his Fragment calls *Minecan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Cassibelan*. *Lud* was he that enlarg'd and wall'd about *Trinowant*, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own Name *Cear-Lud*, or *Lud's Town*, now *London*. Which, as is alledg'd out of *Gildas*, became matter of great Dissention betwixt him and his Brother *Nennius*; * who took it hainously that the Name of *Troy*, their ancient Country, should be abolished for any new one. *Lud* was hardy and bold in War, in Peace a jolly Feaster. He conquer'd many Islands in the Sea, saith *Huntingdon*, and was bury'd by the Gate which from thence we call *Ludgate*. His two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Tenuantius*, were left to the tuition of *Cassibelan*; whose Beauty and high Demenor so wrought with the common People, as got him easily the Kingdom transferr'd upon himself. He nevertheless continuing to favour and support his Nephews, confers freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*; upon *Tenuantius*, *Cornwall*; Reserving a Superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himself; till the Romans for a while circumscrib'd his Power. Thus far, though leaning only on the Credit of *Geoffrey Monmouth*, and his Assertors, I yet for the specyfic a comes have thought it not beneath my purpose to relate what I found. Whereto I neither oblige the Belief of other Persons, nor overhastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others, computing or collating Years and Chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the Time and Circumstances of Things whereof the Substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by Night, and travell'd thro' a Region of smooch or idle Dreams, our History now arrives on the Confines, where Day-light and Truth meets us with a clear dawn, representing to our View, though at a far Distance, true Colours and Shapes. For albeit *Cesar*, whose Authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of misreporting in his Commentaries, yea, in his Civil Wars against *Pompey*, much more may we think in the *British Affairs*, of whose little Skill in Writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted, yet now in such variety of good Authors, we hardly can miss from one Hand or the other to be sufficiently inform'd, as of Things past so long ago. But this will better be referr'd to a second Discourse.

3720. * *Matthew of Westminster*. *Reign* of *Gorbonian*, *Marganus* of *Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other Courses, was after six Years depos'd. Then *Idwallo*, taught by a near Example, govern'd soberly. Then *Runno*, then *Gerunnius*, he of *Peredure*; this last the Son of *Elidure*. From whose Loins (for that likely is the durable and surviving Race that springs of just Progenitors) issu'd a long descent of Kings; whose Names only for many Successions, without other memory, stands thus register'd, *Catellus*, *Coilbus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons; *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Olorenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*,

Cliguellus or *Dinellius*, the Son of *Capoixus*, about eight Years after the Death of *Elidure*, in which time there had reign'd thirty Kings, came to the Crown, and is the first of so many Princes that *Geoffrey* could, or would say any thing of. This *Nennius* wrote the History of *Britain*, which was turn'd into Latin by another *Nennius*.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book II.

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I Am now to write of what befel the *Britains* from fifty and three Years before the Birth of our Saviour, when first the Romans came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a Story of much Truth, and for the first Hundred Years and somewhat more, collected without much Labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the Civilest, and Wisest of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the Actions of that puissant City. For worthy Deeds are not often destitute of worthy Relators: As by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same Ages. 'Tis true, that in obscurest Times, by shallow and unskilful Writers, the indistinct Noise of many Battles, and Devastations of many Kingdoms over-run and lost, hath come to our Ears. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the Love of Rapine hath stirr'd up greedy and violent Men to bold Attempts in waiting and ruining Wars, which to Posterity have left the Work of wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerors? But he whose just and true Valour uses the Necessity of War and Dominion, not to destroy but to prevent Destruction, to bring in Liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations; knowing that when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer Time or Detraction, wisely conscious of this his Wants as well as of his Worth not to be forgotten or conceal'd, honours and hath recourse to the Aid of Eloquence, his friendliest and best Supply; by whose immortal Record his noble Deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the Force of Years and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Posterity, over Envy, Death and Time, also victorious. Therefore when the Esteem of Science and liberal Study waxes low in the Commonwealth, we may presume that also there all civil Virtue and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline: And then Eloquence, as it were consorted in the same Destiny, with the Decrease and Fall of Virtue corrupts also and fades; at least resigns her Office of relating, to illiterate and frivolous Historians; such as the Persons themselves both deserve, and are best pleas'd with; whilst they want either the Understanding to chuse better, or the Innocence to drave invite the examining and searching Stile of an intelligent and faithful Writer to the Survey of their unsound Exploits, better befriended by Obscurity than Fame. As for these, the only Authors we have of *British* Matters, while the Power of *Rome* reach'd hither (for *Gildas* affirms, that of the *Roman* Times no

British Writer was in his Days extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or transported with such as fled the *Pictish* and *Saxon* Invasions) these therefore only *Roman* Authors there be, who in the *English* Tongue have laid together, as much, and perhaps more than was requisite to a History of *Britain*. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly Gap so near to the beginning, I should have judg'd this Labour, wherein so little seems to be requir'd above Transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding, since I must through it, if ought by Diligence may be added, or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explain'd, or more express'd, I shall assay.

Julius Caesar (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more than what appertains, is not here to be discours'd) having subdu'd most part of *Gallia*, which by a potent Faction he had obtain'd of the Senate as his Province for many Years, stirr'd up with a Desire of adding still more Glory to his Name; and the whole *Roman* Empire to his Ambition, some say, with a far meaner and ignobler, the Desire of *British* Pearls, whose Bigness he delighted to balance in his Hand, determines, and that upon no unjust pretended Occasion, to try his Force in the Conquest also of *Britain*. For he understood that the *Britains* in most of his *Gallian* Wars had sent Supplies against him, had receiv'd Fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Cities of *Armorica*, which had the Year before conspir'd all in a new Rebellion. Therefore *Caesar*, though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the Season unagreeable to transport a War, yet judg'd it would be great Advantage, only to get Entrance into the Isle, Knowledge of the Men, the Places, the Ports, the Accesses, which then, it seems, were even to the *Gauls* their Neighbours almost unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, saith he, that any use to travel thither; and to those that do, besides the Sea-Coast, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing else is known. But here I must require, as *Pollio* did, the Diligence, at least the Memory of *Caesar*. For if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Drutiacus*, not long before, a puissant King of the *Soissons*, had *Britain* also under his Command, besides the *Belgian* Colonies, which he affirms to have nam'd and peopled many Provinces there, if also the *Britains* had so frequently given them aid in all their Wars, if lastly the *Druid* Learning, honour'd so much among them, were at first taught them out of *Britain*, and they who soonest would attain that Discipline, sent hither to learn, it appears not how *Britain* at that time should be so utterly unknown in *Gallia*.

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Suetonius;
Vit. Caf.Year
before
Christ. 53.Suetonius;
Caf. Com.
l. 1.Caf. Com.
l. 4.

lia,

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lia, or only known to Merchants, yea to them so little, that being call'd together from all Parts, none could be found to inform *Cæsar* of what Bigness the Isle, what Nations, how Great, what Use of War they had, what Laws, or so much as what commodious Havens for bigger Vessels. Of all which things, as it were then first to make Discovery, he sends *Caius Volusenus* in a long Galley, with Command to return as soon as this could be effected. He in the mean Time with his whole Power draws nigh to the *Morine*^a Coast, whence the shortest Passage was into *Britain*. Hither his Navy, which he us'd against the *Armoricans*, and what else of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britain*, Ambassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Hostages, and Obedience to the *Roman Empire*. Them, after Audience given, *Cæsar* as largely promising, and exhorting to continue in that Mind, sends home, and with them *Comius* of *Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* Party among the *Britains*, in as many Cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself was speeding thither. *Volusenus*, with what discovery of the Island he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the Shoar, within five Days returns to *Cæsar*: Who soon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of *Romans* and their Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horse; the Foot in 80 Ships of Burthen, the Horse in 18, besides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, sets off about the third Watch of the Night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Rufus* to make good the Port with a sufficient Strength.^b But the Horse, whose appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound eight Mile upward in another Haven, had much trouble to imbarck. *Cæsar* now within Sight of *Britain*, beholds on every Hill Multitudes of armed Men, ready to forbid his Landing, and

Cic. Att. 14 Ep. 17. Cicero writes to his Friend *Atticus*, that the Accesses of the Island were wondrously fortify'd with strong Works or Moles. Here from the fourth to the ninth Hour of Day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet: Mean while with his Legates and Tribunes consulting, and giving order to fit all things for what might happen in such a various and floating Water-fight as was to be expected. This Place, which was a narrow Bay, close environ'd with Hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open Shoar eight Mile distant, commonly suppos'd about *Deal* in *Kent*. Which when the *Britains* perceiv'd, their Horse and Chariots, as then they used in Fight, scowring before, their main Power speeding after, some thick upon the Shoar, others not tarrying to be assail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter and assault the *Romans*, even under their Ships, with such a bold and free Hardihood, that *Cæsar* himself, between confessing and excusing that his Soldiers were to come down from their Ships, to stand in Water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the Terror of such new and resolute Opposition made them forget their wonted Valour. To succour which he commands his Gallies, a Sight unusual to the *Britains*, and more apt for Motion, drawn from the bigger Vessels, to row against the open side of the Enemy, and thence

with Stings, Engines and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the strangeness of those new Sea-Castles, bearing up so near and so swiftly, as almost to overwhelm them, the hurtling of Oars, the battering of fierce Engines against their Bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britains* give much Ground, or the *Romans* gain, till he who bore the Eagle of the Tenth Legion, yet in the Gallies, first beseeching his Gods, said thus aloud: Leap down, Soldiers, unless ye mean to betray your Ensign; I, for my part, will perform what I owe to the Common-wealth and my General. This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle fiercely advanc'd, runs upon the Enemy, the rest heartning one another not to admit the Dishonour of so nigh losing their chief Standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both Sides. Ours, who well knew their own Advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the Shallows, now on the Sand, still as the *Romans* went trooping to their Ensigns, receiv'd them, dispatch'd them, and with the help of their Horse, put them every where to great disorder. But *Cæsar* causing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Soldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with Relief where they saw need; whereby at length all the Foot now disembark'd, and got together in some order on firm Ground, with a more steady Charge put the *Britains* to flight: But wanting all their Horse, whom the Winds yet with-held from sailing, they were not able to make Pursuit. In this confused Fight, *Scæva* a *Roman* Soldier, having press'd too far among the *Britains*, and beset round, after incredible Valour shewn single against a Multitude, swum back safe to his General; and in the Place that rung with his Praises, earnestly besought Pardon for his rash Adventure against Discipline: Which modest confessing after no bad Event, for such a Deed wherein Valour and Ingenuity so much out-weigh'd Transgression, easily made amends, and preferr'd him to be a Centurion.^c *Cæsar* also is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himself the Honour (if it were at all an Honour to that Person which he sustain'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land: But this were to make *Cæsar* less understand what became him than *Scæva*. The *Britains* finding themselves master'd in Fight, forthwith send Ambassadors to treat of Peace; promising to give Hostages, and to be at command. With them *Comius* of *Arras* also return'd; whom hitherto, since his first coming from *Cæsar*, they had detain'd in Prison as a Spy; the Blame whereof they lay on the common People, for whose Violence and their own Imprudence they crave Pardon. *Cæsar* complaining they had first sought Peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hostages: Whereof Part they bring in strait, others far up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few Days. Mean while the People disbanded and sent home, many Princes and chief Men from all Parts of the Isle submit themselves and their Cities to the dispose of *Cæsar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Barham Down*. Thus had the *Britains* made their Peace, when suddenly an Accident unlook'd for put new Counsels into their Minds. Four Days after the Coming of *Cæsar*, those 18 Ships of Burthen, which from the upper Haven had taken in all

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The Romans land in Britain.

Valer. Max. Plutarch.

In Cæsarib.

^a The *Morini* inhabited the Province of *Picardy*.

^b Concerning the Havens from whence *Cæsar* set sail for *Britain*, see Mr. Somner's Dissertation, *de Portu Ictio*, published at Oxford by Mr. Gibson.

^c This *Scæva* afterwards became more famous for his Bravery at the Battle of *Dyrnachium*, when he sided with *Cæsar* against *Pompey*.

3897. the *Roman Horse*, born with a soft Wind to the very Coast, in sight of the *Roman Camp*, were, by a sudden Tempest, scatter'd, and driven back, some to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the West Country; who finding there no Safety either to Land, or to cast Anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled Sea; and as *Orosius* reports, were most of them cast away. The same Night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were, unaware to the *Romans*, cover'd with a Spring-Tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beaten with Waves, to the great Perplexity of *Cæsar* and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convey them back, nor any Provision made to stay here, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britains* well perceiving, and by the Compass of his Camp, which without Baggage appear'd the smaller, guessing at his Numbers, consult together, and one by one sily withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the Conclusion of a Peace, resolve to stop all Provisions, and to draw out the Business till Winter. *Cæsar* though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the Condition wherein he was, and their other Hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide apace: all that might be, against what might happen: lays in Corn, and with Materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of those Ships which were past Help he repairs the rest. So that now by the incessant Labour of his Soldiers, all but twelve were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the Legions being sent out to forage, as was accustom'd, and no Suspicion of War, while some of the *Britains* were remaining in the Country about, others also going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in Station at the Camp Gates sent speedy Word to *Cæsar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater Dust than usual was seen to rise. *Cæsar* guessing the Matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thither, two others to succeed in their stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cæsar* discerns his Legion sore over-charg'd: For the *Britains* not doubting but that their Enemies on the Morrow would be in that Place which only they had left unreap'd of all their Harvest, had plac'd an Ambush; and while they were dispers'd and busiest at their Labour, set upon them, kill'd some, and routed the rest. The manner of their Fight was from a kind of * Chariots; wherein riding about, and throwing Darts, with the Clutter of their Horse, and of their Wheels, they oft-times broke the Rank of their Enemies; then retreating among the Horse, and quitting their Chariots, they fought on Foot. The Charioteers, in the mean while somewhat aside from the Battle, set themselves in such Order, that their Masters at any Time oppress'd with odds, might retire safely thither, having perform'd with one Person both the nimble Service of a Horse-man, and the steadfast Duty of a Foot Soldier. So much they could with their Chariots by Use, and exercise, as riding on the Speed down a steep Hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short Rein turn swiftly, now running on the † Beam, now on the * Yoke, then in the Seat. With this sort of new skirmishing, the *Romans* now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, *Cæsar* with opportune aid appears;

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for then the *Britains* make a stand: But he considering that now was not fit Time to offer Battel, while his Men were scarce recover'd of so late a Fear, only keeps his Ground; and soon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Farther Action for many Days following was hinder'd on both sides by foul Weather; in which time the *Britains* dispatching Messengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what Hope of Prize and Booty, and now if ever of freeing themselves from the Fear of like Invasions hereafter, by making these an Example, if they could but now uncamp their Enemies; at this intimation, multitudes of Horse and Foot coming down from all Parts make towards the *Romans*. *Cæsar* foreseeing that the *Britains*, tho' beaten and put to flight, would easily evade his Foot, yet with no more than 30 Horse, which *Comius* had brought over, draws out his Men to Battle, puts again the *Britains* to flight, pursues with Slaughter; and returning, burns and lays waste all about. Whereupon Ambassadors the same Day being sent from the *Britains* to desire Peace: *Cæsar*, as his Affairs at present stood, for so great a Breach of Faith, only imposes on them double the former Hostages to be sent after him into *Gallia*: And because September was nigh half spent, a Season not fit to tempt the Sea with his Weather-beaten Fleet, the same Night with a fair Wind he departs towards *Belgia*: Whither two only of the *Britain Cities* sent Hostages, as they promis'd; the rest neglected. But at *Rome*, when the news came of *Cæsar's* Acts here, whether it were esteem'd a Conquest, or a fair Escape, Supplication of twenty Days is decreed by the Senate, as either for an Exploit done, or a Discovery made wherein both *Cæsar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little, though it brought no Benefit either to him, or the Common-wealth.

The Winter following, *Cæsar*, as his Custom was, going into *Italy*, when as he saw that most of the *Britains* regarded not to send their Hostages, appoints his Legates whom he left in *Belgia*, to provide what possible Shipping they could either build or repair. Low built they were to be, as thereby easier both to freight, and to hale ashore; nor needed to be higher, because the Tide so often changing, was observ'd to make the Billows less in our Sea than those in the *Mediterranean*: Broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of Horses, and all other Freightage, being intend'd chiefly to that End. These all about 600 in a Readiness, with 28 Ships of Burden, and what with Adventurers, and other Hulks above 200, *Cotta*, one of the Legates wrote them, as *Athenaus* affirms, in all 1000, *Cæsar* from a Port *Iccius*, a Passage of some 30 Mile over, leaving behind him *Labiennus* to guard the Haven, and for other Supply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horse, about Sun set, hoisting Sail with a slack South-West, at Midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the Current, had fallen off from the Isle, which now they could desery on their left hand, by the unwearied Labour of his Soldiers, who refus'd not to tug the Oar, and kept course with Ships under sail, he bore up as near as might be, to the same Place where he had landed the Year before; where about Noon arriving, no Enemy could be seen. For the *Britains*, which in great Numbers, as was after known, had been there, at sight of so

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* *Effedæ*, a sort of open Waggon.

Effedarii.

† *Temo*.
* *Jugum*.

Before the Birth of Christ, 52.

* This is the same with *Gessoriacum*, at this Day *Bolen*; as is prov'd at large by *Mr. Semner* in his *Discourse de Porta Iccio*, publish'd by *Dr. Gibson*, with a Dissertation of *Du Fresnoy* on the same Subject.

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* Towards
Chilham
in Kent.

huge a Fleet durst not abide. *Cæsar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his best Advantage, (some notice being given him by those he took, where to find the Enemy, with his whole Power, save only ten Cohorts, and 300 Horse, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the Guard of his Ships, about the third Watch of the same Night marches up twelve Mile into the Country *. And at length by a River commonly thought the *Stowre* in Kent, espies embattel'd the *British Forces*. They with their Horses and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppose the *Romans* in their March, and begin the Fight; but repuls'd by the *Roman Cavalry*, give back into the Woods, to a Place notably made strong both by Art and Nature; which, it seems, had been a Fort, or Hold of Strength rais'd heretofore in Times of Wars among themselves. For Entrance and Access on all sides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within these *Britains* did their utmost to keep out the Enemy. But the Soldiers of the seventh Legion locking all their Shields together like a Roof close over-head, and others raising a Mount, without much loss of Blood took the Place, and drove them all to forsake the Woods. Pursuit they made not long, as being through Ways unknown; and now Evening came on, which they more wisely spent, in chusing out where to pitch and fortifie their Camp that Night. The next Morning *Cæsar* had but newly sent out his Men in three Bodies to pursue, and the last no further gone than yet in fight, when Horsemen all in post from *Quintus Atrius* bring word to *Cæsar*, that almost all his Ships in a Tempest that Night had suffer'd Wreck, and lay broken upon the Shoar. *Cæsar* at this News recalls his Legions, himself in all haste riding back to the Sea-side, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous Prospect. About forty Vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn, and shaken, as not to be new rigg'd without much Labour. Straight he assembles what Number of Ship-wrights, either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be summon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* side to build more; and with a dreadful Industry of ten Days, not respiting his Soldiers Day or Night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the Circuit of his Camp. This done, and leaving to their Defence the same Strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the same Wood, where he had defeated the *Britains*: Who preventing him with greater Powers than before, had now repossess'd themselves of that Place, under *Cassibelan* their chief Leader: Whose Territory from the States bordering on the Sea, was divided on the River *Thames* about 80 Mile inward. With him formerly other Cities had continual War; but now in the common Danger had all made choice of him to be their General. Here the *British* Horse and Charioteers meeting with the *Roman Cavalry*, fought stoutly; and at first, something over-match'd, they retreat to the near Advantage of their Woods and Hills, but still follow'd by the *Romans*, made head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after some pause, while *Cæsar*, who thought the Day's Work had been done, was busied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give fierce Assault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries; and while the main Cohorts of two Legions, that were sent to the Alarm, stood within a small Distance of each other, terrify'd at the Newness and Boldness of their Fight, charg'd back again through the midst, without Loss of a Man. Of the *Romans* that Day was slain *Quintus Laberius*

Durus, a Tribune: The *Britains* having fought their fill at the very Entrance of *Cæsar's* Camp, and sustain'd the Resistance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the Assault. *Cæsar* here acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming and fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow their cunning Flight, and durst not by ancient Discipline stir from their Ensign; and the Horse alone disjoyn'd from the Legions, against a Foe that turn'd suddenly upon them, with a mixt Encounter both of Horse and Foot, were in equal Danger both following and retiring. Besides their Fashion was, not in great Bodies, and close Order, but in small Divisions, and open Distances to make their Onset; appointing others at certain Spaces, now to relieve and bring off the Weary, now to succeed and renew the Conflict; which argu'd no small Experience, and Use of Arms. Next Day the *Britains* afar off upon the Hills begin to shew themselves here and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the *Roman* Horse. But at Noon *Cæsar* having sent out three Legions, and all his Horse with *Trebonius* the Legate, to seek Fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the Foragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and their Standards. The *Romans* with great Courage beat them back, and in the Chace, being well seconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand or to descend from their Chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this Overthrow, the *Britains* that dwelt farther off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a Power against *Cæsar*. Whereof advertis'd, he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Cassibelan*, which on this side were bounded by the *Thames*, not passable except in one Place, and that difficult, about *Corway-Stakes* near *Oaslunds*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming, he descries on the other side great Forces of the Enemy plac'd in good Array; the Bank set all with sharp Stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with Water; whereof the Marks in *Beda's* time were to be seen, as he relates. This having learnt by such as were taken, or had run to him, he first commands his Horse to pass over, then his Foot, who wading up to the Neck, went on so resolutely and so fast, that they on the further side not enduring the Violence, retreated and fled. *Cassibelan* no more now in hope to contend for Victory, dismissing all but 4000 of those Charioteers, through Woods and intricate Ways attends their Motion, where the *Romans* are to pass, drives all before him; and with continual Sallies upon the Horse, where they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compels them so close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in Prey or Booty without ill Success. Whereupon *Cæsar* strictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houses, which he spoil'd and burnt. Mean while the * *Trinobantes*, a State or Kingdom, and perhaps the greatest then among the *Britains*, less favouring *Cassibelan*, sent Ambassadors, and yield to *Cæsar* upon this Reason. *Immanuentius* had been their King: Him *Cassibelan* had slain, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Orosius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda*, *Androgius*; but the Youth escaping by Flight into *Gallia*, put himself under the Protection of *Cæsar*. These entreat that *Mandubratius* may be still defended, and sent home to succeed in his Father's Right. *Cæsar* sends him, demands forty Hostages and Provision for his Army,

3898.

Caradben.

* They were the Ancient Inhabitants of Essex and Middlesex.

3898. Army, which they immediately bring in, and have their Confines protected from the Soldier. By their Example the ^a *Cenimagni*, ^b *Segontiaci*, ^c *Ancalites*, ^d *Bibroci*, ^e *Cassi* (so I write them, for the Modern Names are but guess'd) on like Terms make their Peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Cassibelan*, suppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not far distant; fenc'd about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff'd with Men and much Cattle. For Towns then in *Britain* were only woody Places ditch'd round, and with a mud Wall encompass'd against the Inroads of Enemies. Thither goes *Caesar* with his Legions; and though a Place of great Strength both by Art and Nature, assaults it in two Places. The *Britains* after some Defence, fled out all at another End of the Town; in the Flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattle found there. *Cassibelan*, for all these Losses, yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his Authority so much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner possess'd by the Enemy, his Messengers and Commands find Obedience enough to raise all the People. By his Direction *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, four ^f *Kings* reigning in those Countries which lie upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherein the *Romans* had entrench'd their Shipping: But they whom *Caesar* left there, issuing out, slew many, and took Prisoners *Cingetorix* a noted Leader, without Loss of their own. *Cassibelan* after so many Defeats, mov'd especially by Revolt of the Cities from him, their Inconstancy and Falshood one to another, uses Mediation by *Comius* of *Arras* to send Ambassadors about Treaty of Yielding. *Caesar*, who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reason that *Gallia* was unsettl'd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hostages, and what yearly Tribute the Island should pay to Rome, forbids him to molest the *Trinovantes*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hostages, and great Number of Captives he puts to Sea, having at twice embark'd his whole Army.

Pliny. At his return to Rome, as from a glorious Enterprize, he offers to Venus the Patroness of his Family, a Corslet of British Pearls. Howbeit, other ancient Writers have spoken more doubtfully of *Caesar's* Victories here; and that in plain Terms he fled from hence; for which the common Verse in *Lucan*, with divers Passages here and there in *Tacitus* is alledg'd. *Paulus Orosius*, who took what he wrote from a History of *Suetonius*, now lost, writes, that *Caesar* in his first Journey, entertain'd with a sharp Fight, lost no small number of his Foot, and by Tempest nigh all his Horse. *Dion* affirms, that once in the second Expedition all his Foot were routed; *Orosius* that another time all his Horse. The British Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial Discourses of *Caesar's* being here, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of *Cassibelan* than what the same Story tells, how he warr'd soon after with *Androgeus*, about his Nephew slain by *Evelinus*, Nephew to the other; which Business at length compos'd, *Cassibelan* dies and was buried in *York*, if the *Monmouth* Book fable not. But at *Caesar's* coming hither, such likeliest were the *Britains*, as the Writers of those Times and their own Actions represent them, in Courage and warlike Rea-

3898. dinefs to take Advantage by Ambush or sudden Onset, not inferiour to the *Romans*, nor *Cassibelan* to *Caesar*, in Weapons, Arms, and the Skill of Encamping. Embatteling, Fortifying overmatch'd; their Weapons were a short Spear and light Target, a Sword also by their side; their Fight sometimes in Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, their Bodies most part naked, only painted with Woad in sundry Figures, to seem terrible as they thought, but pursu'd by Enemies, not nice of their painting to run into Bogs, worse than *wild Irish*, up to the Neck, and there to stay many Days, holding a certain Morfel in their Mouths no bigger than a Bean, to suffice Hunger; but that Receipt, and the Temperance it taught, is long since unknown among us: Their Towns and strong Holds were Spaces of Ground fenc'd about with a Ditch, and great Trees fel'd overthwart each other; their Buildings within were thatch'd Houses for themselves and their Cattle. In Peace, the upland Inhabitants, besides hunting, tended their Flocks and Herds, but with little Skill of Country Affairs; the making of Cheese they commonly knew not; Wool or Flax they spun not; Gardening and Planting many of them knew not; Cloathing they had none, but what the Skins of Beasts afforded them, and that not always; yet Gallantry they had, painting their own Skins with several Portraitsures of Beast, Bird or Flower, *A Vanity which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the Skin to the Skirt, being now with as many colour'd Ribbons and Gewgaws*: Toward the Sea-side they till'd the Ground, and liv'd much after the manner of the *Gauls* their Neighbours, or first Planters: Their Money was brazen Pieces or Iron Rings, their best Merchandize Tin, the rest Trifles of Glass, Ivory, and such like; yet Gems and Pearls they had, *saith Mela, in some Rivers*. Their Ships of light Timber wickered with Osier between, and cover'd over with Leather, serv'd not therefore to transport them far, and their Commodities were fetch'd away by foreign Merchants: Their Dealing, *saith Diodorus*, plain and simple without Fraud; their Civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easie Conquest to the *Romans*: Their Religion was govern'd by a sort of Priests or Magicians call'd *Druides* from the Greek Name of an Oak, which Tree they had in great Reverence, and the *Mistletoe* especially growing thereon: *Pliny* writes them skill'd in Magick no less than those of *Persia*: By their abstaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fish also, *saith Dion*, and their Opinion of the Soul's passing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have studied *Pythagoras*; yet Philosophers I cannot call them, reported Men factious and ambitious, contending sometimes about the Arch-priesthood, not without Civil War and Slaughter; nor restrain'd they the People under them from a lewd, adulterous and incestuous Life, ten or twelve Men absurdly against Nature, possessing one Woman as their common Wife, though of nearest Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Sister; Progenitors not to be glory'd in. But the Gospel, not long after preach'd here, abolish'd such Impurities, and of the *Romans* we

^a Though to be the same with the *Iceni*.

^c About *Henly* in *Berks*.

^d About *Bray* in *Berks*. *Bibraete* in *France* is now contracted into *Bray*. *Cambd. Brit. Tit. Berkshire*.

^e The Hundred of *Caslow* in *Hertfordshire*.

^f Mr. *Cambden* writes that they were Governors of *Kent*.

^b On the North-side of *Hampshire*, about *Alton* and *Basingstoke*.

3918. we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beat us into some Civility; likely else to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and savage manner of Life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before his Death tyrannously had made himself Emperor of the *Roman* Commonwealth, and was slain in the Senate for so doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, *Octavianus Caesar Augustus*, either contemning the Island, as *Strabo* would have us think, whose neither Benefit was worth the having, nor Enmity worth the fearing; or out of a wholesome State-Maxim, as some say, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vast and unweildy, made no attempt against the *Britains*: But the truer Cause was partly civil War among the *Romans*, partly other Affairs more urging. For about twenty Years after, all which time the *Britains* had liv'd at their own dispose, *Augustus* in Imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending, or seeming to intend an Expedition hither, was come into *Gallia*, when the News of a Revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him: About seven Years after in the same Resolution, what with the Unsettledness of *Gallia*, and what with Embassadors from *Britain*, which met him there, he proceeded not. The next Year, Difference arising about Covenants, he was again prevented by other new Commotions in *Spain*. Nevertheless some of the *British* Potentates omitted not to seek his Friendship by Gifts offer'd in the Capital, and other obsequious Addresses; insomuch that the whole Island became even in those Days well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the Knowledge of us, were so like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britains* paid none to *Augustus*, except what easie Customs were levy'd on the slight Commodities where-with they traded into *Gallia*. After *Cassibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth* Story was made King. For *Androgeus* the Elder, conceiving himself generally hated, for siding with the *Romans*, forsook his Claim here, and follow'd *Cæsar's* Fortune. This King is recorded Just and Warlike. His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the Court of *Augustus*, and with him held friendly Correspondencies to the end; was a warlike Prince; his chief Seat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon**, as by certain of his Coins yet to be seen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering always to the advice of *Augustus*, and of himself, less caring to extend the Bounds of his Empire, fought not the *Britains*; and they as little to incite him, sent home courtously the Soldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had been cast on the *Britain* Shore. But *Caligula* his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, having past the *Alps* with intent to rob and spoil those Provinces, and stir'd up by *Adrianus* the Son of *Cunobeline*, who by his Father banish'd, with a small number fled thither to him, made Semblance of marching toward *Britain*; but being come to the Ocean, and there behaving himself madly and ridiculously, went back the same way; yet sent before him boasting Letters to the Senate, as if all *Britain* had been yielded to him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adrianus* the Eldest by his Father banish'd from his Country, and by his own Practice against it, from the Crown, though by an old Coin seeming to have also reign'd; *Tegodumnus*, and *Cara-*

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Acus the two younger, uncertain whether equal A.D. 40 or subordinate in Power, were advanc'd into his Place. But through civil Discord, *Benus* (what *Dion.* he was further is not known) with others of his Party flying to *Rome*, perswaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an Invasion. *Claudius* now Consul A.D. 42 the third time, and desirous to do something, whence he might gain the Honour of a Triumph, at the Perswasion of these Fugitives, whom the *Britains* demanding, he had deny'd to render, and they for that Cause had deny'd further Amity with *Rome*, make choice of this Island for his Province: And sends before him *Plautius* the *Praetor*, with this Command, if the Business grew difficult to give him notice. *Plautius* with much ado perswaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they must be put to make War beyond the World's End; for so they counted *Britain*; and what welcome *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevail'd with, and hoisting Sail from three several Ports, lest their landing should in any one Place be resisted, meeting cross Winds, they were cast back and disheer'd: Till in the Night a Meteor shooting Flames from the East, and, as they say'd, directing their Course, they took Heart again to try the Sea, and without Opposition landed. For the *Britains* having heard of their Unwillingness to come, had been negligent to provide against them; and retiring to the Woods and Moors, intended to frustrate, and wear them out with delays, as they had serv'd *Cæsar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with *Caractacus*, then with *Tegodumnus*, overthrew them; and receiving into Conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were subject to the *Catuellani*, and leaving there a Garrison, went on toward a River; where the *Britains* not imagining that *Plautius* without a Bridge could pass, lay on the further side careless and secure. But he sending first the *Germans*, whose Customs was, arm'd as they were, to swim with ease the strongest Current, commands them to strike, especially at the Horses, whereby the Chariots, wherein consisted their chief Art of Fight, became unserviceable. To second them, he sent *Vespasian*, who in his latter Days obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much Execution. Yet not for this were the *Britains* dismay'd; but re-uniting the next Day fought with such a Courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victory: Till *Caius Silius Geta*, at point to have been taken, recover'd himself so valiantly, as brought the Day on his side; for which at *Rome* he receiv'd high Honours. After this the *Britains* drew back toward the Mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with those Places, cross'd over, where the *Romans* following them through Bogs and dangerous Flats, hazarded the Loss of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a Bridge at some place above, fell on them again with sundry Alarms and great Slaughter; but in the heat of Pursuit running themselves again into Bogs and Mires, lost as many of their own. Upon which ill Success, and seeing the *Britains* more enrag'd at the Death of *Tegodumnus*, who in one of these Battles had been slain: *Plautius* fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, sends

* Coin first stamp'd in *Britain* in this King's Reign, in which Time our Saviour *Jesus Christ* was born; and if we may believe *Baronius*, was preach'd here by *Joseph of Arimathea* three Years after his Crucifixion: Which according to *William of Malmshury*, in his *Antiquities* of the Church of *Glastenbury*, was in the 63^d Year after *Christ's* Passion. This Legend is exploded by *Arch-Bishop Usher* in his *Antiquities* of the *British* Churches, and *Bishop Stillingfleet* in his *Origines Britannicae*.

A.D. 43. sends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge Preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the Flower of all his *Romans*, like a great Eastern King with arm'd Elephants, marches through *Gallia*. So full of peril was this Enterprize esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger Terrors than *Roman Armies* to meet the native and the naked *British Valour* defending their Country. Join'd with *Plautius*, who encamping on the Bank of *Thames*, attended him, he passes the River. The *Britains*, who had the Courage, but not the wise Conduct of old *Cassibelan*, laying all Stratagem aside, in downright Manhood scrupled not to affront in open Field almost the whole Power of the *Roman Empire*. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by Force, others by Treaty come in and yield. *Claudius* therefore, who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was often by his Army saluted *Imperator*; a Military Title, which usually they gave their General after any notable Exploit; but to others not above once in the same War; as if *Claudius* by these Acts had deserv'd more than the Laws of *Rome* had provided Honour to reward. Having therefore disarm'd the *Britains*, but remitted the Confiscation of their Goods, for which they worshipp'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God; leaving *Plautius* to subdue what remain'd, he returns to *Rome*, from whence he had been absent only six Months, and in *Britain* but sixteen Days; sending the News before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the Island. To whom the Senate, as for Achievements of highest Merit, decreed excessive Honours; *Arches*, *Triumphs*, *Annual Solemnities*, and the Sirname of *Britannicus* both to him and his Son. *Suetonius* writes, that *Claudius* found here no Resistance, and that all was done without Stroke: But this seems not probable. The *Monmouth Writer* names these two Sons of *Cunobeline*, *Guiderius* and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* being slain in fight, *Arviragus* to conceal it put on his Brother's Habillements, and in his Person held up the Battel to a Victory; the rest, as of *Hamo* the *Roman Captain*, *Genuissa* the Emperor's Daughter and suchlike stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his fresh Forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found work enough to deserve at his return a kind of Triumphant Riding into the *Capitol*, side by side with the Emperor. *Vespasian*^a also under *Plautius* had thirty Conflicts with the Enemy; in one of which encompass'd, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescu'd by his Son *Titus*: Two powerful Nations he subdu'd here, above twenty Towns and the *Isle of Wight*, for which he received at *Rome* Triumphal Ornaments, and other great Dignities. For that City in reward of Virtue, was ever magnificent; and long after, when true Merit was ceas'd among them, lest any thing resembling Virtue should want Honour, the same Rewards were yet allow'd to the very Shadow and Ostentation of Merit. *Ostorius* in the room of *Plautius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent Affairs; the *Britains* not ceasing to vex with Inrodes all those Countries that were yielded to the

Romans; and now the more eagerly, supposing A.D. 50. that the new General acquainted with his Army, and on the edge of Winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he weighing that first Events were most available to breed Fear or Contempt, with such Cohorts as were next at hand, sets out against them: Whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be every Day molested with the Cavils of a slight Peace, or an embolden'd Enemy. Lest they should make head again, he disarms whom he suspects; and to surround them, *places many Garrisons upon the Rivers of ^b *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the ^c *Icenians*, a stout People, untouch'd yet by these Wars, as having before sought Alliance with the *Romans*, were the first that brook'd not this. By their Example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenc'd with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horse, warily encamp. *Ostorius*, though yet not strengthen'd with his Legions, causes the Auxiliar Bands, his Troops also alighting, to assault the Rampart. They within, tho' pester'd with their own number, stood to it like Men resolv'd, and in a narrow Compass did remarkable Deeds. But over-power'd at last, and others by their Success quieted, who till then wavered, *Ostorius* next bends his Force upon the ^d *Cangians*, wasting all even to the Sea of *Ireland*, without Foe in his way, or them who durst ill handl'd: When the ^e *Brigantes* attempting new Matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punish'd, the rest forgiven, soon gave over; but the *Silures*, no way tractable, were not to be repress'd without a set War. To further this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Soldiers* to be a firm and ready Aid against Revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman Law and Civility*. *Cogidunus*, also a *British King*, their fast Friend, had to the same intent certain Cities given him: A haughty Craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings also the servile Agents of enslaving others. But the *Silures*, hardy of themselves, rely'd more on the Valour of *Caractacus*, whom many doubtful, many prosperous Successes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britain*. He adding to his Courage Policy, and knowing himself to be of Strength inferiour, in other Advantages the better, makes the Seat of his War among the ^f *Ordovices*, a Country wherein all the Odds were to his own Party, all the Difficulties to his Enemy. The Hills and every Access he fortify'd with Heaps of Stones, and Guards of Men; to come at whom a River of unsafe Passage must be first waded. The Place, as *Cambden* conjectures, had thence the Name of ^h *Caer-Caradoc*, on the West Edge of *Shropshire*. He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, that This was the Day, This the Field, either to defend their Liberty, or to die free; calling to mind the Names of his glorious Ancestors, who drove *Cæsar* the Dictator out of *Britain*, whose Valour hitherto had preserv'd them from Bondage, their Wives and Children from Dishonour. Inflam'd with these Words, they all vow their utmost, with such undaunted Resolution as amaz'd the *Roman General*;

* See *Cambden's Britannia*, Eng. edit. p. 432, &c. 440.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. c. 32.

Tacit. Vit. Agric.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. c. 33.

^a Afterwards Emperor.

^b *Severn* and *Avon*.

^c The *Iceni* inhabited the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington*.

^d The Annotator on the Preface to the late Edition of *Cambden's Britannia* is of Opinion, that *Somersetshire* and *North Wiltshire* were the Country of the *Cangi*. 'Tis not well known who they were, but probably they inhabited *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*, bordering on the

^e *Brigantes*, suppos'd to have been the Inhabitants of *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, and the other Northern Counties.

^f They inhabited what we now call *South-Wales*.

^g The *Ordovices* possess'd the Counties, which now make *North-Wales*.

^h *Caradoc* in the *British* Tongue, is suppos'd to be the same with *Caractacus* in the *Latin*.

A.D. 50. General; but the Soldier less weighing, because less knowing, clamour'd to be led on against any Danger. *Ostorius*, after wary Circumspection, bids them pass the River: The *Britains* no sooner had them within reach of their Arrows, Darts and Stones, but slew and wounded largely of the *Romans*. They on the other Side closing their Ranks, and over Head closing their Targets, threw down the loose Rampiers of the *Britains*, and pursue them up the Hills, both light arm'd, and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavy Strokes, the *Britains* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victory; wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Charactacus* were taken, his Brothers also reduc'd to Obedience; himself escaping to *Cratimandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, against Faith given, was to the Victors deliver'd bound: Having held out against the *Romans* nine Years, saith *Tacitus*; but by truer Computation ^b seven. Whereby his Name was up through all the adjoining Provinces, even to *Italy* and *Rome*: Many desiring to see who he was that could withstand so many Years the *Romans* Puissance: And *Cæsar*, to extol his own Victory, extoll'd the Man whom he had vanquish'd. Being brought to *Rome*, the People, as to a solemn Spectacle, were call'd together, the Emperor's Guard stood in Arms. In order came first the King's Servants, bearing his Trophies, won in other Wars; next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter; last, himself. The Behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate: He only, neither in Countenance, Word or Action submissive, standing at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, briefly spake to this Purpose: *If my Mind, Cæsar, had been as moderate in the height of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was eminent, I might have come a Friend rather than a Captive into this City. Nor could I have disliked him for a Confederate, so Noble of Deeds, and so many Nations. My present Estate, to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious; I had Riches, Horses, Arms, and Men; no wonder then if I contended, not to lose them. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessity ours among the rest must be Subjection. If I sooner had been brought to yield, my Misfortune had been less notorious, your Conquest had been less renown'd, and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgotten. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that Praise which is so near divine, the Clemency of a Conqueror.* *Cæsar* mov'd at such a Spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him Pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissively thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperor's Wife, who sat by in State: A new and disdain'd Sight to the Manly Eyes of *Romans*; a Woman sitting publick in her Female Pride among Ensigns and armed Cohorts. To *Ostorius*, Triumph is decreed; and his Acts esteem'd equal to theirs that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famous Kings. But the same Prosperity attended not his latter Actions here: For the *Silures*, whether to revenge their loss of *Charactacus*, or that they saw *Ostorius*, as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain them, beset the Præfect of his Camp, left there with Legionary Bands to appoint Garrisons: And had not speedy Aid come in from the neighbouring Holds and Castles, had cut them all off; notwithstanding which, the Præfect with eight Centurions, and many their stoutest Men were slain: And upon the Neck of this, meeting first with *Roman* Foragers, then with other Troops halting to their Relief, utterly foil'd and broke them also. *Ostorius* sending more after, could hardly stay their flight; till the weighty Legions coming on, at first pois'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale, to the *Britains* without much loss, for by that Time it grew Night. Then was the War shiver'd as it were into small Frays and Bickerings, not unlike sometimes to so many Robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as Chance or Valour, Advice or Ratiocination led them on, commanded or without Command. That which most exasperated the *Silures*, was a Report of certain Words cast out by the Emperor, *That he would root them out to the very Name*. Therefore two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the Avarice of their Leaders too securely Pillaging, they quite intercepted: And bestowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, whereof they took plenty, drew other Countries to join with them. These Losses falling so thick upon the *Romans*, *Ostorius* with the Thought and Anguish thereof ended his Days: The *Britains* rejoicing, although no Battel, that yet adverse War had worn out so great a Soldier. *Cæsar* in his Place ordains *Aulus Didius*: But ere his coming, tho' much hasten'd, that the Province might not want a Governor; the *Silures* had given an Overthrow to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumour'd on both sides greater than was true; by the *Silures* to amate the new General; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he quell'd them, or the more excuse if he fail'd. Mean time, the *Silures* forget not to infest the *Roman* Pale with wide Excursions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after *Charactacus* should lead them, for next to him, in Worth and Skill of War, *Venutius* a Prince of the *Brigantes* merited to be their Chief. He at first faithful to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Husband of *Cratimandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betray'd *Charactacus* and her Country to adorn the Triumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the *Romans*, presuming on the Hire of her Treason, deserted her Husband; and marrying *Vellocatus*, one of his Squires, confers on him the Kingdom also. This Deed, so odious and full of Infamy, disturb'd the whole State: *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who detested the Example of so foul a Fact, and with a the Uncomeliness of their Subjection to the Monarchy of a Woman, a piece of Manhood not every Day to be found among *Britains*, though she had got by subtle train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her Hands, brought her soon below the confidence of being able to resist longer. When imploring the *Roman* Aid, with much ado, and after many a hard Encounter, she escap'd the Punishment which was ready to have seiz'd her. *Venutius* thus debarr'd the Authority of ruling his own Household, justly turns his Anger against the *Romans* themselves; whose Magnanimity, not wont to undertake dishonourable Causes, had arrogantly intermeddled in his domestick Affairs, to uphold the Rebellion of an Adultress against her Husband.

And

^a *Charactacus* King of the *Silures* was routed by the *Romans* near *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*; Mr. *Camden* says this Battel was fought Anno 53. *Camb. Tit. Shrop.*
^b *Tacitus* in his *Annals*, lib. 12. cap. 36. writes, 'twas in the seventh Year after this War began, that *Charactacus* was taken.

A.D. 54. And the Kingdom he retain'd against their utmost Opposition; and of War gave them their fill: First in a sharp Conflict of uncertain Event, then against the Legion of *Cæsius Nasica*. Infomuch that *Didius* growing old, and managing the War by Deputies, had work enough to stand on his Defence, with the gaining now and then of a small Castle. And *Nero* (for in that part of the Isle Things continu'd in the same plight to the Reign of *Vespasian*) was minded but for shame to have withdrawn the Roman Forces out of Britain: In other Parts whereof, about the same time, other Things befel. *Verannius*, whom *Nero* sent hither to succeed *Didius*, dying in his first Year, saw a few Inrodes upon the *Silures*, left only a great Boast behind him, *That in two Years, had he liv'd, he would have Conquer'd all*. But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next was sent hither, esteem'd a Soldier equal to the best in that Age, for two Years together went on prosperously; both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At last, over-confident of his present Actions, and emulating others, of whose Deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as *Mona*, the Isle of *Anglesey*, a populous Place. For they, it seems, had both entertain'd Fugitives, and given good Assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him Boats with flat Bottoms, fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that narrow Frith: His Foot so pass'd over, his Horse waded or swam. Thick upon shoar stood several gross Bands of Men well weapon'd, many Women like Furies running to and fro in dismal Habit, with Hair loose about their Shoulders, held Torches in their Hands. The *Druids*, those were their Priests, of whom more in another Place, with Hands lifted up to Heaven, uttering direful Prayers, astonish'd the Romans; who, at so strange a Sight stood in amaze, tho' wounded: At length awak'd, and encourag'd by their General, not to fear a barbarous and unadvised Rout, fall on, and beat them down scorch'd and rousing in their own Fire. Then were they yok'd with Garrisons, and the Places consecrate to their Bloody Superstitions destroy'd. For whom they took in War they held it lawful to Sacrifice; and by the Entrails of Men us'd Divination. While thus *Paulinus* had his Thought still fix'd before, to go on winning, his Back lay broad open to occasion of losing more behind. For the Britains urg'd and oppress'd with many unsufferable Injuries, had all banded themselves to a general Revolt. The particular Causes are not all written by one Author; *Tacitus*, who liv'd next those times of any to us extant, writes, that *Prasutagus King of the Icenians*, abounding in Wealth, had left *Cæsar* Coheir with his two Daughters; thereby hoping to have secur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his House; which fell out far otherwise. For under colour to Oversee and take Possession of the Emperor's new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a Prey to Centurions, his House to ravening Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with Stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthiest of his Subjects, as it were by the Will and Testament of their King, thrown out of their Estates, his Kindred made little better than Slaves. The new Colony also at *Camalodunum* took House or Land from whom they pleas'd, terming them Slaves and Vassals; the Soldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same Licence themselves. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius*, as a Badge of their eternal Slavery, stood a great Eye-sore; the Priests whereof under pretext of what was due to the Religious Service, wasted and imbezzled each Man's Substance upon themselves.

And *Catus Decianus*, the Procurator, endeavour'd to bring all their Goods under the compass of a new Confiscation, by disavowing the Remitment of *Claudius*. Lastly, *Seneca*, in his Books, a Philosopher, having drawn the Britains unwillingly to borrow of him vast Sums upon fair Promises of easie Loan, and for Repayment to take their own time, on a sudden compels them to pay in all at once with great Extortion. Thus provoked by heaviest Sufferings, and thus invited by Opportunities in the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many else as hated Servitude, rise up in Arms. Of these ensuing Troubles many foregoing Signs appear'd: The Image of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down of it self, with her Face turn'd as it were to the Britains; certain Women, in a kind of Extasie, foretold of Calamities to come; in the Counsel-house were heard by Night barbarous Noises; in the Theatre hideous Howlings; in the Creek horrid Sights, betokening the Destruction of that Colony; hereto the Ocean seeming of a bloody Hew, and humane Shapes, at a low Ebb left imprinted on the Sand, wrought in the Britains new Courage, in the Romans unwonted Fears. *Camalodunum*, where the Romans had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather than defensively, was not fortify'd: Against that therefore the Britains make first Assault. The Soldiers within were not very many. *Decianus* the Procurator could send them but two hundred, those ill Arm'd: And through the Treachery of some among them, who secretly favour'd the Insurrection, they had deferr'd both to entrench and to send out such as bore not Arms; such as did, flying to the Temple, which on the second Day was forcibly taken, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a Heap, the rest killed and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his Succour, is in his way met, and Overthrown, his whole Legion cut to Pieces; he with his Horse hardly escaping to the Roman Camp. *Decianus*, whose Rapine was the Cause of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at these Tidings not dismay'd, through the midst of his Enemy's Country, marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of Roman Inhabitants, and for the frequency of Trade and other Commodities, a Town even then of principal Note) with purpose to have made there the Seat of War. But considering the smallness of his Numbers, and the late rashness of *Petilius*, he chooses rather with the Loss of one Town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any Prayers or Weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but taking with him such as were willing, gave Signal to depart; they, who through weakness of Sex or Age, or love of the Place, went not along, perish'd by the Enemy; so did *Verulam*, a Roman free Town. For the Britains omitting Forts and Castles, flew thither first where richest Booty, and the hope of Pillaging toald them on. In this Massacree, about seventy thousand Romans, and their Associates, in the Places above-mention'd, of a certain, lost their Lives. None might be spar'd, none ransom'd, but tasted all either a present or a lingering Death; no Cruelty that either Outrage, or the Insolence of Success put into their Heads, was left unacted. The Romans Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had their Breasts cut off, and low'd to their Mouths; that in the grinnings of Death they might seem to eat their own Flesh; while the Britains fell to Feasting and Carousing in the Temple of *Andate* their Goddess of Victory. *Suetonius* adding to his Legion * other old Officers and Soldiers thereabout, which gather'd to him, were near upon ten thousand; and pur-

A.D. 63. posing with those not to defer Battel, had chosen a Place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his Rear a Wood; being well inform'd, that his Enemies were all in Front on a Plain unapt for Ambush: The Legionaries stood thick in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The *Britains* in Companies and Squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckon'd than two hundred and thirty thousand, so fierce and confident of Victory, that their Wives also came in Waggon to sit and behold the Sport, as they made full account, of killing *Romans*: A Folly doubtless for the serious *Romans* to smile at, as a sure Token of Prospering that Day: A Woman also was their Commander in Chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions, as a great Encouragement, that with the *Britains* it was usual for Women to be their Leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her Mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handled, things worthier Silence, Retirement, and a Veil, than for a Woman to repeat, as done to her own Person, or to hear repeated before an Host of Men. The *Greek Historian* sets her in the Field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-body'd Gown declaiming, a Spear in her Hand, a Hare in her Bosom, which after a long Circumlocution she was to let slip among them for Luck's sake; then praying to *Andate, the British Goddess*, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a Vanity, hoping to embellish and set out their History with the strangeness of our Manners; not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in *Britain* Women were Men, and Men Women. I affect not set Speeches in a History, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they were written; nor then, unless worth Rehearsal: And to invent such, though eloquently, as some Historians have done, is an abuse of Posterity, railing, in them that read, other Conceptions of those Times and Persons than were true. Much less therefore do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy out tedious Orations without *Decorum*, though in their Authors compos'd ready to my Hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Cassibelan*, *Togadumnus*, *Venusius*, and *Charactacus*, hath been full of Magnanimity, Soberness, and Martial Skill: But the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole Business, the *Britains* never more plainly manifested themselves to be right *Barbarians*; no Rule, no Forefight, no Forecast, Experience or Estimation, either of themselves, or of their Enemies; such Confusion, such Impotence, as seem'd likest not to a War, but to the wild Hurry of a distracted Woman, with as mad a Crew at her Heels. Therefore *Suetonius* contemning their unruly Noises, and fierce Looks, heartens his Men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless Rabble that stood nearest, the rest would be a Purchase rather than a Toil. And so it fell out; For the Legion, when they saw their time, bursting out like a violent Wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what oppos'd them; all else held only out their Necks to the Slayer, for their own Carts and Waggon were so plac'd by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The *Romans* slew all; Men, Women, and the very drawing Horses lay heap'd along the Field, in a gory mixture of Slaughter. About four-

score thousand *Britains* are said to have been slain on the Place; of the Enemy scarce four hundred, and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* payson'd her self, or, as others say, sicken'd and dy'd. ^{69.} She was of Stature big and tall, of visage grim and stern, harsh of Voice, her Hair of bright Colour, flowing down to her Hips; she wore a plaited Garment of divers Colours, with a great Golden Chain, button'd over all a thick Robe. *Gildas* calls her the crafty Lizards, and leaves an ill Fame upon her Doings. *Dion* sets down otherwise the Order of this Fight, and that the Field was not won without much difficulty, nor without intention of the *Britains* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boadicea* come between. Howbeit *Suetonius*, to preserve Discipline, and to dispatch the Relicks of War, lodg'd with all his Army in the open Field; which was supply'd out of Germany with a thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot; thence dispers'd to Winter, and with Incursions to waste those Countries that stood out. But to the *Britains* Famine was a worse Affliction; having left off during this Uproar, to till the Ground, and made reckoning to serve themselves on the Provisions of their Enemy. Nevertheless those Nations, that were yet untam'd, hearing of some discord risen between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Classicianus*, were brought but slowly to terms of Peace; and the rigour us'd by *Suetonius* on them that yielded, taught them the better course to stand on their Defence. For it is certain, that *Suetonius*, though else a worthy Man, over-proud of his Victory, gave too much way to his Anger against the *Britains*. *Classician* therefore sending such word to Rome, that these severe Proceedings would beget an endless War; *Polycletus*, ^{70.} no Roman, but a Courtier, was sent by *Nero* to examine how Things went. He admonishing *Suetonius* to use more Mildness, aw'd the Army, and to the *Britains* gave matter of Laughter. Who so much even till then were ~~used up in their Native Liberty~~, as to wonder that so great a General with his whole Army should be at the rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a while after having lost a few Gallies on the Shoar, was bid resign his Command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britains*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of Peace to what indeed was his love of Ease and Sloth. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his Steps, usurping the Name of gentle Government to any Remissness or neglect of Discipline; which brought in first Licence, next Disobedience into his Camp; incens'd against him, partly for his Covetousness, partly by the Incitement of *Roscus Calius* Legate of a Legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that Civil War began in the Empire, he fell to open Discord; charging him with Disorder and Sedition, and him *Calius* with peeling and defrauding the Legions of their Pay; insomuch that *Trebellius* hated and deserted of the Soldiers, was content a while to govern by a base Entreaty, and forc'd at length to fly the Land. Which notwithstanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Calius*, and the other Legate of a Legion, both faithful to *Vitellius* then Emperor; who sent hither *Vespius Bolanus*; under whose Lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the *Britains* nothing was done, nor in their own Discipline reform'd. *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Vespasian* succeeding, had to do with

⁶⁹ A full Account of this War may be found in *Tacit. Ann. lib. 14. cap. 31 to 39.* and in his *Vit. Agr. cap. 16.*
⁷⁰ *Nero's* Freed Man.

A.D. 74. with the populous *Brigantines* in many Battels, and some of those, not unbloody. For as we heard before, it was *Venusius* who even to these times held them tack, both himself remaining to the End unvanquish'd, and some Part of his Country not so much as reach'd. It appears also by several Passages in the Histories of *Tacitus*, that no small Number of *British Forces* were commanded over Sea the Year before to serve in those bloody Wars between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* contending for the Empire. To *Cerealis* succeeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*, who by taming the *Silures*, a People warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his Reputation. But *Julius Agricola*,^a whom *Vespasian* in his last Year sent hither, train'd up from his Youth in the *British Wars*, extended with Victories the *Roman Limit* beyond all his Predecessors. His coming was in the midst of Summer; and the *Ordovices* to welcome the new General, had hewn in Pieces a whole Squadron of Horse, which lay upon their Bounds, few escaping. *Agricola*, who perceiv'd that the Noise of this Defeat had also in the Province desirous of Novelty, stirr'd up new Expectations, resolves to be before-hand with the Danger: And drawing together the Choice of his Legions with a competent Number of Auxiliars, not being met by the *Ordovices*, who kept the Hills, himself in the Head of his Men hunts them up and down through difficult Places, almost to the final extirpating of that whole Nation. With the same Current of Success, what *Paulinus* had left unfinish'd he conquers in the *Ile of Mona*: For the Islanders altogether fearless of his Approach, whom they knew to have no Shipping, when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by the Auxiliars, whose Country Use had taught them to swim over with Horse and Arms, were compell'd to yield. This gain'd *Agricola* much Opinion; who at his very Entrance, a time which others bestow'd of course in hearing Compliments and Gratulations, had made such early Progress into laborious and hardest Enterprises. But by far not so famous was *Agricola* in bringing War to a speedy end, as in cutting off the Causes from whence War arises. For he knowing that the end of War was not to make Way for Injuries in Peace, began Reformation from his own House; permitted not his Attendants and Followers to sway, or have to do at all in Publick Affairs: Lays on with Equality the Proportions of Corn and Tribute that were impos'd; takes off Exactions and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier than the Tribute it self. For the Countries had been compell'd before, to sit and wait the opening of publick Granaries, and both to sell and buy their Corn at what rate the *Publicans* thought fit; the *Purveyers* also commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the nearest, but still to the remotest Places, either by the compounding of such as would be excus'd, or by causing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular Gain. These Grievances and the like, he in the time of Peace removing, brought Peace into some Credit; which before, since the *Romans* coming, had as ill a Name as War. The Summer following *Titus* then *Emperor*, he so continually with Inroads disquieted the Enemy over all the *Ile*, and after Terror so allur'd them with his gentle Demeanour, that many Cities which till that time would not bend, gave Hostages, admitted Garrisons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he spent all in worthy Actions; teaching

and promoting like a publick Father, the Institutions and Customs of civil Life. The Inhabitants rude and scatter'd, and by that the proner to War, he so perswaded as to build Houses, Temples, and Seats of Justice; and by praising the forward, quick'ning the slow, assisting all, turn'd the Name of Necessity into an Emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in Liberal Arts; and by preferring the Wits of *Britain*, before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latin Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman Fashions* imitated, and the Gown; after a while the Incitements also and Materials of Vice and voluptuous Life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the Elegance of Banqueting; which the foolisher sort call'd Civility, but was indeed a secret Art to prepare them for Bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and with a prosperous Expedition wasted as far Northward as the Frith of *Taus* all that obey'd not; with such a Terror, as he went, that the *Roman Army*, though much hinder'd by tempestuous Weather, had the leisure to build Forts and Castles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppose them. Besides, *Agricola* had this Excellence in him, so providently to chuse his Places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No Sconce, or Fortrefs of his raising was ever known either to have been forc'd, or yielded up, or quitted. Out of these impregnable by Siege, or in that Case duely reliev'd, with continual Irruptions he so prevail'd, that the Enemy, whose manner was in Winter to regain what in Summer he had lost, was now alike in both Seasons kept short, and straiten'd. For these Exploits then esteem'd so great and honourable, *Titus* in whose Reign they were achiev'd, was the fifteenth time saluted *Imperator*; and of him *Agricola* receiv'd Triumphal Honours. The fourth Summer, *Domitian* then ruling the Empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the Year before he had travail'd over with a running Conquest: And had the Valour of his Soldiers been answerable, he had reach'd that Year, as was thought, the utmost Bounds of *Britain*. For *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinborough*; two opposite Arms of the Sea, divided only by a Neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this Side, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemy driven as it were into another Island. In his fifth Year he pass'd over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably guess, and other *Scotch Isles*; discovering and subduing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of *Britain* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming also to conquer that Island; where one of the *Irish Kings* driven out by Civil Wars, coming to him, he both gladly receiv'd, and retain'd him as against a fit time. The Summer ensuing on, mistrust that the Nations beyond *Bodotria* would generally rise, and forelay the Passages by Land, he caus'd his Fleet, making a great Shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joining most commonly at Night on the same Shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual Shouts and loud Greetings. At sight whereof the *Britains*, not wont to see their Sea so ridden, were much daunted. Howbeit, the *Caledonians* with great Preparation, and by Rumour, as of things unknown, much greater, taking Arms, and of their own accord beginning War by the Assault of sundry Castles, sent back some of their Fear to the *Romans* themselves: And there were of the Commanders,

81.

Dion. l. 66.

82.

83.

84.

^a Cornelius Tacitus, who wrote the Life of Agricola, marry'd his Daughter.^b Tac. Quæ res Pars Servitutis erat.

A.D. 48. manders, who cloaking their Fear under shew of sage Advice, counsell'd the General to retreat back on this Side *Bodotria*. He in the mean while having Intelligence, that the Enemy would fall on in many Bodies, divided also his Army into three Parts. Which Advantage the *Britains* quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, assail by Night with all their Forces that part of the *Roman* Army, which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the Camp surpriz'd between Sleep and Fear, had begun some Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to affright them with Clamour, so ply'd them without respite, that by approach of Day the *Roman* Ensigns glittering all about, had encompass'd the *Britains*: Who now after a sharp Fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to their wonted Refuge, the Woods and Fens, pursu'd a while by the *Romans*, that Day else in all Appearance had ended the War. The Legions re-incourag'd by this Event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as far as there was *British* Ground. The *Britains* also not acknowledging the Loss of that Day to *Roman* Valour, but to the Policy of their Captain, abated nothing of their Stoutness, but arming their Youth, conveying their Wives and Children to Places of Safety, in frequent Assemblies, and by solemn Covenants bound themselves to mutual Assistance against the Common Enemy. About the same time a Cohort of *Germans* having slain their Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a Mutiny, and for fear of Punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: And by Tide or Weather carried round about the Coast, using Piracy where they landed, while their Ships held out, and as their Skill serv'd them, with various Fortune, were the first Discoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Island.

85. The following Summer, *Agricola* having before sent his Navy to hover on the Coast, and with sundry and uncertain landings to divert and disunite the *Britains*, himself with a Power best appointed for Expedition, wherein also were many *Britains*, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountain *Grampius*^a, where the *British*, above 30000, were now lodg'd, and still increasing: For neither would their old Men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practis'd in War, and every one adorn'd with some Badge, or Cognisance of his Warlike Deeds long ago. Of whom *Galgacus*^b, both by Birth and Merit the prime Leader, to their Courage; though of it self hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in Detestation of Servitude and the *Roman* Yoke, said to have added much more Eagerness of Fight; testified by their Shouts and barbarous Applauses. As much did on the other side *Agricola* exhort his Soldiers to Victory and Glory; as much the Soldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on fire to the onset. But first he orders them in this Sort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle Ward, on the Wings 3000 Horse, the Legions as a reserve, stood in array before the Camp; either to seize the Victory won without their own Hazard, or to keep the Battle if it should need. The *British* Powers on the Hill Side, as

might best serve for Shew and Terrour, stood in their Battalions; the first on even Ground, the next rising behind, as the Hill ascended. The Field between rung with the Noise of Horsemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over-wing'd, stretches out his Front, though somewhat with the thinnest, in so much that many advis'd to bring up the Legions; yet he not altering, alights from his Horse, and stands on Foot before the Ensigns. The Fight began aloof, and the *Britains* had a certain Skill with their broad swashing Swords and short Bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the Darts of their Enemies; and withal to send back Showers of their own. Until *Agricola* discerning that those little Targets and unweildy Glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for close Fight, to draw up, and come to handy Strokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long Tucks thrusting at the Face, now their piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for hast omitting farther Execution, began apace to advance up Hill, seconded now by all the other Cohorts. Meanwhile the Horse-men fly, the Charioteers mix themselves to fight among the Foot; where many of their Horse also fall'n in disorderly, were now more a Mischief to their own, than before a Terror to their Enemies. The Battel was a confus'd Heap; the Ground unequal; Men, Horses, Chariots crowded pelted; sometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to Blows, perceiving the Fewness of their Enemies came down amain; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a strong Body of Horse, which he reserv'd for such a purpose, repen'd them back as fast: And others drawn off the Front; were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the Backs. Then were the *Romans* clearly Masters, they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: The *Britains* in whole Troops with Weapons in their Hands, one while flying the Pursuer, anon without Weapons desperately running upon the Slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to their Shelter, with fresh Boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turn'd and slew, the rest so hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest Cohorts, with part of his Horse to alight and scower the Woods, they had receiv'd a foil in the midst of Victory; but following with a close and orderly Pursuit, the *Britains* fled again, and were totally scatter'd; till Night and Weariness ended the Chase. And of them that Day 10000 fell; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with Heat of Youth and the Fierceness of his Horse too far on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victory, and the Spoil they got, spent the Night; the vanquished wandering about the Field, both Men and Women, some lamenting, some calling their lost Friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forsaking, some burning their own Houses; and it was certain enough that there were who with a stern Compassion laid violent Hands on their Wives and Children to prevent

^a The Grainsbane Hill in the County of Mar and other Counties in Scotland.
^b Known in the Scottish Histories by the Name of Corbred the 2d.

A.D. 85. prevent the more violent Hands of hostile Injury. Next Day appearing manifest more plainly the greatness of their loss receiv'd; every where Silence, Desolation, Houses burning afar off, not a Man seen, and fled and doubtful whither: Such word the Scouts bringing in from all Parts, and the Summer now spent, not fit Season to disperse a War, the Roman General leads his Army among the *Horestians*; by whom Hostages being given, he commands his Admiral with a sufficient Navy to sail round the Coast of Britain: Himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new-conquer'd Nations, bestows his Army in their Winter-Quarters. The Fleet also having fetch'd a prosperous and speedy compass about the Isle, put in at the Haven *Trutunensis*, now *Richborough* near *Sandwich*, from whence it first set out: And now likeliest, if not two Years before, as was mention'd, the Romans might discover and subdue the Isles of *Orkney*; which others with less reason following *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, attribute to the Deeds of *Claudius*. These perpetual Exploits abroad won him wide Fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great Virtue was as punishable as open Crime, won him Hatred. For he maligning the Renown of these his Acts, in shew decreed him Honours, in secret devis'd his Ruine. *Agricola* therefore commanded home for doing too much of what he was sent to do, left the Province to his Successor quiet and secure^b. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Salustius Lucullus*, or before him some other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legate of Britain under *Domitian*; but farther of him, or ought else done here until the time of *Hadrian*, is nowhere plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Histories, that what *Agricola* won here, was soon after by *Domitian* either through want of Valour lost, or through Envy neglected. And *Juvenal*^c the Poet speaks of *Arviragus* in these Days, and not before, King of Britain: who stood so well in his Resistance, as not only to be talk'd of at Rome, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then also *Claudia Rufina*, the Daughter of a Britain, and Wife of *Prudence* a Roman Senator, liv'd at Rome; famous by the Verse of *Martial* for Beauty, Wit and Learning. The next we hear of Britain, is that when *Trojan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was subdu'd. Under *Adrian*, *Julius Severus*, saith *Dion*, govern'd the Island, a prime Soldier of that Age, but he being call'd away to suppress the Jews then in tumult, left Things at such pass, as caus'd the Emperor in Person to take a Journey hither; where many Things he reform'd, and, as *Augustus* and *Tiberius* counsell'd, to gird the Empire within moderate bounds, he rais'd a Wall with

great Stakes driven in deep, and fasten'd together, in a manner of a strong Mound, eighty Mile in length, to divide what was Roman from *Barbarian*: No ancient Author names the Place, but old Inscriptions, and Ruine it self yet testifies where it went along between *Solway Frith*, by *Carlisle*, and the Mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quieted the Island, took it for Honour to be titl'd on his Coin, the Restorer of Britain. In his Time also *Priscus Licinius*, as appears by an old Inscription, was Lieutenant here. *Antoninus Pius* reigning, the *Brigantes* ever least patient of foreign Servitude, breaking in upon *Genouina* (which *Cambden* guesses to be *Guineithia* or *North-Wales*) part of the Roman Province, were with the loss of much territory driven back by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves, in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Cambden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, and of *Edenborough*, to hedge out Incursions from the North. And *Seius Saturninus*, as is collected from the Digest, had charge here of the Roman Navy. With like Success did *Marcus Aurelius* next Emperor, by his Legate *Calphurnius Agricola*, finish here a new War: *Commodus* after him obtaining the Empire. in his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, *Lucius* a suppos'd King in some part of Britain, the first of any King in Europe, that we read of, receiv'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation the first by publick Authority profess'd it: A high and singular Grace from above, if sincerity and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be fear'd the verifying of that true Sentence, *the first shall be last*. And indeed the Praise of this Action is more proper to King *Lucius*, than common to the Nation; whose first professing by publick Authority was no real commendation of their true Faith; which had appear'd more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, first profess'd without publick Authority, or against it, might else have been but outward Conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth* Story is made the second by descent from *Marius*. *Marius*, the Son of *Arviragus*, is there said to have overthrown the *Picts*, then first coming out of *Scythia*, slain *Rodoric* their King; and in sign of Victory to have set up a Monument of Stone in the Country, since call'd *Westmaria*; but these Things have no Foundation. *Coilus*, the Son of *Marius*, all his Reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the Romans, left it hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living near five hundred Years after, yet our antientest Author of this report) sent to *Eleutherius*, the Bishop of Rome, an improbable Letter, as some of the Contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his People might receive Christianity. From whom

A.D. 122.

Cambden.

Pausan. archad.

Capitolin. vit. Anton.

144. Graham's Dike.

Capitolin. Marc. Ant. Philos.

162. Digest. l. 36.

Beda.

181.

two

^a These People have been plac'd about *Elkdale*, but the Name does better answer the Mountaneers, or Highlanders; and *Tacitus*'s Relation of the matters of Fact, agrees best to those People.

^b The Tyrant *Domitian* was so jealous of *Agricola*'s Glory, that he order'd him to make his Entry into Rome, at his Return by Night, that he might not receive those Honours the Citizens were ready to pay him.

^c *Salustius Lucullus* was kill'd by *Domitian*, for calling his Spear *Lucullians*.

^d *Regem aliquem capies aut de Temone Britanno Excidet Arviragus*

See the Mighty Ocean, see
He cries of some illustrious Victory:
Some Captive King Thee his new Lord shall own,
Or from his British Chariot headlong thrown,
The proud *Arviragus* come humbling down.

The Poet supposes this Speech made by *Frabricius Veien* to flatter the Emperor *Domit*.

Arviragus dy'd, says *Geoffrey*, about the end of *Domitian*'s Reign, and was succeeded by his Son *Marius* or *Maurig*, as the British Historians call him. He is mention'd also by *William* of *Malmesbury* long before *Geoffrey* wrote.

All the Circumstances of that Story are fully discuss'd by the learned Bishop of *Worcester*, in his *Origines Britannice*, p. 67. &c. See also Bishop *Usher*'s *Primordia*, p. 19, 23, &c.

A. D. 198. two Religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptized well nigh the whole Nation: Thence *Lucius* to have had the Surname of *Lavermaur*, that is to say, *Great Light*. Nor yet then first was the Christian Faith here known, but even from the latter Days of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some say by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and their prime Disciples. But of these Matters, variously written and believ'd, Ecclesiastick Historians can best determine: As the best of them do, with little credit given to the Particulars of such uncertain Relations. As for *Lucius*, they write, that after a long Reign he was buried at *Glocester*; but dying without Issue, left the Kingdom in great Commotion.

183. By truer Testimony we find, that the greatest War, which in those Days busy'd *Commodus*, was in this Island. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, wasted wide; and both the Army, and the Leader that came against them, wholly routed and destroy'd; which put the Emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders, *Ulpinus Marcellus*. He, a Man endu'd with all nobleness of Mind, frugal, temperate, mild and magnanimous, in War bold and watchful, invincible against Lucre, and the assault of Bribes, what with his Valour, and these his other Virtues, quickly ended this War that look'd so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the Peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperor. After whose departure the *Roman* Legions fell to Sedition among themselves; 1500 of them went to *Rome* in name of the rest, and were so terrible to *Commodus* himself, as that to please them he put to Death *Perennius* the Captain of his Guard. Notwithstanding which compliance they endeavour'd here to set up another Emperor against him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who succeeded Governor, found it a Work so difficult to appease them, that once in a Mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and was fain at length to seek a dismissal from his Charge. After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Government; but he, for having to the Soldiers made an Oration against Monarchy, by the appointment of *Commodus* was bid resign to *Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in those troublesome Times ensuing, under a short Reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to keep in his Hands the Government of *Britain*; although *Septimius Severus*, who next held the Empire, sent hither *Heracitus* to displace him; but in vain, for *Albinus*, with all the *British* Powers, and those of *Gallia*, met *Severus* about *Lyons* in *France*, and fought a bloody Battel with him for the Empire, though at last vanquish'd and slain^d. The Government of *Britain*, *Severus* divided between two Deputies; till then one Legate was thought sufficient; the North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where the *Meatae* rising in Arms, and the *Caledonians*, though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to defend them, so hard beset, he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few of Prisoners with great Sums of Money. But hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an end his other Wars, he writes him plainly the state of Things here, that the *Britains* of the North made War upon him, broke into the Province, and harras'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed suddenly either more Aid, or himself in Person. *Severus*, though now much weaken'd with Age and the Gout, yet desirous to leave some Memorial of his Warlike Atchievements here, as he had done in other Places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two Sons^e from the Pleasures of *Rome*, and his Soldiers from Idleness, with a mighty Power, far sooner than could be expected, arrives in *Britain*. The Northern People much daunted with the Report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send Ambassadors to treat of Peace, and to excuse their former doings. The Emperor now loth to return home without some memorable Thing, whereby he might assume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his Answer, and quickens his Preparations; till in the end, when all Things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismiss'd without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rotten Moars, that his Soldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems, through lack of Tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this Day; and the Inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselves in such watry Places half naked. He also being past *Adrian's* Wall, cut down Woods, made way through Hills, fasten'd and fill'd up unsound and plashy Fens. Notwithstanding all this Industry us'd, the Enemy kept himself so cunningly within his best Advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were most in straights and Difficulties, sometimes training them on with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within ambush, cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midst of Sloughs and Quagmires, they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, than leave them there a Prey to the *Caledonians*. Thus lost *Severus*, and by Sicknefs in those noisome Places, no less than 50000 Men: And yet desisted not, though for weakness carry'd in a Litter, till he had march'd through with his Army to the utmost Northern Verge of the Isle; and the *Britains* offering Peace were compell'd to lose much of their Country, nor before subject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd builds a Wall cross the Island from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the most magnificent of all his other Deeds; and that he thence receiv'd the Stile of *Britannicus*; in length^f 132 Miles.

^a Bishop *Stillingfleet* has made it very probable, that a Church was planted here in the Apostles times, by *St. Paul* himself. *Vid. p. 35. Orig. Brit.*

^b Archbishop *Usher* in his *Accl. Brit. Antiq.* and Bishop *Stillingfleet* in his *Orig. Brit.* allow the Tradition of King *Lucius*; the Archbishop says, that he had seen two Coins, one of Gold, and the other of Silver, with the Image of a King on them, and the Letters *LU C*, with a Cross: Which is plain proof, that there was such a King, and that he was a Christian; but over what part of *Britain* he reign'd, is uncertain.

^c *Pertinax* was afterwards Emperor.

^d His Body was sent to *Rome* by *Severus's* Order, to be set over the place of publick Execution; and afterwards 'twas suffer'd to lie before the *Pretorium* till it stunk, and was devour'd by Dogs.

^e *Bassianus* and *Geta*.

^f So *Paulus Orosius*; but *Spartianus* more truly, 80 or 82 Miles; as is clearly prov'd in the new Edition of *Cambden*, p. 845. and in Archbishop *Usher's* *Antiq. Eccl. Brit. cap. 4.*

A. D. Miles. *Orosius* adds it fortify'd with a deep
210. Trench, and between certain Spaces many
Towers or Battlements. The Place whereof
Eutropii
Peann. Oros.
l. 7.
Cassidor.
Chro.
Buchanan. some will have to be in Scotland^a, the same
which *Lollius Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others
affirm it only *Hadrian's* Work re-edified; both
plead Authorities and the ancient Tract yet vi-
sible: But this I leave among the studious of
these Antiquities to be discuss'd more at large.
While Peace held, the Empress *Julia* meeting
on a time certain *British* Ladies, and discoursing
with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, call
out a Scoff against the Looseness of our Island
Women; whose manner then was to use promi-
scuously the Company of divers Men. Whom
straight the *British* Woman boldly thus answer'd:
*Much better do we Britains fulfil the Work of Na-
ture, than you Romans; we with the best Men accu-
stom openly; you with the basest commit private Adul-
teries.* Whether she thought this Answer might
serve to justify the Practice of her Country, as
when Vices are compar'd, the greater seems to
justify the less, or whether the Law and Custom
wherein she was bred, had wip'd out of her Con-
science the better Dictate of Nature, and not
convinc'd her of the Shame; certain it is, that
whereas other Nations us'd a Liberty not unna-
tural for one Man to have many Wives, the *Brit-
tains* altogether as licentious, but more absurd
and preposterous in their Licence, had one or
many Wives in common among ten or twelve
Husbands; and those for the most part incestu-
ously. But no sooner was *Severus* return'd into
the Province, than the *Britains* take Arms again.
Against whom *Severus* worn out with Labours
and Infirmary, sends *Antoninus* his eldest Son;
expressly commanding him to spare neither Sex
nor Age. But *Antoninus* who had his wicked
Thoughts taken up with the contriving of his
Father's Death, a safer Enemy than a Son, did
the *Britains* not much Detriment. Whereat *Se-
verus* more overcome with Grief than any other

211. Malady, ended his Life at York. After whose
Spartianus
in Sever. decease *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son, con-
cluding Peace with the *Britains*, took Hostages
and departed to Rome. The Conductor of all this
Northern War, *Scottish* Writers Name *Donaldus*,
he of *Monmouth*, *Fulgenius*; in the rest of his Re-
lation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman*
Empire declining apace, good Historians grow-
ing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but
Fragments for many Years ensuing. Under *Gor-
dian* the Emperor we find by the Inscription of
an Altar-stone, that *Nonius Philippus* govern'd
here. Under *Galiennus* we read there was a
strong and general Revolt from the *Roman* Le-
gate. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long
after took upon them the Stile of Emperor, by
many Coins found among us, *Lollianus*, *Victo-
rinus*, *Posthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marinus* are con-
jectured to have risen or born great Sway in this
Island. Whence *Porphyrius*, a Philosopher, then
living, said that *Britain* was a Soil fruitful of
Tyrants; and is noted to be the first Author
that makes mention of the *Scottish* Nation.

242. While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonofus* the Son of a
Cambd.
Cumber. Rhetorician, bred up a *Spaniard*, though by de-
scend a *Britain*, and a matchless Drinker, nor
much to be blam'd, if, as they write, he were
still wisest in his Cups, having attained in War-
fare to high Honours, and lastly in his Charge
over the *German* Shipping, willingly, as was
thought, miscarried, trusting on his Power with

259. the Western Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, A. D.
Eumen. Pa-
neg. Conf. bore himself a while for Emperor; but after a
267. long and bloody Fight at *Cullen* vanquish'd by
Cambd. *Probus*, he hang'd himself, and gave occasion of
a ready Jest made on him for his much drink-
ing; *Here hangs a Tankard not a Man.* After
this, *Probus* with much Wisdom prevented a new
Rising here in *Britain*, by the severe Loyalty
of *Victorinus* a Moor, at whose Entreaty he had
plac'd here that Governor which rebelled. For
the Emperor upbraiding him with the Disloyalty
of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* under-
taking to set all right again, hastes hither, and
finding indeed the Governor to intend Sedition,
by some Contrivance not mention'd in the Sto-
ry, slew him, whose Name some imagine to be
Cornelius Lelianus. They write also, that *Probus*
gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Britains*,
to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having
subdu'd the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in a great
Battel, sent over many of them hither to inha-
bit, where they did good Service to the *Romans*
when any Insurrection happen'd in the Isle. Af-
ter whom *Carus* Emperor going against the *Per-
sians*, left *Carinus*, one of his Sons, to govern
among other western Provinces this Island with
Imperial Authority; but him *Dioclesian*, saluted
Emperor by the Eastern Armies, overcame and
slew. About which Time *Carusius* a Man of low
Parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the Parts of
Cleves and *Juliers*, who through all Military
Degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Bel-
gic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infested by the
Franks and *Saxons*, what he took from the Pi-
rates, neither restoring to the Owners, nor ac-
counting to the Publick, but enriching himself,
and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving
rather at those Sea-Robbers, was grown at length
too great a Delinquent to be less than an Empe-
ror: For Fear and Guiltiness in those Days made
Emperors offer than Merit: And understanding
that *Maximianus Hercules*, *Dioclesian's* adopted
Son, was come against him into *Gallia*, pass'd
over with the Navy which he had made his
own, into *Britain*, and possess'd the Island.
Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* Fa-
shion, got into his Power the Legion that was
left here in Garrison, other Outlandish Cohorts
detain'd, lifted the very Merchants and Factors
of *Gallia*, and with the Allurement of Spoil in-
vited great Numbers of other barbarous Nations
to his Part, and train'd them to Sea-service,
wherein the *Romans* at that time were grown so
out of Skill, that *Carausius* with his Navy did
at Sea what he list'd, robbing on every Coast;
whereby *Maximian*, able to come no nearer than
the Shoar of *Boloigne*, was forc'd to conclude a
Peace with *Carausius*, and yield him *Britain*;
as one fittest to guard the Province there against
Inroads from the North. But not long after ha-
ving assum'd *Constantius Chlorus* to the Dignity
of *Caesar*, sent him against *Carausius*; who in
the mean while had made himself strong both
within the Land and without. *Galfred* of *Mon-
mouth*, writes that he made the *Picts* his Confe-
derates; to whom lately come out of *Scythia* he
gave *Albany* to dwell in: And it is observ'd, that
before his time the *Picts* are not known to have
been any where mention'd, and then first by *Eume-
nius* a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortified the
Wall of *Severus* with seven Castles, and a round
House of smooth Stone on the Bank of *Carron*,
which River, saith *Ninnius*, was of his Name so
call'd

282. *Zozim. l. i.*
Cambd.
Zozimus.
283. *Popisc. in*
Carin.
284. *Aurel. Vict.*
de Caesar.
285. *Eutrop. Oros.*
286. *Eumen. Pa-*
neg. 2.
Victor. Eu-
trop.
291. *Paneg. 2.*

^a *Buchanan* of that Opinion, in which he is not only oppos'd by our *English* Historians, but by *Fordun* and *Major* his own Countrymen.

A. D. 291. *cal'd*; he built also a Triumphal Arch in Remembrance of some Victory there obtain'd. In France he held *Gessoriacum*, or *Bologne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his Permission seated themselves in *Belgia*, were at his Devotion. But *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieges *Bologne*, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all Relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*. Who, e'er *Constantius* with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither ^a, was slain treacherously by *Alectus*, one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his Place; when he seven Years, and worthily, as some say, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Island. So much the more did *Constantius* prosecute that Opportunity, before *Alectus* could well strengthen his Affairs; and though in ill Weather, putting to Sea with all Urgency from several Havens to spread the Terror of his landing, and the Doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay scouting near the Isle of *Wight*, no sooner got ahoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of Refuge but in Victory. *Alectus* also, though now much dismay'd, transfers his Fortune to a Battle on the Shoar; but encountred by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on unmindful both of ordering his Men, or bringing them all to fight, save the Accessories of his Treason, and his Outlandish Hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no Loss to the *Romans*, but great Execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almost naked in the Field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to *London*, and purposing with the Pillage of that City to escape by Sea, are met by another of the *Roman* Army, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining, had by chance brought thither, and with a new Slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britains*, their Wives also and Children, with great Joy go out to meet *Constantius*, as one whom they acknowledge their Deliverer from Bondage and Insolence. All this seems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Constantius*'s Household, to have been done in the Course of one continu'd Action; so also thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: Though all other allow three Years to the Tyranny of *Alectus* ^b. In these Days were great Store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Island, whom after the Alteration of things here, the *Æduans* in *Burgundy* entertain'd to build their Temples and publick Edifices. *Dioclesian* having hitherto successfully us'd his Valour against the Enemies of his Empire, uses now his Rage in a bloody Persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: From the feeling whereof neither was this Island, though most remote, far enough remov'd. Among them here who suffer'd gloriously ^c, *Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caer-leon* upon *Usk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were most renown'd: The Story of whose Martyrdom foil'd, and worse martyr'd with the fabling Zeal of some idle Fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, deserves not longer Digression. *Constantius* after *Dioclesian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britain* among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with Victory from an Expedition against the *Caledonians*, he dy'd at *York*. His Son *Constantine*, who happily came Post from *Rome* to *Bologne* just about the time, saith *Eumenius*, that his Father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his Death, was by him on his Death-Bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army saluted Emperor ^d. There goes a Fame, and that seconded by ^e most of our own Historians, though not those the ancientest, that *Constantine* was born in this Island, his Mother *Helena* the Daughter of ^f *Coilus* a *British* Prince, not sure the Father of King *Lucius*, whose Sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by an Hundred Years to be the Mother of *Constantine*. But to salve this Incoherence, another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colchester*. To this therefore the *Roman* Authors give no Testimony, except a Passage or two in the *Panegyrics*, about the Sense whereof much is argu'd: Others nearest to those times clear the Doubt, and write him certainly born of *Helena*, a mean Woman at *Naisus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, e'er his Departure hence he seems to have had some Bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent Affairs compos'd, he passes into *Gallia*; and after four Years returns either to settle or to alter the State of things here; until a new War against *Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his Vice-gerent ^g. He deceasing, *Constantine* his eldest Son enjoy'd for his Part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the *Alps*, this Island also. But falling to Civil War with *Constans* his Brother, was by him slain; who with his third Brother ^h *Constantius* coming into *Britain*, seiz'd it as Victor. Against him rose *Magnentius*, one of his chief Commanders, by some affirm'd the Son of a *British*, he having gain'd on his side great Forces, contested with *Constantius* in many Battels for the sole Empire; but vanquish'd, in the end slew himself. Somewhat before this time *Gratianus* *Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had chief Command of those Armies which the *Romans* kept here. And the *Arrian* Doctrine which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this Island no small Disturbance: A Land, saith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last *Constantius* appointed a Synod of more than 400 Bishops to assemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the *British* ⁱ, Poverty constraining

A. D. 292.

303.

Author ignot. post Marcellin. Valer. 306.

Eutrop. Eumen. idem Auth ignot

Idem vit. Auth ignot Euseb. Const.

307.

Sigon. 311. Cambd. Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 1. cap. 25.

Ammian. L. 20. & in eum Vespasian.

340.

Libanius Basilico.

343.

Cambd. ex Firmico.

350.

Cambden.

353.

Ammian.

^a Cambden in his Brit. Tit. Buckinghamshire, says *Alectus* kill'd him in Battel, and thinks *Caer-leon* to be the Place where they fought. *Caer-leon* stands on the *Ouse*, not far from *Buckingham*.

^b See an Account of *Alectus* and *Carausius*, and of the Places nam'd from them, *Alcester* and *Caer-leon* in *Oxfordshire* and *Bucks*: In a History of *Alcester*, printed from the M.S. by Dr. Kennet in his Paroch. Antiquities.

^c A Thousand martyr'd at *Litchfield*, thence call'd *Lichfield*, which Rouse of *Warwick* renders a Field of Carcasses, if *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*'s Account is not forg'd.

^d *Eumenius*, in his Oration to *Constantine*, calls *Britain* the most blest and fortunate of all Lands, *quia Constantinus* *Cæsarem primum vidisti*. Which is not to be understood that he was born, but that he was first saluted Emperor here, tho' Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his Orig. Brit. makes it probable, that *Britain* was the Place of his Birth.

^e See *Lipsius*'s Epistle to Mr. *Cambden*, upon this Point. *Cambd. Ep.* pag. 64. and *Usher's Primordia*. Folio, p. 93.

^f *Cambden* in his Britan. says, *Constantius Chlorus* marry'd the Daughter of *Coilus* or *Cælus*, a *British* Prince, and by her had *Constantine* the Great in *Britain*.

^g *Constantine*. when he was last in *Britain*, divided the Province into four Parts. *Britannica Prima & Secunda*, the old Division, to which he added *Flavia* and *Maxima Cæsariensis*.

^h *Constantius* was in *Asia* when *Constans* came into *Britain*. Dr. *Howell* Hist.

ⁱ The *British* Church increas'd mightily under *Constantine* the Great, and in the Year 314. sent Deputies to the Council of *Arles*, as also to the Oecumenical Synod of *Nice*, Anno 325. and to the Council of *Sardica*, in the Year 347.

A. D. 353. constraining them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have born their Charges: Esteeming it more honourable to live on the Publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purse. Doubtless an ingenious Mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to sit in Assembly on the publick Stipend, but like not the Poverty that caus'd these to do so. After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the Cruelty which *Paulus*, an Inquisitor sent from *Constantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after those Military Officers, who had conspir'd with *Magnentius*, was himself laid hold on as an Accessory; at which enrag'd, he runs at *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guess'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Constantius* had made *Cesar*, having recover'd much Territory about *Rhine*, where the *German* inrodes before had long insulted, to relieve those Countries almost ruin'd, causes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britain*; which even then was the usual bounty of this Soil to those Parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pirates hinder'd not the Transportation. While *Constantius* yet reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in upon the Northern Confines, *Julian* being at *Paris* sends over *Lupicinus*, a well try'd Soldier, but a proud and covetous Man; who with a Power of light-arm'd *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and *Mæsians*, in the midst of Winter sailing from *Bologne*, arrives at *Rutupia*, seated on the opposite Shoar, and comes to *London*, to consult there about the War; but soon after was recall'd by *Julian*, then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought happening here; only that *Palladius*, one of his great Officers, was hither banish'd. This Year, *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots* rearing up and down, and last the *Saxons*, with perpetual Landings and Invasions, harry'd the South Coast of *Britain*; slew *Nectarius*, who govern'd the Sea Borders, and *Bulcho-baudes* with his Forces by an Ambush. With which News *Valentinian*, not a little perplex'd, sends first *Severus*, High Steward of his House, and soon recalls him; then *Jovinus*, who intimating the necessity of greater Supplies, he sends at length *Theodocius*, a Man of try'd Valour and Experience, Father to the first Emperor of that Name. He with selected Numbers out of the Legions and Cohorts, crosses the Sea from *Bologne* to *Rutupia*: from whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, and other Legions that arriv'd soon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into several Bodies, sets upon the dispers'd and plundering Enemy; laden with spoil; from whom recovering the Booty which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with their Lives, he restores all to the right Owners, save a small Portion to his wearied Soldiers; and enters *London* victoriously; which, before in many Straights and Difficulties, was now reviv'd as with

a great Deliverance. The numerous Enemy, with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the War scatter'd: Which *Theodosius*, getting daily some Intelligence from Fugitives and Prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden Parties and Surprisals, rather than set Battels; nor omits he to proclaim Indemnity to such as would lay down Arms, and accept of Peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the Work, he requires that *Civilis*, a Man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as Deputy of the Island, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodosius* busy'd, besetting with Ambushes the roving Enemy, repressing his Roads, restoring Cities and Castles to their former Safety and Defence, laying every where the firm Foundation of a long Peace, when *Valentius* a *Pannonian* for some great Offence banish'd into *Britain*, conspiring with certain Exiles and Soldiers against *Theodosius*, whose Worth he dreaded as the only Obstacle to his greater Design of gaining the Isle into his Power, is discover'd, and with his chief Accomplices deliver'd over to condign Punishment: Against the rest, *Theodosius* with a wise Lenity suffer'd not Inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a Time so unsettled. This done, he applies himself to re-form Things out of order, raises on the Confines many strong Holds; and in them appoints due and diligent Watches; and so reduc'd all Things out of danger, that the Province, which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London*, *Augusta*. Thus *Theodosius* nobly acquitting himself in all Affairs, with general Applause of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-side, returns to *Valentinian*. Who about five Years after, sent hither *Frormarus*, a King of the *Almans*, with Authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for Number and good Service were in high Esteem. Against *Gratian*, who succeeded in the Western Empire, *Maximus* a *Spaniard*, and one who had serv'd in the *British* Wars with younger *Theodosius* (for he also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this Island) and now General of the *Roman* Armies here, either discontented that *Theodosius* was prefer'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Soldiers who hated *Gratian*, assumes the Imperial Purple, and having attain'd Victory against the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the Flower and Strength of *Britain*, passes into *France*; there slays *Gratian*, and without much Difficulty, the space of five Years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length and slain by *Theodosius*. With whom perishing most of his Followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*, which *Maximus* had given them to possess, the South of *Britain* by this means exhausted of her Youth, and what there was of *Roman* Soldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a Prey to savage Invasions;

A. D. 367.

368.
Amm. l. 28.
Zozim. l. 4.373.
Amm. l. 29.Zozim. l. 4.
Zozim.Prosper.
Aquitane.
Chron.

383.

Gildas.

388.

Beda.

Nim.

E

of

^a This *Paulus* was burnt alive afterwards by order of *Julian* the Apostate. Mr. Milton places *Paul* the Notary's coming into England five Years after the time.

^b Richborough near Sandwich in Kent. See Mr. Somner's Discourse on the Roman Ports in Kent, p. 3, 4.

^c Dr. Gale supposes the *Attacots* to be a barbarous sort of Britains, inhabiting the North of Scotland.

^d The *Jovii* and *Vettones*, the *Batavi* and the *Heruli*, which serv'd in this Expedition, were the four best Legions in the Roman Armies.

^e Should be *Valentinus*.

^f Geoffrey relates, that *Maximus* bestow'd *Armorica*, the Province of *Bretagne* in France, on *Conan* a Briton, Lord of *Denbys* shire, whom he made Duke of it; as also that *Dionotus*, Duke of *Cornwall*, sent his own Daughter *Ursula* 11000 Noble Virgins, and 60000 others to Duke *Conan*, for Wives for himself and his Britains; of whom part perish'd in a Storm, the rest by the Kings of the *Huns* and the *Picts*, who either kill'd them, or made them Slaves. The Virgins are esteem'd Martyrs in the Roman Legends; and Card. Baronius, from no better Authority than Geoffrey of Monmouth, reports the same Story, as if it had been Matter of Fact, though it carries so many Improbabilities with it.

A. D. 398. of Scots from the Irish Seas, of Saxons from the German, of Picts from the North. Against them, first Chrysanthus the Son of Marcian a Novatian Bishop, made Deputy of Britain by Theodosius, demean'd himself worthily: Then Stilicho, a Man of great Power, whom Theodosius dying left Protector of his Son Honorius, either came in Person, or sending over sufficient Aid, repress'd them, and as it seems new fortify'd the Wall against them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the Roman Armies from all Parts hasten'd to relieve Honorius, then besieg'd in Aosta of Piemont, by Alarice the Goth, Britain was left expos'd as before to those barbarous Robbers. Left any wonder how the Scots came to infest Britain from the Irish Sea, it must be understood, that the Scots not many Years before had been driven all out of Britain by Maximus; and their King Eugenius slain in fight, as their own Annals report: Whereby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain Seat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and Shoars as Pirates. But more Authentick Writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be originally, came first into Ireland, and dwelt there, and nam'd it Scotia, long before the North of Britain took that Name. About this time, though troublesome, Pelagius a Britain found the leisure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against by St. Austin. But the Roman Powers which were call'd into Italy, when once the fear of Alaric was over, made return into several Provinces: And perhaps a Victorinus of Tolosa, whom Rutilius the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the Island; if it were not he whom Stilicho sent hither^b. Buchanan writes, that endeavouring to reduce the Picts into a Province, he gave the occasion of their calling back Fergusus and the Scots, whom Maximus with their help had quite driven out of the Island: And indeed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have been active in those Parts. But the time which is assign'd him later Buchanan after Gratianus Municeps, by Cambden after Constantine the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of History. For the Vandals having broke in and wasted all Belgia, even to those Places from whence easiest Passage is into Britain, the Roman Forces here, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up Marcus, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him not found agreeable to their heady Courses, they as hastily kill: For the giddy Favour of a mutining Rout is as dangerous as their Fury. The like they do by Gratian a British Roman, in four Months advanc'd, ador'd, and destroy'd. There was among them a common Soldier, whose Name was Constantine, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of a Luckiness in his Name, as without other visible Merit, to create him Emperor^c. It fortun'd that the Man had not his Name for nought; so well he knew to

lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a weaken'd Spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his Mind, which in his mean Condition before lay contracted and shrink up, orders with good Advice his Military Affairs: And with the whole Force of the Province, and what of British was able to bear Arms, he passes into France, aspiring at least to an equal share with Honorius in the Empire. Where by the Valour of Edoebecus a Frank, and Gerontius a Britain, and partly by persuasion gaining all in his way, he comes to Arles. With like fecility by his Son Constans, whom of a Monk he had made a Caesar, and by the Conduct of Gerontius, he reduces all Spain to his Obedience. But Constans after this displacing Gerontius, the Affairs of Constantine soon went to wrack: For he by this means alienated, set up Maximus one of his Friends against him in Spain; and passing into France took Vienna by assault, and having slain Constans in that City, calls on the Vandals against Constantine; who by him incited, as by him before they had been repress'd, breaking forward, over-run most part of France. But when Constantius comes, the Emperor's General, with a strong Power came out of Italy, Gerontius deserted by his own Forces, retires into Spain; where also growing into contempt with the Soldiers, after his flight out of France, by whom his House in the Night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his Darts and other Weapons were spent, he might have escap'd at a private Door, as all his Servant did, not enduring to leave his Wife Nonnichia, whom he lov'd; to the violence of an enraged Crew, he first cuts off the Head of his Friend Alanus, as were agreed; next his Wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refusing to out-live her Husband, he dispatches: For which her Resolution, Sozomenus an Ecclesiastick Writer gives her high Praise, both as a Wife and as a Christian. Last of all, against himself he turns his Sword; but missing the mortal Place, with the Ponyard finishes the Work. Thus far is pursu'd the Story of a famous Britain, related negligently by our other Historians. As for Constantine, his ending was not answerable to his setting out: For he with his other Son Julian besieg'd by Constantius in Arles, and mistrusting the change of his wonted Success, to save his Head, poorly turns Priest; but that not availing him, is carry'd into Italy, and there put to death; having four Years acted the Emperor. While these Things were doing, the Britains at home destitute of Roman aid, and the chief Strength of their own Youth, that went first with Maximus, then with Constantine, not returning home, vex'd and harass'd by their wonted Enemies, had sent Messages to Honorius; but he at that time not being able to defend Rome it self, which the same Year was taken by Alaric, advises them by his Letter to consult how best they might

A. D.

407.

408.

409.

Sozom. l. 6.

Olympiad.
apud Photium.

411.

Gildas.
Beda.

Sozom. l. 6.

^a Cambden calls the Roman General Victorinus, Broetius and Buchanan say his Name was Maximian.

^b Claudius in his Panegyrick on Stilicho's first Consulship introduces Britannia speaking thus in his praise:

Scoticana Picta tremorem nec Littore toto
Prosperem dultis Venientem Saxona Ventis:
The Scots and Picts alike now dreadless are;
No longer on the Coasts I quivering stand,
Nor fear a Fleet of Saxons on the Strand.

^c Stilicho's Succours were sent in his first Consulship, Anno 395. and the Vandals did not break into the Empire till the Year 407. when Marcus was proclaim'd Emperor in Britain. Which very well agrees with the plain Course of History. Dr. Howell's Vol. II.

^d Hoping, says Cambden in his Remains, he would prove another Constantinus Maximus.

^e He was proclaim'd Emperor at Silchester in Hampshire.

^f Vienne in Dauphine.

^g Humphry Lloyd, in his Discourse concerning Britain, says, he was so famous, that the British Bards celebrated him with several Poems, part of which he recites,

A. D. 411. *Precepins Vandalic. The Romans quit Britain.*
might for their own Safety, and acquits them of the *Roman* Jurisdiction. They therefore thus relinquish'd, and by all Right the Government relapsing into their own Hands, henceforth betook themselves to live after their own Laws, defending their Bounds as well as they were able, and the *Armorians*, who not long after were call'd the *Britains* of *France*, follow'd their Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; first in *Britain*, soon after in *Italy* it self: Having born chief Sway in this Island, though never throughly subdued, or all at once in Subjection, if we reckon from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which Year *Honorius* wrote those Letters of Discharge into *Britain*, the space of 462 Years.^a And with the Empire fell also what before in this Western World was chiefly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, History, Civility, and

even Language it self, all these together, as it were, with equal pace diminishing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of Authors; near enough to the Things they write, as in their own Country, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal Age; in Expression barbarous; and to say how judicious, I suspend a while: This we must expect; in civil Matters to find them dubious Relaters, and still to the best Advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: In most other Matters of Religion, blind, astonish'd, and struck with Superstition, as with a Planet; in one Word, Monks. Yet these Guides, where can be had no berter, must be follow'd; in gross it may be true enough; in Circumstance each Man as his Judgment gives him, may reserve his Faith, or bestow it. But so different a State of Things requires a several Relation.

A. D. 416.

^a *Julius Cæsar* landed in *Britain* 53 Years before our Saviour's Birth, and in the Year 437. according to Mr. Speed, the *Romans* hid their Treasures in *Britain*, and despair'd of being able to defend it against the *Scots* and *Picts*. By this Calculation, their Dominion over the *Britains* lasted 490 Years; and we read in the same Mr. Speed's Chronicle, that the *Britain's* ten Years afterwards wrote to *Ætius* in his third Consulate to assist them. *Cambden* in his *Britannia*. *Tit. The Romans* in *Britain*, says the *Roman Empire* expir'd here 476 Years after *Cæsar's* first Invasion. For *Attila*, the *Hun*, was so terrible at that time to the *Romans*, that they cou'd not spare any of their Forces to succour the *Britains*.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book III.

A. D. 416.

THIS third Book having to tell of Accidents as various and exemplary, as the Intermision or Change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve Attention more than common, and repay it with like Benefit to them who can judiciously read: Considering especially that the late Civil Broils had cast us into a Condition not much unlike to what the *Britains* then were in, when the Imperial Jurisdiction departing hence, left them to the sway of their own Councils; which Times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confused Anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable Turns of State, producing like Events among us, to raise a Knowledge of our selves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of Men the *Britains* generally are in Matters of so high Enterprize, how by Nature, Industry, or Custom fitted to attempt or undergo Matters of so main Consequence: For if it be a high Point of Wisdom in every private Man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather than puff up with vulgar Flatteries, and Encomiums, for want Self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly, and come off miserably in great Undertakings. The *Britains*, thus as we heard, being left without Protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her Youth, consumed in Wars abroad, or not caring to return Home, themselves through long Subjection, servile in

Mind; slothful of Body, and with the Use of Arms unacquainted, sustain'd but ill for many Years the Violence of those barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of Change, and to be thought the leading Nation to Freedom from the Empire, they seem'd a while to bestir them with a Shew of Diligence in their new Affairs, some secretly aspiring to Rule, others adoring the Name of Liberty, yet so soon as they felt by Proof the Weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not Stomack or the Love of Licence, but the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Labour, to use and maintain true Liberty, they soon remitted their Heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the Burden of their own Liberty, than before under a Foreign Yoke. Insomuch that the residue of those *Romans* which had planted themselves here, despairing of their ill Deportment at Home, and weak Resistance in the Field, by those few who had the Courage, or the Strength to bear Arms, nine Years after the sacking of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britain* into *France*, hiding for haste great part of their Treasure, which was never after found. And now again the *Britains*, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing Enemy, solicit *Honorius* to their Aid, with mournful Letters, Embassages and Vows of perpetual Subjection to *Rome*, if the Northern Foe were but repuls'd. He at their request spares them

A. D. 416.

Zozim. l. 6.

418.

Erbetverd. annual. Sava.

Gildas.

A. D. 422. *Diaconus*. L. 14. *Beda*. l. 1. c. 2. *Gildas*. 423. *Beda*. *ibid.* *Gildas*. *Blond.* *Sabellie.* *Buch*. l. 5. *Slain*, Articles of Peace, things whereof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly silent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be believ'd for bare Assertion, however quaintly dress'd, than our *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* when he varies most from Authentick Story. But either the inbred Vanity of some, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond Zeal of praising their Nations above Truth, hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their History, or magnifie their Country. The *Scots* and *Picts* in Manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return from the *Gorroghs*, or *Leathern Frigats*, pour out themselves in Swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: And from the North End of the Isle to the very Wall side, then first took Possession as Inhabitants; while the *Britains* with idle Weapons in their Hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked *Barbarians* with their long and formidable Iron Hooks pull them down head-long. The rest not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody Pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his Way. From these Confusions arose a Famine, and from thence Discord and Civil Commotion among the *Britains*: Each Man living by what he robb'd or took violently from his Neighbour. When all Stores were consumed and spent where Men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was their only Sustainment. To the Heaps of these Evils from without were added new Divisions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son of *Severianus*, a *Pelagian* Bishop, had spread his Doctrine wide among the *Britains* not uninfected before. The founder Part neither willing to embrace his Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, not able to refuse him, crave Assistance from the Churches of *France*: Who send them *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* of *Troyes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as is written, confirm'd some, regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a publick Disputation put to silence their chief Adversaries. This Reformation in the Church was believ'd to be the Cause of their Success a while after in the Field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joynt Force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at least had any Dwelling in this Island, during this Abode of *Germanus* here, had made a strong Impression from the North. The *Britains* marching out against them, and mistrusting their own Power, send to *Germanus* and his Colleague, reposing more in the spiritual Strength of those two Men, than in their own Thousands arm'd. They came, and their Presence in the Camp was not less than if a whole Army had come to second them. It was then the Time of *Lent*, and the People instructed by the daily Sermons of these two Pastors, came flocking to receive Baptism. There was a Place in the Camp set apart as a Church, and trick'd up with Boughs upon *Easter-Day*. The Enemy understanding this, and that the *Britains* were taken up with Religion more than with Feats of Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a certain Victory. *Germanus*, who also had Intelligence of their Approach, undertakes to be Captain that Day; and riding out with selected Troops

^a The Enemies, which they fear'd on that side, were the *Saxon* Pirates, who hover'd upon the Southern Coast, and occasion'd the New Officer, fill'd *Conges Littoris Saxonici*.

A. D. 430. Troops to discover what Advantages the Place might offer, lights on a Valley compass'd about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to pass. And placing there his Ambush, warns them that what Word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal Shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and German thrice aloud cries *Halleluia*; which answered by the Soldiers with a sudden Burst of Clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Picts on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Host, throw themselves into flight, casting down their Arms, and great Numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victory, thus won without Hands, left to the Britains Plenty of Spoil, and to the Person and the Preaching of Germanus greater Authority and Reverence than before. And the Exploit might pass for current, if Constantius, the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had resolv'd us how the British Army came to want Baptizing; for of any Paganism at that Time, or long before in the Land, we read not, or that Pelagianism was re-baptiz'd. The Place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintshire*, by a Town call'd *Guid-cruk*, and the River *Allen*, where a Field retains the Name of *Maes German* to this Day. But so soon as Germanus was return'd home, the Scots and Picts, though now so many of them Christians, that Palladius a Deacon was ordain'd and sent by Celestine the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well reclaim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing Mischief to their Neighbours, where they found no Impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the Britains, who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west Parts of the Isle, send Letters to Aetius, then third time Consul of Rome, with this Superscription; *To Aetius thrice Consul, the Governor of the Britains*. And after a few Words thus, *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two Deaths we perish, either by the Sword or by the Sea*. But the Empire at that Time overspread with Huns and Vandals, was not in Condition to lend them Aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual Flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for Hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more resolute, or less expos'd to Wants, keeping within Woods and Mountainous Places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out at length gave a Stop to the insulting Foe with many seasonable Defeats; led by some eminent Person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own Strength, but in Divine Assistance. And perhaps no other is here meant than the foresaid Deliverance by Germanus, if Computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long here, the Writers of his Life assent not. Finding therefore such Opposition, the Scots or Irish Robbers, for so they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The Picts, as before was mention'd, then first began to settle in the utmost Parts of the Island, using now and then to make Inroads upon the Britains. But they in the mean while thus rid of their Enemies, begin afresh to till the Ground; which after Cessation yields her Fruit in such Abundance, as had not formerly been known for many Ages. But Wan-

tonness and Luxury, the wonted Companions of Plenty, grow up as fast; and with them, if Gildas deserve Belief, all other Vices incident to Humane Corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his Days, was the Hatred of Truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only Disturbers, all the Malice of the Land was bent. Lies and Falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in Request. Evil was embrac'd for Good, Wickedness honour'd and esteem'd as Virtue: And this Quality their Valour had against a foreign Enemy, to be ever backward and heartless; to Civil Broils eager and prompt. In Matters of Government, and the Search of Truth, weak and shallow; in Falshood and wicked Deeds, pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse, most an end, was the weightier. All things were done contrary to publick Welfare and Safety; nor only by secular Men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual Drunkenness, or swell'd with Pride and Wilfulness, full of Contention, full of Envy, indiscreet, incompetent Judges to determine what in the Practice of Life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnish'd with Judgment, and for Manners thus qualify'd both Priest and Lay, they agree to choose them several Kings of their own, as near as might be, likest themselves; and the Words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of God's Anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately without examining the Truth, put to Death by their Anointers to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the Election of their Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the Sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess'd, either this Year or the following, when they saw the Romans had quite deserted their Claim. About which time also Pelagianism again prevailing by Means of some few, the British Clergy too weak it seems at dispute, intreat the second Time, Germanus to their Assistance. Who coming with Severus a Disciple of Lupus that was his former Associate, stands not now to argue, for the People generally continu'd right; but enquiring those Authors of new Disturbance, adjudges them to Banishment. They therefore by consent of all were deliver'd to Germanus; who carrying them over with him, dispos'd of them in such Place, where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better Instruction. But Germanus the same Year dy'd in Italy; and the Britains not long after found themselves again in much Perplexity, with no slight Rumour that their old Troublers the Scots and Picts had prepar'd a strong Invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But e'er their Coming in, as if the Instruments of Divine Justice had been at Strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked Nation, the Pestilence forestalling the Sword, left scarce alive whom to bury the Dead; and for that Time, as one Extremity keeps off another, preserv'd the Land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous Dispossessioners, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter far. And yet the Britains nothing better'd by these heavy Judgments, the one threaten'd, the other felt,

A. D. 446.

Uffer.
Primord.
P. 333.431.
Prosp.
Aquit.Ethelwerd.
Florent.
Gild.
Bede.Malmsbury
I. I. c. 1.
P. 8.

446.

Gildas.

447.
Constantia
Beda.448.
Sigon.
Gildas.

Malmsbury I. I.

A. D. 448. felt, instead of acknowledging the Hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of their King *Vortigern* with Complaints and Cries of what they suddenly fear'd from the *Pictish* Invasion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than sole King, unless the rest had perhaps left their Dominions to the common Enemy, is said by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the Death first of *Constantine*, then of *Constantine* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that Means to have usurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Constantine* with his Son *Constantine* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæsar*, perish'd in *France*, may discern the simple Fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer Stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the People much belov'd, because his Vices sort'd so well with theirs. For neither was he skill'd in War, nor wise in Counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all Vice; wasting the publick Treasure in Gluttony and Riot, careless of the common Danger, and through a haughty Ignorance, unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importun'd and awak'd at length, by unusual Clamours of the People, he summons a General Council, to provide some better means than heretofore had been us'd against these continual Annoyances from the North. Wherein by Advice of all, it was determin'd, that the Saxons be invited into Britain against the Scots and Picts; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not Strength enough to oppose. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing else but Robberies and Cruelties done to all their Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Island, witness that military Force which the Roman Emperors maintain'd here purposely against them, under a special Commander, whose Title, as is found on good Record, was Count of the Saxon-shoar in Britain; and the many Mischiefes done by their landing here, both alone and with the Picts, as above hath been related, witness as much. They were a People thought by good Writers to be descended of the *Saca*, a kind of Scythian in the North of Asia, thence call'd *Sacasans*, or Sons of *Saca*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into Europe, toward the declining of the Roman Empire; and using Piracy from Denmark all along these Seas, possess'd at length by Intrusion all that Coast of Germany and the Netherlands, which took thence the Name of Old Saxony, lying between the Rhine and Elbe, and from thence North as far as *Fidora* the River bounding *Holsatia*, tho' not so firmly or so largely, but that their Multitude wander'd yet uncertain of Habitation. Such Guests as these the Britains resolve now to send for, and entreat into their Houses and Possessions, at whose very Name heretofore they trembled afar off. So much

do Men through Impatience count ever that the heaviest which they bear at present, and to remove the Evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if Variety and Change in Evil also were acceptable. Or whether it be that Men in the Despair of better, imagine fondly a kind of Refuge from one Misery to another. The Britains therefore, with *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over them all, resolve in full Council to send Ambassadors to their choicest Men with great Gifts, and, saith a Saxon Writer in these Words, desiring their Aid: *Worthy Saxons, hearing the Fame of your Prowess, the distressed Britains wearied out, and overpress'd by a continual invading Enemy, have sent us to beseech your Aid. They have a Land fertile and spacious, which to your Commands they bid us surrender. Heretofore we have liv'd with Freedom under the Obedience and Protection of the Roman Empire. Next to them we know none worthier than your selves; and therefore become Suppliants to your Valour. Leave us not below our present Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly we shall submit. Yet Ethelwerd writes not that they promis'd Subjection, but only Amity and League. They therefore who had chief Rule among them, hearing themselves entreated by the Britains, to that which gladly they would have wish'd to obtain of them by entreating to the British Embassy, return this Answer: Be assur'd henceforth of the Saxons, as of faithful Friends to the Britains, no less ready to stand by them in their Need, than in their best of Fortune. The Ambassadors return joyful, and with News as welcome to their Country, whose sinister Fate had now blinded them for Destruction. The Saxons, consulting first their Gods, (for they had Answer, that the Land whereto they went, they should hold 300 Years, half that Time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a * chosen Company of warlike Youth, under the Conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, descended in the fourth Degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the Fame of his Acts, most Kings, of those Nations derive their Pedigree. These, and either mix'd with these, or soon after by themselves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring People, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleswich*, both Provinces of Denmark, arrive in the first Year of *Martian* the Greek Emperor, from the Birth of Christ 450, receiv'd with much good Will of the People first, then of the King, who after some Assurances given and taken, bestows on them the Isle of *Tanet*, where they first landed, hoping they might be made hereby more eager against the Picts, when they fought as for their own Country, and more loyal to the Britains, from whom they had receiv'd a Place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The British *Nennius* writes, that these Brethren were driven into exile*

* *Vortigern* was chosen King in the Year 447.

The Bishop of Worcester will not agree with this Opinion, because no rational Account can be given how the *Saca* left their own Country to people Saxony. Orig. Britann. p. 306. See also *Cambden*, English Edit. p. 124. and *Sheringham*, *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*; *Cambden* derives them from the *Saci*, a People of Scythia; *Sarmatia* or *Asiatica*; *Sheringham* does the same. Bishop *Stillingfleet* thinks they took their Name from their *Seaxes*, or short Swords. *Julius Scaliger* observes, that *Fader*, *Moder*, *Broder*, &c. are us'd in the same Sense in the Persian Language as in the Saxon. And *Busbequius* in his *Epistles* writes, that the Inhabitants of the *Taurick Chersonese* have these words, *Wind*, *Silver*, *Corn*, *Salt*, *Fish*, *Son*, *Apple*; and for that our Saxon Progenitors planted their Colonies in the East as well as the West.

I know not how Liberal the Britains might be in this Distress; but if they made such a frank Surrender, 'tis strange why the Saxons (designing to make themselves Masters of the Kingdom) should insist upon the poor Pretence of short Diet and bad Pay; and not rather urge the express Promise of the Saxon-Ambassadors.

^a Vide *Spelman* Gloss. sub Tit. *Guti*.

^c See *Cambden's Britannia*, Engl. p. 125. The *Jutes*, so call'd from the *Gutes*, *Gates* or *Goths*, inhabiting the *Cimbria* Chersonesus, which the Danes to this day call *Jutland*. The *Angles*, says *Beda*, lib. 1. cap. 15. came out of the Country call'd *Angulus*, which is said to lie between the *Jutes* and the Saxons. *Holslein* was the ancient Seat of the Saxons, and in the Country between *Holslein* and *Jutland* there is now a small Province call'd *Angel*, under the Jurisdiction of the City of *Flensberg*.

A. D.

449.

Ethelwerd.
Malmsbur.
Witichind.
Gest. Sax.
l. 1. p. 3.

Malms.

Witichind.

Gildas.

* About
1500 Men
Beda.

450.

Nennius.
Malms.

The Sax-
onsland in
Britain.

A. D. 450. *Malmsb.* exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reign'd in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans*, and *Ambrosius* came opportunely into the Haven. For it was the Custom in old *Saxony*, when their numerous Off-spring overflow'd the Narrowness of their Bounds, to send them out by Lot into new Dwellings, where-ever they found Room, either vacant or to be forc'd. But whether fought, or unfought, they dwelt not here long without Employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come down, some say, as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new Opposition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a sharp Encounter, put to flight; and that more than once: Slaying in Fight, as some *Scotch* Writers affirm, their King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengist* perceiving the Island to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other Inhabitants given to vicious Ease, sends word home, inviting others to a Share of his good Success: Who returning with seventeen Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain'd without Suspicion on these Terms, that they should bear the Brunt of War against the *Picts*, receiving Stipend and some Place to inhabit. With these was brought over the Daughter of *Hengist*, a Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Rowen* the *British* call her: She by Commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in Presence with a Bowl of Wine to welcome him, and to attend on his Cup till the Feast ended, won so much upon his Fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in Marriage upon any Conditions. *Hengist* at first, though it fell out perhaps according to the Drift, held off, excusing his Meanness; then obscurely intimating a Desire and almost a Necessity, by reason of his augmented Numbers, to have his narrow Bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd to the Circuit of *Kent*, had it granted by Donation. Though *Guoramongus* till then was King of that Place: And so, as it were overcome by the great Munificence of *Vortigern*, gave his Daughter. And still encroaching on the King's Favour, got farther leave to call over *Oeta* and *Ebissa*, his own and his Brother's Son; pretending that they, if the North were given them, would sit there as a continual Defence against the *Scots*, while himself guarded the East. They therefore sailing with forty Ships even to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, possess'd that part of the Isle which is now *Northumberland*. Notwithstanding this, they complain, that their Monthly Pay was grown much into Arrear; which when the *Britains* found means to satisfy, though alledging withal, that they to whom Promise was made of Wages, were nothing so many in number; quieted with this a while, but still seeking Occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that their Pay is too small for the Danger they undergo, threatening open War unless it be augmented. *Guortimer*, the King's Son, perceiving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmost Endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*,

waisted without Resistance almost the whole Land even to the Western Sea, with such a horrid Devastation, that Towns and Colonies overturn'd, Priests and People slain, Temples and Palaces, what with Fire and Sword, lay altogether heap'd in one mixt Ruin. Of all which Multitude, so great was the Sinfulness that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds, that few or none were likely to be other than lewd and wicked Persons. The Residue of these, part overtaken in the Mountains, were slain; others subdu'd with Hunger, prefer'd Slavery before instant Death; some getting to Rocks, Hills and Woods inaccessible, prefer'd the Fear and Danger of any Death before the Shame of a secure Slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; some into *Holland*, where yet remain the Ruines of *Brittenburgh*, *Pritmord*, an old Castle on the Sea, to be seen at low Water not far from *Leiden*; either built, as Writers of their own affirm, or seiz'd on by those *Britains* in their Escape from *Hengist*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as some think, with *Britains* long before; either by Gift of *Constantine* the Great, or else of *Maximus*, to those *British* Forces which had serv'd them in Foreign Wars; to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter *Constantine* at *Arles*: And lastly, these Exiles driven out by *Saxons*, fled for Refuge. But the ancient Chronicles of those Provinces attest their Coming thither to be then first when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the Name of *Britain* in *France* is not read till after that Time. Yet how a Sort of Fugitives, who had quitted without Stroke their own Country, should so soon win another, appears not; unless joyn'd to some Part of their own settled there before. *Vortigern* nothing better'd by these Calamities, grew at last so obdurate as to commit Incest with his Daughter tempted or tempting him out of an Ambition to the Crown. For which being censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of Clerks and Laicks, and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counsel of his Peers, he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a strong Castle in *Radnorshire*, by the Advice of *Ambrosius* a young Prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. Nevertheless *Faustus*, who was the Son thus incestuously begotten, under the Instructions of *German*, or some of his Disciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a Religious Man, and liv'd in Devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Glamorganshire*. But the *Saxons*, though finding it so easy to subdue the Isle, with most of their Forces, uncertain for what Cause, return'd home: When as the Easiness of their Conquest might seem rather likely to have call'd in more. Which makes more probable that which the *British* write of *Guortimer*. For he coming to reign instead of his Father, depos'd for Incest, is said to have thrice driv'n and besieg'd the *Saxons* in the Isle of *Taneth*; and when they issu'd out with powerful Supplies sent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are nam'd; the first on the River *Darwent*, the second at *Episford*, wherein *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* fell, and on the *British* Part *Carigern*, the

^a *Hengist*, in this County, vanquish'd the *Scots* and *Picts*, and obtain'd of *Vortigern* as much Land as he could encompass with an Ox's Hide cut into very small Thongs; from which Treaty, the Town of *Thongaster* in *Lincolnshire* was so call'd.

^b This, we know, is the common Story: But the *Saxon* Annals, as they say nothing of *Rowen*, so they seem to intimate that *Hengist* got it by Force of Arms; telling us, that he worsted the *Britains* in two pitched Battels; and that, upon this, they quitted *Kent*, and betook themselves to *London*.

^c Mr. *Milton* calls the Name of this King of *Kent*, *Guoramongus*: Whereas *Cambden* in his *Brit.* says, The Person who then govern'd *Kent*, was *Vortigern's* Vice-Roy, or *Guorung*.

^d Bishop *Stillingfleet* proves the contrary from several ancient Authors, in his *Antiquities of the Brit. Church*, cap. 5.

A. D. 454. the other Son of *Vortigern*². The third in a Field by *Stonar*^b, then call'd *Lapis tituli* in *Tanet*, where he beat them into their Ships that bore them home; glad to have escap'd, and not venturing to Land again for five Years after. In the space whereof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perswaded that his Bones lying there would be Terror enough to keep the *Saxons* from ever landing in that Place: They, saith *Nennius*, neglecting his Command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning these Times, antientest Annals of the *Saxons* relate in this manner. In the Year 455. *Hengist* and *Horfa* fought against *Vortigern*, in a Place call'd *Eglestbrip*, now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horfa* lost his Life, of whom *Horsted*, the Place of his Burial, took Name. After this first Battel and the Death of his Brother, *Hengist* with his Son *Esca* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who also then or not long after possess'd the Isle of *Wight*, and part of *Hamshire* lying opposite. Two Years after in a Fight at *Creganford*, or *Craford*, *Hengist* and his Son slew of the *Britains* four Chief Commanders^c, and as many thousand Men: The rest in great Disorder flying to *London*, with the total Loss of *Kent*. And eight Years passing between, he made a new War on the *Britains*; of whom in a Battle at *Weppled-fleet*, twelve Princes were slain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl, who left his Name to that Place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last Encounter was at a Place not mention'd, where he gave them such an Overthrow, that flying in great Fear they left the Spoil of all to their Enemies. And these perhaps are the four Battels, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by these Writers far differently related and happening, besides many other Bickerings, in the Space of twenty Years, as *Malmibury* reckons. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomsoever, were put to hard Shifts, being all this while fought withal in *Kent*, their own allotted Dwelling, and sometimes on the very Edge of the Sea, which the Word *Wippeds-fleet* seems to intimate. But *Guortemir* now dead^d, and none of Courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern*, either by the Power of his Faction, or by Consent of all, re-assumes the Government: And *Hengist* thus rid of his grand Opposer, hearing gladly the Restoremment of his old Favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son-in-Law, now that the only Author of Dissention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all Terms of new League and Amity. The King, both for his Wife's Sake and his own Sottishness, consulting also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the Place of Parly is agreed on; to which either side was to repair without Weapons. *Hengist*, whose Meaning was not Peace but Treachery, appointed his Men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what Intent. The Watch-Word was *Nemet eour Saxas*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they observing, when the *Britains* were thoroughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by some Affront, dispatch'd with those Poinards every one his next Man, to the number of 300, the chief of those that could do ought against him either in Counsel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Custody, until he granted them for his Ransom three Provinces, which were called afterward *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*^e. Who thus dismiss'd, retiring again to his solitary Abode in his Country of *Guorthigirniaun*^f, so call'd by his Name, from thence to the Castle of his own Building in *North-Wales* by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Tower by Fire from Heaven, at the Prayer, as some say, of *German*, but that coheres not; as others, by *Ambrosius Aurelianus*; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great Fear, and partly for that Cause invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by constraint, or of their own accord, after much Mischief done, most of them returning back into their own Country, left a fair Opportunity to the *Britains* of revenging themselves the easier on those that staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest Supplication imploring divine Help to prevent their final rooting out, they gather from all Parts, and under the leading of *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a vertuous and modest Man, the last here of *Roman* Stock, advancing now onward against the late Victors, defeat them in a memorable Battel. Common Opinion, but grounded chiefly on the *British* Fables, makes this *Ambrosius* to be a younger Son of that *Constantine*, whose eldest, as we heard, was *Constance* the Monk: Who both lost their Lives abroad usurping the Empire. But the express Words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, assures us that the Parents of this *Ambrosius* having here born Regal Dignity, were slain in these *Pictish* Wars and Commotions in the Island. And if the Fear of *Ambrose* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it seems *Vortigern* usurp'd his Right. I perceive not that *Nennius* makes any Difference between him and *Merlin*: For that Child without Father that prophecy'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambrose*; makes him the Son of a *Roman* Consul; but conceal'd by his Mother, as fearing that the King therefore sought his Life; yet the Youth no sooner had confess'd his Parentage, but *Vortigern* either in Reward of his Predictions, or as his Right, bestow'd upon him all the West of *Britain*; himself retiring to a solitary Life. Whose ever Son he was, he was the first, according to the surest Author, that led against the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this Time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a Time when most of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britains* gather'd Strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against their whole Powers, the second Time returning obtain'd this Victory^g. Thus *Ambrose* as Chief Monarch of

A. D.
161.

466.

Nin. ex leg.
gend.
St. Ger.
Galfrid.
Monmouth.Gild.
Bede.

^a A Monument something like *Stonehenge*, to be seen near *Ailsford*, call'd by the Country People *Kith's Coty-house* from *Catigern*.

^b So Mr *Cambden* and my Lord Primate of *Armagh*, induc'd by the Resemblance of *Lapis tituli* to *Stonar*. But Mr *Sommer* discovering in some antient Records, that this *Stonar* was writ formerly *Estanore*, implying no more than *Our Orientalis*, remov'd it to *Falkson*, and is follow'd in that Opinion by the Bishop of *Worcester*. See *Sommer's* *Forts and Ports in Kent*, p. 94, &c. Still Orig. Brit. p. 322.

^c *Florence of Worcester* mentions 4000 Men.

^d *Wortimer*, says Mr *Tallent*, was poyson'd by *Rowena* his Mother-in-Law, Anno 458. and the *Saxon* Annals under the Year 465. place the Battel of *Wippedes Fleet* then, which Mr *Milton* puts in Anno 473.

^e The Return of *Hengist*, and the Murder of the *British* Nobles happened according to Mr *Tallent's* Chronology, Anno 461. no Authentick Author places it so late as the Year 473.

^f *Ambrosius* commanded the *Britains* Twenty Years, as their General, and Anno 485. was chosen King. *Vid.* Dr. *Pewell's* Catalogue of the Kings of *Wales*.

- A. D. 466. of the Isle succeeded *Vortigern*; to whose third Son *Pascentius* he permitted the Rule of two Regions in *Wales*, ^a *Buelth* and *Guorthigerniaun*. In his Days, faith *Nennius*, the *Saxons* prevail'd not much: Against whom *Arthur*, as being then Chief General for the *British* Kings, made great War; but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, than in true Stories. And the Sequel it self declares as much. For in the Year 477, *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Ciffa*, at a Place in *Sussex*, call'd *Cymenshore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britains*, chasing them that remain'd into the Wood ^b *Andreds-League*.
Nenn.
477. Another Battel was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamsted*, wherein *Ella* had by far the Victory; but *Huntingdon* make it so doubtful, that the *Saxons* were constrain'd to send home for Supplies. Four
Sax. An. Ethelw. Florent. Huntingd.
485. Year after dy'd *Hengist*, the first *Saxon* King of *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that Dignity by Craft as much as Valour, and giving Scope to his own cruel Nature, rather than proceeding by Mildness and Civility. His Son *Oeric*, surnam'd *Osc*, of whom the *Kentish* Kings were call'd *Oscings*, succeeded him, and sat content with his Father's Winnings; more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his Bounds: He reign'd twenty four Years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Ciffa* besieging *Andred-chester*, ^c suppos'd now to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by Force, and all within it put to the Sword. Thus *Ella*, three
Bed. 1. 2. c. 5. Cambden.
- Years after the Death of *Hengist*, began his Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which was then *Old Saxony*, at this Day *Holstein* in *Denmark*, and had besides at his Command, all those Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on this side *Humber*. Animated with these good Successes, as if *Britain* were become now the Field of *Fortune*, *Kerdic* another *Saxon* Prince, the Tenth by *Lineage* from *Woden*, an old and *prais'd* Soldier, who in many prosperous Conflicts against the Enemy in those Parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with Equals, coming to a ^d certain Place, which from thence took the Name of *Kerdic-shoar*, with five Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very same Day overthrew the *Britains* that oppos'd him; and so effectually, that smaller Skirmishes after that Day were sufficient to drive them still farther off, leaving him a large Territory. After him *Porta* another *Saxon*, with his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Ships arrive at *Portsmouth* ^e thence call'd, and at their Landing slew a young *British* Nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them.
Sax. An. omn. Huntingd.
495. The *Britains*, to recover what they had lost, draw together all their Forces, led by *Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britain*, and the greatest, faith one; but him with 5000 of his Men *Kerdic* puts to rout and slays. From whence the Place in *Hampshire*, as far as *Kirdic-ford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*, Who this King should be, hath bred much question; some think it to be the *British* Name of *Ambrose*; others to be the right Name of his Brother, who for the Terror of his Eagerness in Fight, became more known by the Surname of *Uther*, which in the *Welsh* Tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a King in *Britain* there were as
An. omn. Huntingd. Cambden.
501. *Uther Pendragon* ^f, for so also the *Monmouth* Book surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he. *Kirdic* by so great a Blow given to the *Britains* had made large room about him; not only for the Men he brought with him, but for such also of his Friends as he desir'd to make great; for which Cause, and withal the more to strengthen himself, his two Nephews, *Stuf* and *Withgar*, in three Vessels bring him new Levies to *Kerdic-shoar*. Who, that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by their own seeking, or by Appointment, are set in Place where they could not but at their first coming give Proof of themselves upon the Enemy: And so well they did it, that the *Britains* after a hard Encounter left them Masters of the Field. About the same time, *Ella* the first *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Ciffa* his youngest succeeded; the other two failing before him. Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, for it was before the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, that *Uffa* the Eighth from *Woden* made himself King of the *East-Angels*, who by their Name testify the Country above-mention'd; from whence they came in such Multitudes; that their native Soil is said to have remain'd in the Days of *Beda* uninhabited. *Huntingdon* defers the Time of their coming in to the ninth Year of *Kerdic's* Reign: For, faith he, at first many of them strove for Principality, seizing every one his Province, and for some while so continu'd, making petty Wars among themselves; till in the end *Uffa*, of whom those Kings were call'd *Uffings*, overtop'd them all in the Year 571, then *Titilus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, who became potent. And not much after the *East-Angels*, began also the *East-Saxons* to erect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the Tenth from *Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will have it later by eleven Years, and *Ercherwin* to be the first King. *Kerdic*, the same in Power, though not so fond of Title, forbore the Name twenty four Years after his Arrival; but then founded so firmly the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole Monarchy of *England*. The same Year he had a Victory against the *Britains* at *Kerdics-Ford*, by the River *Aven*; and after eight Years, another great Fight at *Kerdics-League*, but which won the Day is not by any set down. Hitherto hath been collected what there is of Certainty, with Circumstance of Time and Place, to be found register'd, and no more than barely register'd in Annals of best Note; without describing after *Huntingdon* the manner of those Battels and Encounters, which they who compare and can judge of Books, may be confident he never found in any current Author whom he had to follow. But this Disease hath been incident to many more Historians: And the Age whereof we now write hath had the ill Hap, more than any since the first fabulous Times, to be surcharg'd with all the idle Fancies of Posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon* Relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these Wars in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the *British* Valour, as declares the *Saxons* in his Times and before, to have been foil'd
Cambd. Uff. primord. Gildas more Credible than the Saxon Annals.
- VOL. I. F not

^a *Buelth* in *Breconshire*, and *Caer Guortigern* in *Radnorshire*. *Camb. Brit.*

^b The *Weald* in *Sussex*; call'd so from an ancient Forest, which by the Name *Andreda*. *Vid. Glof. ad Chron. Sax. in Voc. Andrecaster*. *Andredswald* took in *Sussex*, *Kent* and *Hampshire*, 120 Mile in Length, and 30 in Breadth.

^c See Mr. *Cambden*; but Mr. *Somner* rather chuses *Pemsey* or *Hastings*. *Ports and Forts*, p. 104, 105.

^d *Sardicheora*, quæ nunc vocatur *Germeth*, (says *Brompton*) or *Tarmouth* in *Norfolk*.

^e Call'd so from its Port, and not from *Porta*. *Cambd.*

^f The Story of *Uther Pendragon* is reckon'd a Fable by all the *British* Antiquaries. Bishop *Usher* conjectures, that this *Uther* is the same Person with *Nazaleod*, who for his Valour was surnam'd *Uther*, i. e. Terrible.

^g Suppos'd to be *Cherdsey* in *Buckinghamshire*.

A. D. 527. not seldomer than the *Britains*. For besides that first Victory of *Ambrose*, and the interchangeable Success long after, he tells that the last Overthrow which they receiv'd at *Badon-Hill* was not the least; which they in their oldest Annals mention not at all. And because the Time of this Battel, by any who could do more than guess, is not set down, or any Foundation given from whence to draw a solid Compute, it cannot be much wide to insert it in this place. For such Authors as we have to follow give the Conduct and Praise of this Exploit to *Arthur*; and that this was the last of twelve great Battels which he fought victoriously against the *Saxons*. The several Places written by *Nennius* in their *Welsh* Names, were many hundred Years ago unknown, and so here omitted. But who *Arthur* was, and whether ever any such reign'd in *Britain*, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason^a. For the Monk of *Malmsbury*, and others whose Credit hath sway'd most with the learned Sort, we may well perceive to have known no more of this *Arthur* five hundred Years past, nor of his Doings, than we now living: And what they had to say, transcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial Writer yet extant, which hath already been related. Or out of a *British* Book, the same which he of *Monmouth* set forth, utterly unknown to the World till more than six hundred Years after the Days of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confesses) all other Histories were silent, both foreign and domestick, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later Time have sought to assert him by old Legends and Cathedral Regests. But he who can accept of Legends for good Story, may quickly swell a Volume with Trash, and had need be furnish'd with two only Necessaries, Leisure and Belief, whether it be the Writer, or he that shall read. As to *Arthur*, no less is in Doubt who was his Father; for if it be true, as *Nennius* or his Notist avers, that *Arthur* was call'd *Mab-Uther*, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the Fierceness that Men saw in him of a Child, and the Intent of his Name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that some in after-Ages, who sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the Word *Uther* into a proper Name, and so fain'd him the Son of *Uther*; since we read not in any certain Story, that ever such Person liv'd, till *Geoffrey of Monmouth* set him off with the Surname of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his Parentage, so may we also of his Puissance; for whether that Victory at *Badon-Hill* were his or no, is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambrose* in the former. Next, if it be true as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melwas* King of that Country, which is now *Summerset*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole Year in the Town of *Glaston*, and restor'd her at the Entreaty of *Gildas*, rather than for any Enforcement that *Arthur* with all his Chivalry could make against a small Town, defended only by a moory Situation; had either his Knowledge in War, or the Force he had to make, been answerable to the Fame they bear, that perry King had neither dar'd such an Affront, nor he be so long, and at last without Effect,

in revenging it. Considering, lastly, how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his suppos'd Reign, which began, as some write, in the tenth Year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long War the Countries of *Summerset* and *Hampshire*; there will remain neither Place nor Circumstance in Story, which may administer any likelihood of those great Acts that are ascribed him. This only is alledg'd by *Nennius* in *Artur's* Behalf, that the *Saxons*, tho' vanquish'd never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual Supplies out of *Germany*. And the Truth is, that Valour may be over-toil'd, and overcome at last with endless Overcoming. But as for this Battel of Mount *Baden*, where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in, or besieg'd, whether by *Arthur* won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have given a most undoubted and important Blow to the *Saxons*, and to have stopp'd their Proceedings for a good while after. *Gildas* himself witnessing that the *Britains* having thus compell'd them to sit down with Peace, fell thereupon to civil Discord among themselves. Which Words may seem to let in some Light toward the Searching out when this Battel was fought. And we shall find no Time since the first *Saxon* War, from whence a longer Peace ensu'd, than from the Fight of *Kerdic's-League* in the Year 527. which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to *Kerdic*; and gave us Argument, from the Custom they have of magnifying their own Deeds upon all Occasions, to presume here his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, even to the 44th Year after, wherein *Gildas* wrote, if his obscure Utterance be understood, we shall meet with very little War between the *Britains* and *Saxons*. This only remains difficult, that the Victory first won by *Ambrose* was not so long before this at *Baden* Siege, but that the same Men living might be Eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by *Arthur*, unless we reckon him a grown Youth at least in the Days of *Ambrose*, and much more than a Youth, if *Malmsbury* be heard, who affirms all the Exploits of *Ambrose* to have been done chiefly by *Arthur* as his General, which will add much Unbelief to the common Assertion of his Reigning after *Ambrose* and *Uther*, especially the Fight at *Badon* being the last of his twelve Battels^b. But to prove by that which follows, that the Fight at *Kerdic's-League*, though it differ in Name from that of *Badon*, may be thought the same by all Effects; *Kerdic* three Years after, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the Continent, turns back his Forces on the Isle of *Wight*, which with the slaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*, he soon masters; and not long surviving, left it to his Nephews by the Mother's side, *Stuff* and *Withgar*; the rest of what he had subdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held, and reign'd 26 Years, in whose tenth Year *Withgar* was bury'd in the Town of that Island which bore his Name. Notwithstanding all these Unlikelihoods of *Arthur's* Reign and great Achievements, in a Narration crept in I know not how, among the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, *Artur* the famous King of *Britains*, is said not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who

A. D. 527.

Malmsbury.
Antiquit.
Glaston.

529.

Primord.
p. 468.
Polychron.
ic. l. 5.
c. 6.

Gildas.

Lansdown
near Bath.

530.

Sax. Ann.
omn.

534.

544.

^a Bishop *Stillingfleet*, in his Vth Chapter of his *Antiquities of the British Churches*, justifies the History of King *Arthur*. He was born at *Cornwall*, and dy'd at *Tindagel* in *Cornwall*. *Camb. Brit. Tit. Corn.* The Story of this *British* Hero is confirm'd by the Inscription on his Coffin, which was dug up by Command of *Henry* the Second, who had learn'd by the Songs of the *British* Bards, that he was bury'd at *Glastonbury* in *Somersetshire*, between two Pyramids; where nine Foot deep a Coffin made of the Trunk of an Oak was found; with this Inscription on it in *Gothick* Characters:
Hic jacet sepultus inclitus Rex Arturius in Insula Avalonia.

Cambd. Tir. Somersetsh.

^b This Fight was fought, according to the best *British* Manuscripts, Anno. 520.
^c Suppos'd to be *Canisbrook*-Castle in the Isle of *Wight*. The Town was then call'd *Withgarishyrig*, from *Withgar*, *Cerdic's* Nephew, to whom it was given.

A. D.
544.

who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeſland*, and all the North-Eaſt Iſles as far as *Ruſſia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eaſtern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britain*. When ſhould this be done? From the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battels, he had no reſt at home; after thoſe, the *Britains* contented with the Quiet they had from the *Saxon* Enemies, were ſo far from ſeeking Conqueſts abroad, that by report of *Gildas* above-cited, they fell to Civil Wars at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repreſs their flowing hither, than to have won Kingdoms as far as *Ruſſia*, ſcarce able here to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Hiſtorian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the Deeds of *Artur*, yet what he writes thereof himſelf, as of better Credit, ſhews not whence he had but from thoſe Fables; which he ſeems content to believe in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have aſſiſted *Arthur*, in all his Wars and Atchievements, whereof appears as little Ground by any credible Story, as of that which he moſt counts Fabulous. But not farther to conteſt about ſuch Uncertainties. In the Year 547, *Ida* the *Saxon*, ſprung alſo from *Woden* in the tenth Degree, began the Kingdom of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town * *Bebbanburg*, which was after Wall'd; and had twelve Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengiſt*, by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had ſent *Oſta* and *Ebiſſa* to ſeek them Seats in the North, and there by warring on the *Picts*, to ſecure the Southern Parts. Which they ſo prudently effected, that what by Force and fair Proceeding, they well quitted thoſe Countries; and though ſo far diſtant from *Kent*, nor without Power in their hands, yet kept themſelves nigh 180 Years within Moderation; and as Inferiour Governours, they and their Off-ſpring gave Obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the Elder Family. Till at length, following the Example of that Age; when no leſs than Kingdoms were the Prize of every fortunate Commander, they thought it but Reaſon, as well as others of their Nation, to aſſume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the firſt, a Man in the prime of his Years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aſpiring or by free Choice, is not ſaid. Certain enough it is, that his Vertues made him not leſs Noble than his Birth, in War undaunted, and unſoil'd; in Peace temp'ring the Awe of Magiſtracy, with a natural Mildneſs: He reign'd about twelve Years. In the mean while *Kenric* in a Fight at *Seareſbirig*, now *Salisbury*, kill'd and put to flight many of the *Britains*; and the fourth Year after at *Bevanvirig*, now *Banbury*, as ſome think, with *Keaulin* his Son put them again to flight: *Keaulin* ſhortly after ſucceeded his Father in the *West-Saxons*. And *Alla* deſcended alſo of *Woden*, but by another Line, ſet up a ſecond Kingdom in *Deira* the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it thirty Years; while *Adda* the Son of *Ida* and five more after him, reign'd without other Memory in *Bernicia*: And in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next Year began. For *Eſca* the Son of *Hengiſt* had left *Otha*, and he *Emeric* to Rule after him; both which without adding to their Bounds, kept what they had in Peace fifty three Years. But *Ethelbert* in length of Reign equal'd both his Progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, three Years exceeded. Young at his firſt Entrance, and un-experienc'd, he was the firſt Raiſer of Civil War among the *Saxons*; claiming from the Priority of time wherein *Hengiſt* took Poſſeſſion here, a kind of Right over the later Kingdoms;

and thereupon was troubleſome to their Conſines: But by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to ſeem dreadful, became almoſt contemptible. For *Keaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, purſuing him into his own Territory, ſlew there in Battel; at *Wibbandun*, two of his Earls, *Oſlac*, and *Cnebban*. By this means the *Britains*, but chiefly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the ſpace of forty four Years ending in 571, receiv'd no great Annoyance from the *Saxons*: But the Peace they enjoy'd, by ill uſing it, prov'd more deſtructive to them than War. For being rais'd on a ſudden by two ſuch eminent Succeſſes, from the loweſt Condition of Thralldom, they whole Eyes had beheld both thoſe Deliverances, that by *Ambroſe*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by the Experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magiſtrates, Priests and Private Men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted with paſt Evils, and only ſenſible of their preſent Eaſe and Quiet, ſucceeded, ſtrait follow'd the apparent Subverſion of all Truth and Juſtice, in the Minds of moſt Men: Scarcely the leaſt Footſtep, or Impreſſion of Goodneſs left remaining through all Ranks and Degrees in the Land; except in ſome ſo very few, as to be hardly viſible in a general Corruption: which grew in ſhort ſpace not only manifeſt, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And firſt their Kings, among whom alſo, the Sons or Grand Children of *Ambroſe*, were foully degenerated to all Tyranny and Vitious Life. Whereof to hear ſome Particulars out of *Gildas* will not be impertinent. They avenge, ſaith he, and they proteſt; not the innocent, but the guilty: They ſwear oft, but perjure; they wage War, but civil and unjuſt War. They puniſh rigorouſly them that rob by the high Way; but thoſe grand Robbers that ſit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They give Alms largely, but in the Face of their Alms-deeds, pile up Wickedneſs to a far higher Heap. They ſit in the Seat of Judgment, but go ſeldom by the Rule of Right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modeſt and harmleſs; but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominableſt Crimes; they ſtuff their Prisons, but with Men committed rather with Circumvention, than any juſt Cauſe. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the ſame paſs or rather worſe, than when the *Saxons* came firſt in; unlearned, unapprehenſive, yet impudent; ſubtle Prowlers, Paſters in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all Occaſions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themſelves: Not call'd, but ſeiſing on the Miniſtry as a Trade, not as a Spiritual Charge: Teaching the People, not by ſound Doctrine, but by evil Example: Uſurping the Chair of *Peter*, but through the Blindneſs of their own Worldly Luſts, they ſtumble upon the Seat of *Judas*: Deadly Haters of Truth, Broachers of Lies: Looking on the poor Chriſtian with Eyes of Pride and Contempt; but ſawning on the wickedest rich Men without Shame: Great Promoters of other Men's Alms with their ſet Exhortations; but themſelves contributing ever leaſt; ſlightly touching the many Vices of the Age, but preaching without end their own Grievances, as done to Chriſt; ſeeking after Preferments and Degrees in the Church more than after Heav'n; and ſo gain'd, make it their whole Study how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yet leaſt they ſhould be thought things of no Uſe in their eminent Places, they have their Niceties and trivial Points to keep in awe the Superſtitious Multitude; but in true ſaving Knowledge leave them ſtill as groſs and ſtupid as themſelves; Bunglers at the Scripture,

A. D.
568.
Ann. omn.
568.
Wimbleton
in Surrey.

Gildas.

547.
The Kingdom of
Northumberland.
Ann. omn.
Bed. Epit.
Malmsb.
* Bamburrow at this Day.

Malmsb.

552.
Annual omn.
556.
Camden.560.
Annual.
Florent.
The Kingdom of the Northumbrians divided into two Monarchies, Bernicia and Deira.561.
Malmsb.

A. D. 571. nay forbidding and silencing them that know ; but in Worldly Matters, practis'd and cunning Shifters ; in that only Art and Simony, great Clerks and Masters, bearing their Heads high, but their Thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from these, poor Laity, so he goes on, these Beasts, all Belly ? Shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil Doings ? Shalt thou see with their Eyes, who see right forward nothing but Gain ? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blind-fold into the same Perdition. Are all thus ? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himself blameless, while he connived at others that were abominable ? Who of them hath been envy'd for his better Life ? Who of them hath been hated to consort with these, or withstood their entering the Ministry, or endeavour'd zealously their casting out ? Yet some of these perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the State of Government, this of Religion among the *Britains*, in that long Calm of Peace, which the Fight at *Baden Hill* had brought forth. Whereby it came to pass, that so fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruin'd and waste ; nor was it long e're Domestick War breaking out, wasted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then also several Kings. Five of whom *Gildas* living then in *Armorica*, at a safe Distance, boldly reproves by Name ; First *Constantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Artur's* half Brother by the Mother's Side) who then reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical and Bloody King, polluted also with many Adulteries : He got into his Power, two Young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in Right, or otherwise suspected : And after solemn Oath given of their Safety, the Year that *Gildas* wrote, slew them with their two Governours in the Church, and in their Mother's Arms, through the Abbot's Cope, which he had thrown over them, thinking by the Reverence of his Vesture to have with-held the Murderer. These are commonly suppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Artur's* Nephew, said to have revolted from his Uncle, given him in a Battel his Death's Wound, and by him after to have been slain. Which things were they true, would much diminish the Blame of Cruelty in *Constantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of so false a *Mordred*. In another part, but not express'd where, *Aurelius Cananus* was King : Him he charges also with Adulteries, and Parricide ; Cruelties worse than the former ; to be a Hater of his Countries Peace, thirsting after Civil War and Prey : His Condition it seems, was not very prosperous ; for *Gildas* wishes him, being now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midst of a barren Field, to remember the Vanity, and Arrogance of his Father and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely Death in their Youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipor*, the Son of a good Father ; he was when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in Years only, but in Adulteries, and in governing full of Falshood, and cruel Actions. In his latter Days, putting away his Wife, who dy'd in Divorce, he became,

if we mistake not *Gildas*, incestuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbru'd in Civil War ; he also had divorc'd his Wife, and taken her Sister, who had vow'd Widowhood : He was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his Wealth. The last but greatest of all in Power, was *Maglocune*, and greatest also in Wickedness ; he had driv'n out or slain many other Kings, or Tyrants ; and was called the *Island Dragon*, perhaps having his Seat in *Anglesey* ; a profuse Giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly Stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the Head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom : Then touch'd with Remorse of his Doings, not without Deliberation took upon him the Profession of a Monk ; but soon forsook his Vow, and his Wife also, which for that Vow he had left, making Love to the Wife of his Brother's Son then living. Who not refusing the Offer, if she were not rather the first that entic'd, found means both to dispatch her own Husband, and the former Wife of *Maglocune*, to make her Marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better Instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest Man reputed of all *Britain*, the Instructor of his Youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer Story, of what pass among the *Britains* from the time of their useless Victory at *Baden*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to say, as may be guess'd, from 527 to 571, is here set down all together ; not to be reduc'd under any Certainty of Years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the most part all this while had been still, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault them, and e're long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this side *Wales*. For *Cuthulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, took from them four good Towns, ^a *Li-ganburgh*, ^{*} *Eglesburgh*, *Befington*, now *Benson* in *Oxfordshire*, and [†] *Ignisham* ; but outliv'd not many Months his good Success. And after six Years more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great Overthrow at *Deorham* in *Glostershire*, slew three of their Kings, *Comail*, *Candidan*, and *Farinmail*, and took three of their chief Cities ; *Glocester*, *Cirencester*, and *Badencester*. The *Britains* notwithstanding, after some space of time, judging to have out-grown their Losses, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin* with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanlege* ; whom valiantly fighting, they slew among the thickest, and as is said, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the Fight, put them to a main Rout, and following his Advantage, took many Towns, and repur'd laden with rich Booty. The last of those *Saxons* who rais'd their own Achievements to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, much about this time, first Founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing also his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the several Genealogies, though it might be done without long Search, were, in my Opinion, to encumber the Story with a sort of barbarous Names, to little Purpose. This may suffice, that of *Woden's* three Sons, from the Eldest issu'd *Hengist*, and his Succession ; from the second, the Kings of *Mercia* ; from the third, all that Reign'd in *West-Saxon*, and most of the *Northumbers*, of whom

A. D. 571.

571. Cambden. Ann. omr.

* *Alisbury*. † *Ensham*, in *Oxfordshire*.

577. Durham.

Bath.

Huntingd.

The Kingdom of Mercia.

Huntingd. Mat. West.

Malmf. l. r. c. 3.

Alia

^a Possibly *Layton* in *Bedfordshire*. See the Gloss to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

[†] Some Authors place the founding of the Kingdom of *East Angles* by *Uffa* at this time, Anno. 575. Mr. *Tallent* is of this Opinion in his *Chronological Tables*.

^{*} *Henry* of *Huntington* and *Matt. Westmister*, write that *Crida* founded the Kingdom of *Mercia* in the Year 585.

A. D. 584. *Florent. ad ann.* *Alla* was one, the first King of *Deira*; which after his Death, the Race of *Ida* seiz'd, and made it one Kingdom with *Bernaicia*, usurping on the Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla's* Son, whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* Expell'd. Notwithstanding others write of him; that from a poor Life, and beyond Hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly by the access of a Kingdom, have overcome his former Obscurity, had not the Fame of his Son preserv'd him. Once more the *Britains*, e're they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew some Manhood; for meeting *Keaulin* at *Wodens Beorth*, that is to say, *Wodens Mount* in *Wiltshire*, whether it were by their own Forces, or assisted by the *Angles*, whose hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they ruin'd his whole Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, from whence flying, he dy'd the next Year in Poverty, who a little before was the most Potent and indeed Sole King of all the *Saxons* on this side *Humber*. But who was chief among the *Britains* in this Exploit had been worth remembring, whether it were *Maglocune*, of whose Prowess hath been spoken, or *Teudric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the Regest of *Landaff* recounts to have been always Victorious in Fight; to have

Reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the aid of his Son *Mauric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to Extremes, taking Arms again, he defeated them at *Tintarne* by the River *Wye*; but himself receiv'd a mortal Wound. The same Year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Cuthulf*, *Keaulin's* Brother succeeded; *Crida* also the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whose room *Wilba* succeeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfred* in the room of *Ethelric*, Reigning twenty four Years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the view of what with reason can be rely'd on for Truth, done in *Britain*, since the *Romans* forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many Miseries and Desolations brought by Divine Hand on a perverse Nation; driven, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountainous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heaven is Infidelity profess'd, than Christian Faith and Religion dishonoured by unchristian Works. Yet they also at length renounc'd their Heathenism, which how it came to pass, will be the Matter next related.

A. D.

592.

593.

^a 'Tis probably the same place with *Wanbury*, on the Borders of *Wilt* and *Berk*; or rather a little Village between *Marlborough* and the *Dewises*, near *Wansdike*.

^b The *British* Chronicles put the total Retreat of the *Welsh* into *Wales*, Anno 517.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continued to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book IV.

A. D. 593. *Bed. l. 1. c. 25.* *Malmsh.* **T**HE *Saxons* grown up now to seven Absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by Succession, finding their Power arriv'd well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the *Britains*, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leisure one another's Greatness. Which quickly bred among them either Envy or mutual Jealousies; till the *West* Kingdom at length grown over-powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, who by this time had well ripen'd his young Ambition, with more ability of Years and experience in War, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber*, to be at his Devotion. To which design the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, being the firmest of them all; at that time sore shaken by their overthrow at *Wodens-beorth*, and the Death of *Keaulin*, gave him no doubt a main Advantage; the rest yielded nor Subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the *French* King's Daughter, though a Christian, and with this Condition, to have the

free exercise of her Faith, under the Care and Instruction of *Letardus* a Bishop, sent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithstanding and his People retaining their own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* lays it sadly to the *Britains* charge, that they never would vouchsafe their *Saxon* Neighbours the Means of Conversion. But how far to blame they were, and what Hope there was of Converting in the midst of so much Hostility, at least Fairhood from their first Arrival, is not now easie to determine. Howbeit not long after, they had the Christian Faith preach'd to them by a Nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in *Beda's* time) upon this Occasion. The *Northumbrians* had a Custom at that time, and many hundred Years after not abolish'd, to sell their Children for a small value into any Foreign Land. Of which Number two Comely Youths were brought to *Rome*, whose fair and honest Countenance invited *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of that City, among others that beheld them, pitying their Condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by some that stood by, that they were *Angels* of the Province of *Deira*, Subjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and by Religion Pagans. Which last *Gregory* deploring,

A. D.

593.

Bed. l. 1.

c. 22.

Bed. l. 2.

c. 1.

Malmsh.

l. 1. c. 3.

A. D. 593. fram'd, on a sudden this allusion to the three Names he heard; that the *Angli*, so like to Angels, should be snatch'd *de ira*; that is, from the Wrath of God, to sing *Hallelujah*: And forthwith obtaining Licence of *Benedict* the Pope, had come and preach'd here among them, had not the *Roman* People, whose love endur'd not the absence of so vigilant a Pastor over them, recall'd him, then on his Journey, though but deferr'd his Pious Intention. For a while after, succeeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth Year, admonish'd, saith *Beda*, by Divine Instinct, he sent *Augustine*, whom he had design'd for Bishop of the *English* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Gospel. Who being now on their way, discouraged by some Reports, or their own carnal Fear, sent back *Austin*, in the Name of all, to beseech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be sent a Journey so full of Hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose Tongue they understood not. *Gregory* with Pious and Apostolick Persuasions, exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a Work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of Divine Assistance. The Letter itself yet extant among our Writers of Ecclesiastick Story, I omit here, as not professing to relate of those Matters more than what mixes aptly with Civil Affairs. The Abbot *Austin*, for so he was ordain'd over the rest, reincurag'd by the Exhortations of *Gregory*, and his Fellows, by the Letter which he brought them, came safe to the Isle of *Tanet*, in number about Forty, besides some of the *French* Nation, whom they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Austin* at his landing had sent a new and wondrous Message, that he came from *Rome* to proffer Heaven and Eternal Happiness in the Knowledge of another God than the *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and Necessaries to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain Days coming into the Island, chose a place to meet them under the open Sky, possess'd with an old Persuasion, that all Spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within Doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side, call'd to his Presence, advancing for their Standard a Silver Cross, and the painted Image of our Saviour, came slowly forward singing their Solemn Letanies; Which wrought in *Ethelbert* more Suspicion perhaps that they us'd Enchantments; till sitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that Assembly, the Tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus answer'd: Fair indeed and ample are the Promises which ye bring, and such things as have the Appearance in them of much Good; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot hastily assent to, quitting the Religion which from my Ancestors, with all the *English* Nation, so many Years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are Strangers, and have endured so long a Journey, to impart us the Knowledge of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any Molestation; but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your Belief. And accordingly their Residence he allotted them in *Deroverne* or *Canterbury* his chief City, and made provision for their Maintenance, with free leave to preach their Doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the Example of their Holy Life, spent in

Prayer, Fasting, and continual Labour in the Conversion of Souls, they won many; on whose Bounty and the King's, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the City, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of *St. Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd here: In which *Bertha* the Queen went out usually to Pray. Here they also began first to Preach, Baptize, and openly to Exercise Divine Worship. But when the King himself, convinc'd by their good Life and Miracles, became Christian, and was baptiz'd, which came to pass in the very first Year of their Arrival; then Multitudes^a daily, conforming to their Prince, thought it Honour to be reckon'd among those of his Faith: To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally shewed his Favour, but compell'd none. For so he had been taught by them, who were both the Instructors and the Authors of his Faith, that Christian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of *Cutha*, *Keaulin*'s Brother, reign'd over the *West-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual War either with *English* *Welsh*, *Picts* or *Scots*. But *Austin*, whom with his Fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better Place for their Abode in the City, and other Possessions necessary to Livelihood, crossing into *France*, was by the Archbishop of *Ayles*, at the Appointment of Pope *Gregory*, ordain'd Archbishop of the *English*: And returning, sent to *Rome* *Laurence* and *Peter*, two of his Associates, to acquaint the Pope of his good Success in *England*, and to be resolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical Questions: With answers to which, not proper in this Place, *Gregory* sends also to the great Work of Converting, that went on so happily, a supply of Labourers, *Mellitus* *Justus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and many others; who what they were may be guess'd by the Stuff which they brought with them, Vessels and Vestments for the Altar, Copes, Relicks, and for the Archbishop *Austin* a Pall to say Mass in: To such a rank Superstition that Age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of Apostolick Zeal. Lastly, to *Ethelbert* they brought a Letter with many Presents. *Austin* thus exalted to Archiepiscopal Authority, recover'd from the Ruins and other profane Uses, a Christian Church in *Canterbury*, built of old by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Christ's Church*, and joining to it built a Seat for himself and his Successors; a Monastery also near the City Eastward, where *Ethelbert* at his motion built *St. Peter's*, and enrich'd it with great Endowments, to be a place of Burial for the Archbishops and Kings of *Kent*: So quickly they stept up into Fellowship of Pomp with Kings. While thus *Ethelbert* and his People had their Minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian* King was not less busied in far different Affairs: For being altogether Warlike, and covetous of Fame, he more wasted the *Britains* than any *Saxon* King before him; winning from them large Territories, which either he made Tributary, or planted with his own Subjects. Whence *Edan* King of those *Scots* that dwelt in *Britain*, jealous of his Successes, came against him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd *Degsafton*; but in the Fight losing most of his Men, himself with a few escap'd: Only *Theobald* the King's Brother, and the whole Wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* less entire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hostile Manner durst pass into *Britain* for a hundred and more Years after: And

A. D.

597.

598.

Ethelbert
the first
Engl. King
converted
to Christi-
anity.

Beda l. 2.
c. 5.

599.

Sax. An.
Malmsh.

601.

Beda l. 1.
c. 27.

Christ's
Church at
Canterbury
dedicated
by *S. Austin*
the Apo-
stle of the
English.

Beda l. 2.
c. 34.

603.

^a Ten thousand baptiz'd in the Year 599. *Tall. Tab.*

A. D. 603. and what some Years before, *Kelwulf* of the *West-Saxon* is annal'd to have done against the *Scots* and *Picts*, passing through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King so potent, unless in his Aid and Alliance, is not likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, assisted by *Keaulin*, whom he mis-cities King of *East-Saxons*, had before this time a Battel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha* *Keaulin's* Son was slain. But *Cutha*, as is above written from better Authority, was slain in Fight against the *Welsh* twenty Years before. The Number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that *Augustine* ordaining Bishops under him, two of his Assistants *Mellitus* * and *Justus*, sent them out both to the Work of their Ministry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *East-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by Permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Sister *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whose Conversion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built them the great Church of *St. Paul* in *London* to be their Bishop's Cathedral; as *Justus* also had his built at *Rocheſter*, and both gifted by the same King with fair Possessions. Hitherto *Austin* laboured well among Infidels, but not with like Commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of *Ethelbert* summoning the *Britain* Bishops to a Place ^b on the Edge of *Worcestershire*, call'd from that Time *Augustine's Oak*, he requires them to conform with him in the same Day of celebrating *Easter*, and many other Points wherein they differ'd from the Rites of *Rome*: Which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by Dispute, he appeals to a Miracle, restoring to Sight a blind Man whom the *Britains* could not cure. At this something mov'd, though not minded to recede from their own Opinions, without farther Consultation, they request a second Meering: To which came seven *Britain* Bishops, with many other learned Men, especially from the famous Monastery of *Bangor*, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by their own Labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One Man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the Life he led, who by his Wisdom effected more than all the rest who went: Being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Austin* to be a Man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the Yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his Advice, and hasted to the Place of Meeting. Whom *Austin*, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receiv'd into any Brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the *Britains*, as they were counsel'd by the Holy Man, neglected him, and neither hearken'd to his Proposals of Conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Arch-bishop: And in Name of the rest, *Dimothus* then Abbot of *Bangor*, is said, thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the Subjection which you require, be thus perswaded of us, that in the Bond of Love and Charity

we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by Word and Deed, to be the Children of God: Other Obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this Obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of *Caerleon* *, who is to oversee us in Spiritual Matters. To which *Austin* thus presaging, some say menacing, replies, *Since ye refuse to accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye shall have War from your Enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the Word of Life, to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive Death.* This, though Writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his Prophecy, or as his Plot against the *Britains*, fell out accordingly. For many Years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own Accord, or at the Request of *Ethelbert*, incens'd by *Austin*, with a powerful Host came to *Westchester*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *British* Forces, and both Sides in Readiness to give the Onset, he discerns a Company of Men, not habited for War, standing together in a Place of some Safety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learn'd upon some Enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assembl'd thither after three Days fasting to pray for the good Success of their Forces against him, therefore they first, faith he, shall feel our Swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by their Prayers, and are our dangerousst Enemies. And with that turns his first Charge upon the Monks: *Brocmail*, the Captain, set to guard them, quickly turns his Back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden Massacre, whereof scarce fifty 'scap'd: But not so easie Work found *Ethelfrid* against another Part of *Britains* that stood in Arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with Slaughter nigh as great to his own Soldiers. To excuse *Austin* of this Bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful Policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the Time of his sitting Arch-bishop be right computed sixteen Years, he must survive this Action. Other just Ground of charging him with this Imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from *Geoffrey Monmouth*, whose Weight we know. The same Year *Kelwulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, faith *Huntingdon*, to both sides, but most to them of the *South*: And four Years after dying left the Government of *West-Saxons* to *Kineglis* and *Cuichelm* the Sons of his Brother *Keola*. Others, as *Florent* of *Worcester*, and *Matthew* of *Westminster*, will have *Cuichelm* Son of *Kineglis*, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whose third Year they are recorded with joynt Forces or Conduct to have fought against the *Britains* in *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*, and to have slain of them above two Thousand: More memorable was the second Year following, by the Death of *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Saxons*, and no less a Favourer of all Civility in that rude Age. He gave Laws and Statutes after the Example of *Roman* Emperors, written with the Advice of his

A. D. 604.

* In Monmouthshire.

Sax. An. Huntingd. 607.

Malmsh. Gest. Pont. c. 1.

Sax. An. 611.

Sax. An. Malmsh. 614.

614.

616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

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Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

Sax. An. 616.

* *Mellitus*, Bishop of *London*, and *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*.b *Beda* says, it was on the Confines of the *Wiccians* and *West-Saxons*; whereas *Worcestershire* doth not any where border upon the *West-Saxons*. By his Account, it should have stood about that Part of *Glocestershire*, which joyns *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*.c In this Year 611. *Sebert* King of the *East-Saxons* founded *St. Peter's* Church and Abbey at *Westminster*, which was consecrated by *Mellitus* first Bishop of *London*.d The *Saxon* Chronical calls it *Beamdune*: And it is not unlikely, that 'twas *Bampton* in *Devonshire*, where it borders upon *Somersetshire*, tho' *Cambden* in his *Brit. Tit.* *Dorsetshire*, says *Beamdune* is *Byndon* near *Wareham* in that County.e He was the first *English* King who coin'd Money. *Cambd. Rem.*

604. Bel. 1. 2. 6. 3.

St. Paul's Church in London founded.

2100 Monks in the Monastery of Bangor.

Spelman's Council. pag. 108.

A. D. 616. his sagest Counsellors, but in the *English* Tongue, and observ'd long after. Wherein his special Care was to punish those who had stoll'n ought from Church or Churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he receiv'd at their Hands the Christian Faith, Which, he no sooner dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took the Course as fast to extinguish; not only falling back to Heathenism, but that which Heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his Father's second Wife. Then soon was perceiv'd what Multitudes for Fear or Countenance of the King had profess'd Christianity, returning now as eagerly to their old Religion. Nor staid the Apostasie within one Province, but quickly spread over to the *East-Saxons*; occasion'd there likewise, or set forward by the Death of their Christian King *Sebert*: Whose three Sons, of whom two are nam'd; *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his Life-time would be brought to Baptism, and after his Decease re-establish'd the free Exercise of Idolatry; nor so content, they set themselves in Despight to do some open Profanation against the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church, where *Mellitus* the Bishop, was ministring, they requir'd him in Abuse and Scorn, to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the consecrated Bread; and him refusing, drove disgracefully out of their Dominion. Who cross'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the same plight, and thence into *France*, with *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine Vengeance deferred not long the Punishment of Men so impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit, fell often into foul Fits of Distraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Fight against the *West-Saxons* perish'd, with their whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the Year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Archbishop and Successor of *Austin* was preparing to ship for *France*, after *Justus* and *Mellitus*, the Story goes, if it be worth believing; that *St. Peter*, in whose Church he spent the Night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Vision more sensible, gave him many Stripes for offering to desert his Flock; at sight whereof the King (to whom next Morning he shewed the Marks of what he had suffer'd, by whom and for what Cause) relenting and in great Fear dissolv'd his incestuous Marriage, and apply'd himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely than before, with all his People. But the *Londoners*, addicted still to Paganism, would not be perswaded to receive again *Mellitus* their Bishop, and to compel them was not in his Power.

617. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion; as much were the North Parts disquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch'd before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and joyn'd that Kingdom to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his Right, whose known Vertues and high Parts gave Cause of Suspicion to his Enemies, sends Messengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *East-Angles*; under whose Protection, after many Years wandring obscurely through all the Island, he had plac'd his Safety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all Defence to *Edwin* as to his Suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large Offers of Gold, and not contemning the Puissance of *Ethelfrid*, yielded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into their hands: But earnestly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hospitality and Refuge given, prefers his first Pro-

mise as the more Religious; nor only refuses to deliver him; but since War was thereupon denounc'd, determines to be beforehand with the Danger; and with a sudden Army rais'd, surprizes *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an Invasion, and in a Fight near to the East-side of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* Border, now *Nottinghamshire*^b, slays him, dissipating easily those few Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him; who yet as a Testimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, slew first with his own Hands *Reiner* the King's Son. His two Sons *Oswald*, and *Oswi*, by *Acca*, *Edwin*'s Sister, escap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became so far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reckons him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert*; who besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on the hither-side *Humber* at his Obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receiv'd Baptism, but coming home, and perswaded by his Wife, who still it seems, was his chief Counsellor to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion; yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either, for more Assurance to keep them both; and in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more Deliberation he undertook, and with more Sincerity retain'd the Christian Profession, so also in Power and Extent of Dominion far exceeded all before him; subduing all, saith *Beda*, *English* or *British*, even to the Isles, then call'd *Me- vanian*, *Anglesey*, and *Man*; settl'd in his Kingdom by *Redwald*, he sought in Marriage *Edelburga*, whom others call'd *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whose Embassadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made answer, *That to wed their Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Christian Law*. *Edwin* reply'd, that to her Religion he would be true, *and that with her whole Household he might freely exercise*. And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would imbrace it. These ingenious Offers, opening so fair a way to the Advancement of Truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a spiritual Guardian sent along with the Virgin. He being to that purpose made Bishop by *Justus*, omitted no Occasion to plant the Gospel in those Parts, but with small Success, till the next Year, *Cuthelm*, at that time one of the two *West-Saxon* Kings, envious of the Greatness which he saw *Edwin* growing up to, sent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to assassinate him; who under Pretence of doing a Message from his Master, with a poison'd Weapon, stabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his House, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkshire*, on an *Easter-Day*; which *Lilla*, one of the King's Attendants, at the instant perceiving, with a Loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole Body to the Blow; which notwithstanding made Passage through to the King's Person, with a Wound not to be slighted. The Murderer encompass'd now with Swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own Fall with the Death of another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no Opportunity to win the King from Mis-belief, obtain'd at length this Promise from him; that if Christ, whom he so magnify'd, would give him to recover of his Wound, and Victory of his Enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in Pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion; who

A. D.
617.

Camden.

Bed. l. 2
c. 15.

625.

626.

* *Beda* tells it.b Near *Markham*.

A. D. 626. who with twelve others of his Family, on the Day of *Pentecost* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his Wound, to punish the Authors of so foul a Fact, he went with an Army against the *West-Saxons*: Whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had conspir'd against him, put some to death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious; and from that time worshipping no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not rashly into Baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his Belief. But while he still deferr'd, and his deferring might seem now to have past the maturity of Wisdom to a faulty Lingring; *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was believ'd, coming to the knowledge of a Secret, which befel him strangely in the time of his Troubles, on a certain Day went in boldly to him, and laying his right Hand on the Head of the King, ask'd him if he remembered what that Sign meant? The King trembling, and in amaze rising up, straight fell at his Feet: Behold, saith *Paulinus*, raising him from the Ground, God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and given you the Kingdom, as you desir'd: Perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, shall to your Temporal Felicity add Eternal. The Promise claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of Legend, is thus related: ^a *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazled with the Gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatening over-aw'd, having promis'd to yield up *Edwin*, one of his faithful Companions, of which he had some few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never shrunk from his Adversity, about the first Hour of Night comes in haste to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better Security, reveals to him his Danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approv'd, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long been his only Refuge, the Friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace-Gate, full of Sadness and perplext Thoughts, discerns about the dead of Night a Man, neither by Countenance nor by Habit to him known, approaching towards him: Who, after Salutation, ask'd him, why at this Hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* not a little misdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, What his sitting within doors or without concern'd him to know? To whom he again, Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here, or what Danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promise to that Man, who ever would befriend you out of all these Troubles, and persuade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, answer'd *Edwin*. And he, What if the same Man should promise to make you greater than any English King hath been before you? I should not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be answerably grateful. And what if to all this he would inform you, said the other, in a way to Happiness, beyond what any of your Ancestors hath known; would you hearken to his Counsel? *Edwin*, without stopping, promis'd he would. And the other,

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laying his right Hand on *Edwin*'s Head, when this sign, saith he, shall next befall thee, remember this time of Night, and this Discourse, to perform what thou hast promis'd; and with these Words disappearing, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not less fill'd with wonder who this unknown should be. When suddenly the Friend who had been gone all this while to listen farther what was like to be decreed of *Edwin*, comes back, and joyfully bids him rise to his Repose, for that the King's Mind, tho' for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why *Edwin* admonish'd by the Bishop of a Sign which had befallen him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that Reverence and Amazement, as to one sent from Heaven, to claim that Promise of him which he perceiv'd well was due to a Divine Power that had assisted him in his Troubles. To *Paulinus* therefore he makes answer, That the Christian Belief he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would confer first with his chief Peers and Counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therefore being ask'd in Council what their Opinion was concerning this new Doctrine, and well perceiving which way the King inclin'd, every one hereafter shap'd his Reply. The Chief Priest speaking first, discover'd an old Grudge he had against his Gods, for advancing others in the King's Favour above him their Chief Priest: Another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave Sentence, commended the choice of certain, before uncertain, upon due Examination; to like purpose answer'd all the rest of his Sages, none openly dissenting from what was likely to be the King's Creed: Whereas the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without Success. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing Heathenism, became Christian: And the Pagan Priest offering himself freely to demolish the Altars of his former Gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons, *Osfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Queenburga*, Daughter, as saith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his Banishment, and with them most of the People, both Nobles and Commons, easily converted, were baptized^b; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church hastily built up of Wood, the Multitude most part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus christen'd, *Paulinus* crossing *Humber*, converted also the Province of *Linsey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Household and most of that City; wherein he built a Church of Stone, curiously wrought, but of small Continuance; for the Roof in *Beda*'s time^c, uncertain whether by Neglect or Enemies, was down, the Walls only standing. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinsman of *Wibba*, saith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long with-held the Kingdom from *Penda*, *Wibba*'s Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth Year of his Age: With whom *Kinelis* and *Cui-chelm*, the *West-Saxon* Kings, two Years after, having by that time it seems recover'd Strength, since the Inroad made upon them by *Edwin*, fought at *Cirencester*, then made Truce. But *Edwin* seeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with so much deliberation he had receiv'd, persuaded^d *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King

A. D. 626.

627.

628.

629.
Sax. An.^a 'Tis in *Beda*, and happen'd ten Years before.^c About eighty Years afterwards.^b On Easter-Day, Anno 627.^d On the Death of *Redwald* the *East-Angles* would have bestow'd their Kingdom on *Edwin*, but he out of Gratitude to his Benefactor *Redwald* permitted his Son *Eorpwald* to reign as his Tributary. *Beda* ch. 15.

A. D. 632. of *East-Angles*, to embrace the same Belief; willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under Edwin the Name only of a King. But *Eorpwald* not long surviv'd his Conversion, slain in Fight by *Rickbert* a Pagan: Whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of their King, as lightly fell back to their old Superstitions for above three Years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding Virtue, by the due Administration of Justice, wrought such Peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, Man or Woman might have travell'd in Safety. His Care also was of Fountains by the Way-side, to make them fittest for the Use of Travellers. And not unmindful of Regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carry'd before him. But having Reign'd with much Honour seventeen Years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallon*, King of the *Britains*, who with Aid of the *Mercian Pinda*^a, had rebell'd against him; slain in a Battel with his Son *Oswald*, at a Place call'd *Hethfield*^b, and his whole Army overthrown or dispers'd in the Year 633,

The Britains beat the Saxons.

633.

The Britains disown the Christianity of the Saxons, and think it no better than Pagan Idolatry.

and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of Man worthy a more peaceful end. His Head brought to *York*, was there bury'd in the Church by him begun. Sad was this Overthrow both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: For *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *British* King, though in Name a Christian, yet in Deeds more bloody than the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous Cruelty in the Slaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatening to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian. For the *Britains*, and, as *Beda* saith, even to his Days, accounted *Saxon* Christianity no better than Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From these Calamities no Refuge being left but Flight, *Paulinus* taking with him *Ethelburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Bassus*, one of *Edwin's* Captains made escape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: Who receiving his Sister with all Kindness, made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his Days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightful Heir seizing his part; in *Deira*, *Osric* the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwin's* Uncle, by Profession a Christian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*; in *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid* the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oswald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had been there taught and baptiz'd. No sooner had they gotten each a Kingdom, but both turn'd Recreant, sliding back into their old Religion, and both were the same Year slain; *Osric* by a sudden Eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a strong Town had unadvisedly besieg'd; *Eanfrid* seeking Peace, and inconsiderately with a few surrendring himself. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both those Provinces, using cruelly his Conquest; when *Oswald*, the Brother of *Eanfrid*, with a small but Christian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, near the ancient Roman Wall then call'd *Denisburn*^c, the Place afterwards *Heaven-field*, from the Cross reported miraculous for Cures,

634.

which *Oswald* there erected before the Battel, in token of his Faith against the great Number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdom, he took care to instruct again the People in Christianity. Sending therefore to the *Scotish* Elders, *Beda* to terms them, among whom he had receiv'd Baptism, requested of them some faithful Teacher, who might again settle Religion in his Realm, which the late Troubles had impair'd; they as readily hearkning to his Request, send *Aidan*, a *Scotch* Monk and Bishop, but of singular Zeal and Meekness, with others to assist him, whom at their own Desire he seated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Episcopal Seat, now *Holy Island*: And being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Sister of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwin's* Dominion lost any part, but enlarg'd it rather, over all the four *British* Nations, *Angles*, *Britains*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exercising Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility and Almshouse deeds, much is spoken; that he disdain'd not to be the Interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in *Scotch* or bad *English*, to his Nobles and Household Servants; and had the Poor continually serv'd at his Gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: His Meaning might be upright, but the Manner more ancient of Private or of Church Contribution, is doubtless more Evangelical. About this time the *West-Saxons*, anciently call'd *Geass*, by the Preaching of *Berinus* a Bishop, whom Pope *Honorius* had sent, were converted to the Faith with *Kineglis* their King: Him *Oswald* receiv'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in Marriage. The next Year *Cuthelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorchester*^d, but liv'd not to the Year's end. The *East-Angles* also this Year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Christ, which for some Years past they had thrown off. But *Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpwald* now succeeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a most Christian and Learned Man: Who while his Brother yet reign'd, living in *France* an Exile for some Displeasure conceiv'd against him by *Redwald* his Father, learn'd there the Christian Faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his People, by the Preaching of *Felix*^e a *Burgundian* Bishop. In the Year 640, *Eadbald* deceasing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the *French* King's Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent*; recorded the first of *English* Kings, who commanded through his Limits the destroying of Idols; laudably, if all Idols without Exception; and the first to have establish'd *Lent* among us, under strict Penalty, not worth remembring, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was observ'd here till his time by Compulsion; especially being noted by some to have fraudulently usurp'd upon his Elder Brother *Ermenred*, whose Right was Precedent to the Crown. *Oswald* having Reign'd eight Years, worthy also as might seem of longer Life^f, fell into the same Fate with *Edwin*, and from the same Hand, in a great Battel overcome and slain by *Penda*, at a Place call'd *Maserfield*, now *Oswestry* in *Shropshire*, miraculous, as saith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oswi* succeeded him, Reigning, tho' in much Trouble, twenty eight Years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his Brother's

A. D. 634.

635.

Sax. An. The West-Saxons converted to Christianity.

636.

640.

Ercombert the first Engl. King who commanded Idols to be destroy'd.

Mat. West.

642.

Cambden.

Bed. 1. 3.

c. 14.

^a Geoffrey says, he first conquer'd *Pinda*.

^b 'Tis probably *Hatfield*, in the Bounds of *Yorkshire* and *Lincolnshire*. See the Glossary to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

^c Nephew to *Edwin* by his Sister *Occa*.

^d *Dilston*, the Seat and Barony of the Earl of *Darwentwater*, call'd in old Books *Deuillstone*, by *Bede*, *Deuillburn*. Vid. *Camb. Britan. Tit. Northumberland*.

^e By *Byrinus* an *Italian*, the first Bishop of *Dorchester* in *Oxfordshire*.

^f The first Bishop of *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*.

^g He liv'd 38 Years only.

^h *Oswaldstrey* on the Borders of *Denbighshire*.

A. D. 643. *Sax. An.* Brother's Son *Ethelwald*. Next Year *Kinegils* the *West-Saxon* dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time *Sigebert*, King of *East-Angles*, having learn'd in *France*, e'er his coming to reign, the manner of their Schools, with the Assistance of some Teachers out of *Kent*, instituted a School here after the same Discipline, thought to be the University of *Cambridge* then first founded^a: And at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monastical Life; commending the Care of Government to his Kinsman *Egric*, who had sustain'd with him part of that Burthen before. It happen'd some Years after, that *Penda* made War on the *East-Angles*: They expecting a sharp Encounter, besought *Sigebert*, whom they esteem'd an expert Leader, with his Presence to confirm the Soldiery: And him refusing carried by Force out of the Monastery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather than the Captain, with a single Wand in his Hand, he was slain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to Flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in Right, succeeded; and hath the Praise of a vertuous and most Christian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon* having married the Sister of *Penda*, and divorc'd her, was by him with more Appearance of a just Cause vanquish'd in Fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: Whence retiring to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, after three Years abode in his Court, he there became Christian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oswi* in the former Years of his Reign, had Sharer with him, *Oswin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* seven Years, commended much for his Zeal in Religion, and for Comeliness of Person, with other Princely Qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithstanding which, Dissentions growing between them; it came to Arms. *Oswin* seeing himself much exceeded in Numbers, thought it more Prudence, dismissing his Army, to reserve himself for some better Occasion. But committing his Person with one faithful Attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd Friend, he was by him treacherously discover'd and by Command of *Oswi* slain. After whom within twelve Days, and for Grief of him whose Death he foretold, dy'd Bishop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, Meekness, and Labour in the Gospel. The Fact of *Oswi* was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a Monastery was built in the Place where it was done, and Prayers there daily offer'd up for the Souls of both Kings, the slain and the Slayer. *Kenwalk* by this Time re-install'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune; for *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies with great Losses: And in 652 by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War *Ethelward* calls it) at *Bradansford* by the River *Asene*; against whom, and for what Cause, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Cambden* names the Place *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, by the River *Avon*, and *Cuthred* his near Kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no Authority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk* four Years before had given large Possession to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebell'd. The next Year *Penda*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his Princely Virtues made Prince of *Middle Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that People converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oswi* with Request to have in Marriage *Alfreda*

his Daughter, he was deny'd her but on Condition, that he with all his People should receive Christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preach'd to him of Resurrection and Eternal Life, much perswaded also by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had his Sister *Kyniburg* to Wife, he easily assented, for the Truth's sake only; as he profess'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his Followers. Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the People of his Province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himself no Believer, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or believe the Gospel, but rather hated and despis'd those, who professing to believe, attested not their Faith by good Works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despis'd, who obey not that God in whom they chuse to believe. How well might *Penda*, this Heathen, rise up in Judgment against many pretending Christians, both of his own and these Days! Yet being a Man bred up to War (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christian) he warr'd on *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*; perhaps without Cause, for *Anna* was esteem'd a just Man, and at length slew him. About this time the *East-Saxons*, who, as above hath been said, had expell'd their Bishop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the Means of *Oswi* thus reconverted. *Sigebert*, firnam'd the *Small*, being the Son of *Seward*, without other Memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him *Sigebert* the Second, who coming often to visit *Oswi* his great Friend, was by him at several Times fervently dissuaded from Idolatry, and convinc'd at length to forsake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home, taking with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop; by whose teaching with some help of others, the People were again recover'd from Misbelief. But *Sigebert* some Years * after, * Anno 662 though standing fast in Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in place near about him, wickedly murther'd; who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a Deed so heinous, gave no other than this barbarous Answer; *That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries whenever they besought him.* Yet his Death seems to have happen'd not without some Cause by him given of Divine Displeasure. For one of those Earls who slew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, and therefore excommunicated so severely by the Bishop, that no Man might presume to enter into his House, much less to sit at Meat with him, the King not regarding this Church Censure, went to feast with him at his Invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had done, and fall'n at his Feet, touch'd with the Rod in his Hand, and angrily thus foretold: *Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of that Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt die.* And so it fell out perhaps from that Prediction, God bearing Witness to his Minister in the Power of Church Discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the Contemner thereof. This Year 655 prov'd fortunate to *Oswi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oswi* by the continual Inroads of *Penda*, having long endur'd much Devastation, to the endangering once by Assault and Fire *Bebbanburg*, his strongest City, now *Banborough Castle*, unable to resist him,

A. D.

653.

654.

Sax. An.

* Anno 662

655.

Bed. l. 3.

c. 16.

Cambd.

G 2

^a Bede says, 'twas a little desolate City in his time, and takes no notice of it as an University, Anno 700. Robert of Remington writes, that in the Reign of Edward the First, Grant-Bridge or Cambridge, from a School was made an University like Oxford. Cambd. Tit. Cambr.

A. D. 655. him, with many rich Presents offer'd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but Destruction to that King, though more than once in Affinity with him, turning Gifts into Vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliver'd from his Enemy, a Child of one Year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and twelve Portions of Land whereon to build Monasteries. His Vows, as may be thought, found better Success than his proffer'd Gifts; for hereupon with his Son *Alfrid* gathering a small Power, he encounter'd and discomfited the *Mercians*, thirty times exceeding his in Number, and led on by expert Captains; at a Place call'd *Loydes*, now *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*. Besides, this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Ofwald*, who rul'd in *Deira*, took Part with the *Mercians*, but in the Fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe Place expected the Event: With which unseasonable Retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps terrify'd and misdouting more Danger, fled; their Commanders, with *Penda* himself, most being slain, among whom *Edelhere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *East Angles*, and was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which *Beda* calls *Winwed*, then swell'd above his Banks. The Death of *Penda*, who had been the Death of so many good Kings, made general rejoicing, as the Song witness'd. At the River *Winwed*, *Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelhere* succeeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *East Angles*; to *Sigebert* in the *East Saxons*, *Suidelhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, saith *Beda*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, saith *Malmsbury*; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, then residing in the *East Angles*, and by *Ethelwald* the King, receiv'd out of the Font. But *Ofwi* in the Strength of his late Victory, within three Years after sudu'd all *Mercia*, and of the *Pictish* Nation greatest Part at which Time he gave to *Peada* his Son-in-Law the Kingdom of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by *Trent*. But *Peada* the Spring following, as was said, by the Treason of his Wife the Daughter of *Ofwi*, married by him for a special Christian, on the Feast of *Easter*, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, throwing off the Government of *Ofwi*, set up *Wulfer* the other Son of *Penda* to be their King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the Christian Faith. *Kenwalk* the *West Saxon*, now settl'd at home, and desirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the *Britains*, joins Battel with them at *Pen* in *Somersetshire*, and overcoming pursues them to *Pedridan*. Another Fight he had with them before, at a Place call'd *Witgeornesbrug*, barely mention'd by the Monk of *Malmsbury*. Nor was it long e'er he fell at Variance with *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, scarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at *Possentesburg*, on the *Easter* Holydays, and as *Ethelwerd* saith, took him Prisoner; but the *Saxon* Annals, quite otherwise, that *Wulfer* winning the Field, wasted the *West-Saxon* Country as far as *Eskefdun*^c; nor staying there, took and wasted the Isle of *Wight*, but causing the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then Unbelievers, gave the Island to *Ethelwald* King of the *South Saxons*, whom he had receiv'd out of the Font. The Year 664. a Synod of *Scotch* and *English* Bishops, in the Presence of *Ofwi* and *Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monastery in those

Parts*, to debate upon what Day *Easter* should be kept; a Controversie which long before had disturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches: Wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the way of *Rome*, nor yielding to the Disputants on that side, to whom the King most inclin'd, such as were Bishops here, resign'd, and return'd home with their Disciples. Another Clerical Question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my Opinion as ridiculous, about the right shav- ing of Crowns. The same Year was seen an Eclipse of the Sun in *May*, followed by a fore Pe- stilence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* with great Mor- tality. In which time the *East-Saxons* after *Swi- thelm's* Decease, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the Small, and *Sebbi* of *Seward*, though both subject to the *Mercians*. *Siger* and his Peo- ple unsteady of Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing their old Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King *Wulfer* understanding, sent *Jerumanus* a faithful Bishop, who with other his Fellow Labourers, by sound Doctrine and gentle Dealing, soon recur'd them of their second Relapse. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was succeeded by his Son *Ecbert*. In whose fourth Year by means of *Theodore*, a Learned *Greekish* Monk of *Tarsus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had or- dain'd Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, with other Liberal Arts, Arith- metick, Musick, Astronomy, and the like; be- gan first to flourish among the *Saxons*; as did also the whole Land, under Potent and Religi- ous Kings, more than ever before, as *Beda* af- firms, till his own Days. Two Years after, in *Northumberland* dy'd *Ofwi*, much addicted to *Romish* Rites; and resolv'd, had his Disease re- leas'd him, to have ended his Days at *Rome*: *Ecfrid* the eldest of his Sons begot in *Wedlock*, succeeded him. After other three Years, *Ecbert* in *Kent* deceasing, left nothing memorable be- hind him, but the general Suspicion to have slain or conniv'd at the Slaughter of his Uncle's two Sons, *Elbert* and *Egelbright*. In *Recom- pence* whereof, he gave to the Mother of them part of *Tanet*, wherein to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lothair*. And much about this time, by best Account it should be, however plac'd in *Beda*, that *Ecfrid* of *Northum- berland*, having War with the *Mercian* *Wulfer*, won from him *Lindsey*, and the Country there- about. *Sebbi* having reign'd over the *East-Sax- ons* thirty Years, not long before his Death, though long before desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length, though unwilling, to the same Devotion. *Ken- walk* also dying, left the Government to *Sex- barga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one Year, driven out, saith *Mar. West.* by the No- bles, disdaining Female Government. After whom several petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for ten Years space divided the *West-Saxons*; others name two, *Esewin* the Nephew of *Kini- gils*, and *Kentwin* the Son, not petty by their Deeds: For *Esewin* fought a Battel with *Wulfer* at *Bedanbasde*^f, and about a Year after both deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not without a Stain left be- hind him, of selling the Bishoprick of *London*, to *Wini* the first *Simonist* we read of in this Sto- ry; *Kenwalk* had before expell'd him from his Chair at *Winchester*; *Ethelfred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining next the Kingdom of *Mercia*, nor

A. D.

664.

* *Stream- Hall*, now at *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*. The *Scots* disagree with the *Saxons* Bishops who were zealous for the *Romish* Dis- cipline.

Malms.

668.

Sax. An. The Libe- ral Arts begin to flourish in England.

670.

*Sax. An.**Sax. An.*

673.

Malms.

Beda l. 4.

c. 12.

674.

Beda l. 4. c. 12.

*Sax. An.**Malms.*

676.

Simony first pra- ctis'd in England.

^a Suppos'd to be the River *Aire*.

^d *Beda* agrees with the *Saxon* Annals.

^e Suppos'd to be *Bedwin* in *Wiltshire*.

^b *Pontesbury* in *Shropshire*.

^c *Matt.* of *Westminster* calls them his Cousins.

^f *Alton* near *Wallingford* in *Berkshire*.

A. D. 676. not only recover'd *Lindsey*, and what besides in those Parts *Wulfer* had lost to *Ecfrid* some Years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his Arms another way, as far as *Kent*, waisting that Country without respect to Church or Monastery, much also endamaging the City of *Rocheſter*: Notwithstanding what Resistance *Lothair* could make against him. In August 678. was seen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in manner of a fiery Pillar. And the South-Saxons about this time were converted to the Christian Faith, upon this Occasion. *Wilfrid* Bishop of the *Northumbrians* entring into Contention with *Ecfrid* the King, was by him deprived of his Bishoprick, and long wandering up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at length into *England*, but not daring to approach the North, whence he was banish'd, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his Ministry. The South of all other Saxons remain'd yet Heathen; but *Edelwalk* their King not long before had been baptiz'd in *Mercia*, persuaded by *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath been said, receiv'd out of the Font. For which Relation's sake he had the Isle of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meauuari* adjoining, given him on the Continent about *Meanesborow* in *Hantsire*, which *Wulfer* had a little before gotten from *Kenwalk*. Thither *Wilfrid* takes his Journey, and with the Help of other Spiritual Labourers about him, in short time planted there the Gospel. It had not rain'd, as is said, of three Years before in that Country, whence many of the People daily perish'd by Famine; till on the first Day of their publick Baptism, soft and plentiful Showers descending, restor'd all Abundance to the Summer following. Two Years after this, *Kentwin* the other *West-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch-Britains*, as is chronicl'd without Circumstance to the very Sea Shoar. But in the Year, by *Beda's* reck'ning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *West-Saxon* of the Royal Line (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britains*) thrown out by Faction, return'd from Banishment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or whoever else had divided the Succession of *Kenwalk*, slaying in Fight *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in their Aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune*, and *Andune*, who for a while held the Province in their Power, But *Kedwalla* gathering new Force, with the Slaughter of *Bertune*, and also of *Edric* the Successor of *Edelwalk*, won the Kingdom: But reduc'd the People to heavy Thralldom. Then addressing to conquer the Isle of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, saith *Beda* (others otherwise, as above hath been related) made a Vow, though himself yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fourth Part of that Island, and the Spoils thereof, to holy Uses. Conquest obtain'd, paying his Vow as then was the Belief, he gave his fourth to Bishop *Wilfrid*, by chance there present; and he to *Bertwin* a Priest, his Sister's Son, with Commission to baptize all the vanquish'd, who meant to save their Lives. But the two young Sons of *Arwald*, King of that Island, met with much more Hostility; for they at the Enemies approach flying out of the Isle, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under Cure of some Wounds receiv'd, and by his Appointment, after Instruction and Baptism, first given them, harshly put to Death, which the Youths are said above their Age to have Christianly suffer'd. In *Kent*, *Lothair* dy'd this Year of his Wounds receiv'd in Fight against the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edric*, who descending from *Ermenred*, it

seems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though not commendably, one Year and a half: But coming to a violent Death, left the Land expos'd a Prey either to home-bred Usurpers, or Neighbouring Invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla*, taking Advantage from their Civil Distempers, and marching easily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had subdu'd, sorely harass'd the Country, untouch'd of long time by any hostile Incursion. But the *Kentish* Men, all Parties uniting against a Common Enemy, with joyn't Power to oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the Fight with twelve Men of his Company, seeking Shelter in a House, was beset and therein burnt by the Pursuers: *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at so great a Loss, recalling and soon rallying his disordered Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chasing Enemy: nor could be got out of the Province, till both by Fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length *Vitred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdom, both settl'd at home all things in Peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hostility. While thus *Kedwalla* disquieted both West and East, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfrid* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelfred* the *Mercian*, fought a fore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherein *Elfwine* Brother to *Ecfrid*, a Youth of eighteen Years, much belov'd, was slain; and the Accident likely to occasion much more shedding of Blood, Peace was happily made by the grave Exhortation of Archbishop *Theodore*, a Pecuniary Fine only paid to *Ecfrid*, as some Satisfaction for the Loss of his Brother's Life. Another Adversity beset *Ecfrid* in his Family, by means of *Etheldrith* his Wife, King *Anna's* Daughter, who having taken him for her Husband, and professing to love him above all other Men, persisted twelve Years in the obstinate Refusal of his Bed, thereby thinking to live the purer Life. So perversly then was Chastity instructed against the Apostles Rule. At length obtaining of him with much Importunity her Departure, she veil'd her self a Nun, then made Abbess of *Ely*, dy'd seven Years after the Pestilence; and might with better Warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken Wedlock, though now canoniz'd *St. Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrid* had sent *Bertus* with a Power to subdue *Ireland*, a harmless Nation, saith *Beda*, and ever friendly to the *English*; in both which they seem to have left a Posterity much unlike them at this Day: Miserably waisted, without Regard had to Places hallowed or prophane, they betook them partly to their Weapons, partly to implore Divine Aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in their full Avengement upon *Ecfrid*, for he the next Year, against the Mind and Persuasion of his sagest Friends, and especially of *Cudbert*, a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the *Picts*, who long before had been subject to *Northumberland*, was by them, feigning Flight, drawn unawares into narrow Streights overtop't with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which Time, saith *Beda*, Military Valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then peaceable, but some Part of the *Britains* also recovered by Arms their Liberty for many Years after. Yet *Alfred* elder, but base Brother to *Ecfrid*, a Man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recall'd from *Ireland*, to which Place in his Brother's Reign he had retir'd, and now succeeding, upheld with much Honour, though in narrower Bounds, the Residue of his Kingdom. *Kedwalla* having now with great Disturbance of his

A. D. 685.

Malmf.

Sax. An. Malmf.

686.

687.

Bede.

The Saxons invade Ireland.

They grow effeminate.

- A. D. 686. his Neighbours, reign'd over the *West-Saxons* two Years, besides what time he spent in gaining it; weary'd perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, desirous there to receive Baptism, which till then his worldly Affairs had deferr'd; and accordingly on *Easter-Day* 689, " he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his Name chang'd to *Peter*. All which notwithstanding, surpriz'd with a Disease, he out-liv'd not the Ceremony so far sought, much above the Space of five Weeks, in the thirtieth Year of his Age, and in the Church of *St. Peter* was there bury'd, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many Years oppress'd the Land with like Grievances, as *Kedwalla* had done before him, insomuch that in those Times there was no Bishop among them. His first Expedition was into *Kent*, to demand Satisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Vitred*, loth to hazard all for the rash Act of a few, deliver'd up thirty of those that could be found accessory; or, as others say, pacify'd *Ina* with a great Sum of Money^b. Mean while, at the Incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Priest, eminent for Learning, pass'd over Sea, having twelve others in Company, with Intent to preach the Gospel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin*, chief Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Frisia*, by his Countenance and Protection, promise also of many Benefits to them who should believe, they found the Work of Conversion much the easier, and *Wilbrod* the first Bishop in that Nation^c. But two Priests, each of them *Hewald* by Name, and for Distinction surnam'd from the Colour of their Hair, the Black and the White, by his Example, piously affected to the Souls of their Countrymen the old *Saxons*, at their coming thither to convert them, met with much worse Entertainment. For in the House of a Farmer, who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governor of that Country, discover'd by their daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of their coming suspected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcher'd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governor enrag'd at such Violence offer'd to his Strangers, sending arm'd Men, slew all those Inhabitants, and burnt their Village.
697. After three Years in *Mercia*, *Ofred* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda's* Epitome records; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the Cause of so strange a Fact. And the Year following, *Bertred*, a *Northumbrian* General, was slain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred*, seven Years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the * Monk, and resign'd his Kingdom to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next Year, *Aldfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Ofred* a Child of eight Years to succeed him. Four Years after which, *Kenred* having a while with praise govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdom, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Constantine*, and shorn a Monk spent there the Residue of his Days. *Kelred* succeeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before.
- With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *East-Saxons*, and betook him to the same Habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Person in the prime of his Youth, much desir'd of the People; and such his Virtue, by Report, as might have otherwise been worthy to have reign'd. *Ina* the *West-Saxon* one Year after fought a Battel, at first doubtful, at last successful, against *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The next Year *Bertfrid*, another *Northumbrian* Captain, fought with the *Picts*, and slaughter'd them, saith *Huntingdon*, to the full Avengement of *Ecfrid's* Death. The fourth Year after, *Ina* had another doubtful and cruel Battel at *Wodnesburg* in *Wiltshire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who dy'd the Year following a lamentable Death: For as he sat one day feasting with his Nobles, suddenly possess'd with an Evil Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, an Englishman, who taxes him for a Defiler of Nuns, writes by way of Caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of kin, who succeeded him. *Ofred* also the young *Northumbrian* King, slain by his Kindred in the eleventh of his Reign, for his vicious Life and Incest committed with Nuns; was by *Kenred* succeeded and aveng'd. He Reigning two Years, left *Ofric* in his room. In whose seventh Year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Vitred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, having reign'd thirty four Years, and some part of them with *Suebhard*, as *Beda* testifies. He left behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alric* his Heirs^e. Three Years after which, appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the Space of two Weeks in *January*, bending their Blaze toward the North; at which time the *Saracens* furiously invaded *France*, but were expell'd soon after with great overthrow. The same Year in *Northumberland*, *Ofric* dying or slain, adopted *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* his Successor, to whom *Beda* dedicates his Story; but writes this only of him, that the Beginning and the Process of his Reign met with many adverse Commotions, whereof the Event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* seven Years before having slain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the Addition of *Clito*, given usually to none but of the Blood Royal, and the fourth Year after overthrown and slain *Albright* another *Clito*, driven from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquish'd also the *East-Angles* in more than one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the Year, whether to expiate so much Blood, or infected with the contagious Humour of those Times, *Malmsbury* saith, at the Persuasion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his Days; yet this Praise left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinsman *Edelard*, bequeath'd the Crown: No less than the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we believe a Digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor, was the first King crown'd of *English* and *British*, since the *Saxon* Entrance; of the *British* by means of his second Wife, some way related to *Cadwallader* last King of *Wales*, which I had not noted, being unlikely, but

A. D.

709.

710.

Sax. An. Huntingd.

711.

Bede Epist.

715.

Sax. An. Huntingd.

716.

The Apo-
stle of the
Germans.

718.

L. 5. c. 9.

725.

728.

Bede. l. 5.
c. 24.Ina
crown'd
King of
England
and Wales.

^a Dr. Powell and Mr. Vaughan, in their Notes on *Caradoc's Welsh Chronicle*, suppose that this *Cadwalla* was *Edwal*, surnam'd *Twrch*, Prince of *Wales*; who about this time went to *Rome*, and there dy'd. Other *Welsh* Authors pretend, *Cadwalla* here mention'd was their King *Cadwallader*; who, according to *Caradoc*, publish'd by Dr. Powell, went to *Rome*, Anno 664. and dy'd there eight Years afterwards.

^b *Ina* in the Year 693. held a Great Council of his Bishops, Elder Men, and the Antients of his People, by whom several Laws were made, and is the first Authentick Great Council, whose Laws are come to us entire. *Spelm. Brit. Counc.*

^c His See was *Wiltburgh*, in the *Gallick Tongue Trajectum*, now *Utrecht*.

^d Suppos'd to be King of *Cornwall*, there being no such Name in the Catalogue of the Kings of *North* or *South-Wales*.

^e *Peter-Pence* was granted to the Pope about the Year 725, by *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*.

A. D. 731. but for the place where I found it^a. After *Ina*, by a surer Author, *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this side *Humber*, with their Kings; the *Picts* were in League with the *English*, the *Scots* peaceable within their bounds, and the *Britains* part were in their own Government, part subject to the *English*. In which peaceful State of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aside the exercise of Arms, betook them to the Cloister: And not content so to do at home, many in the Days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laicks, Men and Women, hasting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themselves no where sure of Eternal Life, till they were cloister'd there. Thus representing the state of Things in this Island, *Beda* surceas'd to write. Out of whom chiefly hath been gather'd, since the *Saxons* arrival, such as hath been deliver'd, a scatter'd Story pick'd out here and there, with some trouble and tedious Work from among his many Legends of Visions and Miracles; toward the latter end so bare of Civil Matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a Kalendar rather than a History, taken up for the most part with Succession of Kings, and Computation of Years, yet those hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Their Actions, we read of, were most commonly Wars, but for what Cause wag'd, or by what Counsels carry'd on, no care was had to let us know: Whereby their Strength and Violence we understand, of their Wisdom, Reason, or Justice, little or nothing, the rest Superstition and Monastical Affectation; Kings, one after another, leaving their Kingly Charge, to run their Heads fondly into a Monk's Cowle: Which leaves us uncertain, whether *Beda* was wanting to his Matter, or his Matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Danish* Invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of *Beda*. Left only to obscure and blockish Chronicles; whom *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon*, (for neither they than we had better Authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the History, make no scruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline with Conjectures and Surmises of their own: Them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the Truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William* of *Malmsbury* must be acknowledg'd, both for Stile and Judgment, to be by far the best Writer of them all: But what labour is to be endur'd, turning over Volumes of Rubbish in the rest, *Florence* of *Worcester*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and many others of obscurer note, with all their Monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only Registers, Transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travel rather than not know at once what may be known of our Ancient Story, sifted from Fables and Impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all their Life-time raking in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals: But to my Task now as it befalls. In the Year 733. on the 18th Kalends of September, was an Eclipse of the Sun about the third Hour of Day, obscuring almost his whole Orb, as with a black Shield^b. *Ethelbald* of *Mercia* besieg'd and took the Castle or Town of

Somerton: And two Years after, *Beda* our Historian dy'd, some say the Year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three Years after, became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the severest; for he brought those Monks from Milk and Water, to Wine and Ale; in which Doctrine no doubt but they were soon docile; and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good Provision, great Treasure and Revenues of Land, recited by *Simeon*, yet all under pretence of following (I use the Author's words) poor *Christ*, by voluntary Poverty: No marvel then if such Applause were given by Monkish Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much Cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert*, his Uncle's Son, he left the Kingdom, whose Brother *Ecbert*, Archbishop of *Tork*, built a Library there. But two Years after, while *Eadbert* was busy'd in War against the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, assaulted part of *Northumberland* in his absence, as the Supplement of *Beda*'s Epitomy Records. In the *West-Saxons*, *Edelard* who succeeded *Ina*, having been much molested in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Oswald* his Kinsman, who contended with him for the Right of Succession; overcoming at last those Troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthred* one of the same Lineage to succeed him: Who at first had much War with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, and various Success, but joining with him in League two Years after, made War on the *Welsh*: *Huntingdon* doubts not to give them a great Victory. And *Simeon* reports, another Battel fought between *Britains* and *Picts* the Year ensuing. Now was the Kingdom of *East-Saxons* drawing to a Period; for *Sigeard* and *Senfred*, the Sons of *Sebbi*, having reign'd a while, and after them young *Offa*, who soon quitted his Kingdom to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath been said, the Government was conferr'd on *Selred* Son of *Sigebert* the Good, who having rul'd thirty eight Years, came to a violent Death; how or wherefore, is not set down. After whom *Swithred* was the last King, driven out by *Ecbert* the *West-Saxon*: But *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians* till they also were dissolv'd. *Cuthred* had now reign'd about nine Years, when *Kenric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in military Tumult slain by his own Soldiers. The same Year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Edilbert* reign'd in his stead. But after two Years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, whose War with the *Picts* hath been above mention'd, made now such Progress there, as to subdue *Kyle*^c, so faith the Auctary of *Beda*, and other Countries thereabout, to his Dominion; while *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon* had a Fight with *Ethelbun*, one of his Nobles, a stout Warrior, envy'd by him in some matter of the Commonwealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelwerd* can be understood, (others interpret it Sedition) and with much ado overcoming, took *Ethelbun* for his Valour into Favor, by whom faithfully serv'd in the twelfth or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a set Battel with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian* at *Beorford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*; one Year after against the *Welch*, which was the last but one of his Life. *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment upon the Annal Text, makes a terrible Description of that Fight between *Cuthred* and *Ethelbald*,

A. D. 735.
Malmsb. 738.
740.
741.
Malmsb. Sax. Ann. 743.
Sim. Dun. 744.
Florent. Hoveden.
Sax. Ann. 746.
748.
Sax. Ann. Huntingd. 750.
752.
Camden. 753.

^a Among the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, 'tis inserted, That *Ina* marry'd *Gaula* the Daughter of *Cadwallader* King of *Wales*. Vid. *Lambert's Archives*, cap. 17.

^b The next Year, 734. the Moon appear'd as it were stain'd with Blood, which, says *Simeon* of *Durham*, lasted one whole Hour, then follow'd a Blackness, and then it return'd to its Natural Colour. In this or the next Year *Beda* dy'd.

^c To this *Kelwulf* *Beda* dedicated his History.

^d Or *Drumbrington-Frith* in *Scotland*.

Beda's History goes no farther than this Time.

William of *Malmsbury* our best Historian.

733. Sax. An. *Ethelwerd*.

A. D. *Ethelbald*, and the Prowess of *Ethelhun*, at *Beor-*
753. *ford*, but so affectedly, and therefore suspici-
Sax. An. 754. *ously*, that I hold it not worth rehearsal; and
Malmf. both in that and the latter Conflict, gives Victo-
755. *ry* to *Cuthred*; after whom *Sigebert*, uncertain
The first by what Right his Kinsman, saith *Florent*, step'd
Instance into the Throne, whom hated for his Cruelty
of an En- and other evil Doings, *Kinwulf* joyning with
glish King most of the Nobility, dispossess'd of all but
solemnly *Hampshire*, that Province he lost also within a
depos'd. Year, together with the Love of all those who
Hunting. till then remain'd his Adherents, by slaying
Hunting. *Cumbram*, one of his chief Captains, who for a
756. long time had faithfully serv'd, and now dis-
Cambden. suaded him from incensing the People by such
757. *Tyrannical Practices*. Thence flying for Safety
Sax. An. into *Andreds Wood*, forsaken of all, he was at
Epit. Bed. length slain by the Swineherd of *Cumbran* in Re-
Sim. Dun. venge of his Master, and *Kinwulf* who had un-
** Boniface.* doubted Right to the Crown, joyfully saluted
758. King. The next Year *Eadbert* the *Northumbrian*
Sim. Dun. joining Forces with *Unust* King of the *Picts*, as *Si-*
Eccles. l. 2. *meon* writes, besieg'd and took by surrender the
759. City *Alcluth*, now *Dunbritten* in *Lenox*, from
760. the *Britains* of *Cumberland*; and ten Days after,
761. the whole Army perished about *Niwanbirig*, but
762. to tell us how, he forgets. In *Mercia*, *Ethelbald*
763. was slain, at a Place call'd *Secandune*, now *Seck-*
764. *ington* in *Warwickshire*, the Year following, in a
765. bloody Fight against *Cuthred*, as *Huntingdon* sur-
766. mises, but *Cuthred* was dead two or three Years
767. before; others write him murther'd in the Night
768. by his own Guard, and the Treason, as some
769. say, of *Beornred*, who succeeded him; but e're
770. many Months, was defeated and slain by *Offa*.
771. Yet *Ethelbald* seems not without Cause, after a
772. long and prosperous Reign, to have fallen by a
773. violent Death; not shaming on the vain Confi-
774. dence of his many Alms, to commit Unclean-
775. ness with consecrated Nuns, besides Laick Adul-
776. teries, as the * Arch-bishop of *Ments* in a Let-
777. ter taxes him and his Predecessors, and that by
778. his Example most of his Peers did the like;
779. which adulterous Doings he foretold him were
780. likely to produce a slothful Off-spring, good for
781. nothing but to be the Ruin of that Kingdom,
782. as it fell out not long after. The next Year *Of-*
783. *mund*, according to *Florence*, ruling the *South-*
784. *Saxons*, and *Swithred* the *East-Eadbert* in *Northum-*
785. *berland*, following the Steps of his Predecessor, got
786. him into a Monk's Hood; the more to be won-
787. der'd, that having reign'd worthily twenty one
788. Years, with the Love and high Estimation of
789. all, both at home and abroad, able still to go-
790. vern, and much intreated by the Kings his
791. Neighbours, not to lay down his Charge; with
792. Offer on that Condition to yield up to him part
793. of their own Dominion; he could not be mov'd
794. from his Resolution, but relinquish'd his Regal
795. Office to *Oswulf* his Son; who at the Years end,
796. though without just Cause, was slain by his own
797. Servants. And the Year after dy'd *Ethelbert*,
798. Son of *Vichred*; the second of that Name in *Kent*.
799. After *Oswulf*, *Ethelwald*, otherwise call'd *Mollo*,
800. was set up King; who in his third Year had a
801. great Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, slew *Oswin* a
802. great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd the Victory.
803. But the third Year after, fell by the Treachery
804. of *Alfred*, who assum'd his Place. The fourth
805. Year after which^b, *Catarafta* an ancient and fair
806. City in *Yorkshire*, was burnt by *Armred* a certain

Tyrant, who the same Year came to like end. A. D.
And after five Years more, *Alfred* the King depos'd and forsaken of all his People, fled with 774.
a few, first to *Bebba*, a strong City of those Sim. Dun.
Parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethelred* the Son of *Mollo*, was crown'd in his stead.
Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerful, had subdu'd a Neighbouring People, by *Simeon* call'd *Hestings*; and fought successfully this Year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a Place call'd
* *Ottanford*: The Annals also speak of wondrous * *Oxford* in
Serpents then seen in *Essex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* *Kent*.
the *West-Saxon* given small proof of his Valour in several Battels against the *Welch* heretofore, but this Year 775. meeting with *Offa*, at a Place 775.
call'd † *Befington*, was put to the worse, and *Offa* Sax. An.
won the Town for which they contended. In † *Befington* in *Oxfordshire*,
Northumberland, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of now *Benson*
his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Renwulf*, and *Ecce*, treacherously to be slain by two other Peers, was 778.
himself the next Year driven into Banishment ^d, Sim. Dun.
Elfwald the Son of *Oswulf* succeeding in his Place, yet not without Civil Broils; for in his second 780.
Year *Osbald* and *Ethelheard*, two Noblemen, Sim. Dun.
raising Forces against him, routed *Bearne* his General, and pursuing, burnt him at a Place call'd *Seletune*. I am sensible how wearisome it may likely be to read of so many bare and reasonless Actions, so many Names of Kings one after another, acting little more than mute Persons in a Scene. What would it be to have inserted the long Bead-roll of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, and their Doings, neither to Religion profitable, nor to Morality; swelling my Authors each to a voluminous Body, by me studiously omitted; and left as their Propriety, who have a mind to write the Ecclesiastical Matters of those Ages; neither do I care to wrinkle the Smoothness of History with rugged Names of Places unknown, better harp'd at in *Cambden*, and other Chorographers. Six 786.
Years therefore pass'd over in Silence, as wholly of such Argument, bring us to relate next Ethelmerd.
the unfortunate End of *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon*, Malmsf.
who having laudably reign'd about thirty one Years, yet suspecting that *Kineard* Brother of *Sigebert* the former King, intended to usurp the Crown after his Decease, or revenge his Brother's Expulsion, had commanded him into Banishment; but he lurking here and there on the Borders with a small Company, having had Intelligence that *Kinwulf* was in the Country Sax. An.
thereabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* in *Surrey*, Cambd.
at the House of a Woman whom he lov'd, went by Night and beset the Place. *Kinwulf* overconfident either of his Royal Presence, or personal Valour, issuing forth with the few about him, runs fiercely at *Kineard*, and wounds him sore, but by his Followers hemm'd in, is kill'd among them. The Report of so great an Accident soon running to a Place not far off, where many more Attendants awaited the King's return, *Osric* and *Wivert*, two Earls, hastened with a great Number to the House, where *Kineard* and his Fellows yet remain'd. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair Words and Promise of great Gifts, attempted to appease them; but those rejected with Disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his Retinue, which were nigh a hundred. *Kinwulf* was succeedd by *Birhtic*, being both descended of

^a The Saxon Annals call them the Wife and Noblemen of the *West-Saxons*.
^b *Catarrick-bridge*, of the Antiquity whereof see that A. 1111.

^c *Lambert in his Glossary, at the end of the Decem Scriptores, thinks they were Danes.*

† Roger Hoveden says he was depos'd by the Common Council, and that they were Danes.

¶ Roger Howeden says he was depos'd by the Common Council, and Consent of his own Subjects.

A. D. 788. of *Kerdic* the Founder of that Kingdom. Not better was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two Years after slain miserably by the Conspiracy of *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, others say of the whole People at *Scilcester* by the Roman Wall; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hagulfstald*, now *Hexam* upon *Tine*; and some Miracles there said to be done, are alledg'd to witness; and *Siggan* five Years after laid violent hands on himself. *Ofred*, Son of *Alcred*, advanced into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one Year driven out, left his Seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten Years of Banishment (Imprisonment, saith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again into his hand. The third Year of *Birhtic* King of *West-Saxons*, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal Revolution of Calamity on this Land. For three Danish Ships, the first that had been seen here of that Nation arriving in the West, to visit these, as was suppos'd, Foreign Merchants, the King's Gatherer of Customs taking Horse from *Dorchester*^a, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give Account of their lading at the King's Custom-House, they slew him and all who came with him; as an earnest of the many Slaughters, Rapines, and Hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Island. Of this Danish first Arrival, and on a sudden worse than Hostile Aggression, the Danish History far otherwise relates, as if their landing had been at the Mouth of *Humber*, and their spoilful March far into the Country; tho' soon repell'd by the Inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to their Ships: But from what Cause, what Reason of State, what Authority or publick Council the Invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our Wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmark*, and long after, was a Man studious more of Peace and Quiet, than of Warlike Matters. These therefore seem rather to have been some Wanderers at Sea, who with publick Commission, or without, through Love of Spoil, or Hatred of Christianity, seeking Booties on any Land of Christians, came by Chance or Weather on this Shoar. The next Year *Ofred* in *Northumberland*, who driven out by his Nobles had given place to *Ethelred*, was taken and forcibly shaven a Monk at *York*. And the Year after, *Oelf*, and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly King, were drawn by fair Promises from the Principal Church of *York*, and after by Command of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to Death at *Wonwaldremere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancashire*, now call'd * *Winandermere*. Nor was the third Year less bloody; for *Ofred*, who not liking a shaven Crown, had desired Banishment and obtain'd it, returning from the Isle of *Man* with small Forces, at the secret but deceitful Call of certain Nobles, who by Oath had promis'd to assist him, was also taken, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the same manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties, thereupon married *Elfred* the Daughter of *Offa*: For in *Offa* was found as little Faith or Mercy. He the same Year having drawn to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *East-Angles*, with fair Invitations to marry his Daughter, caus'd him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his Kingdom wrongfully seiz'd,

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by the wicked Counsel of his Wife, saith *Matt. West*, annexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For which Violence and Bloodshed to make Attainment, with Fryars at least, he bestows the Reliques of *St. Alban*, in a Shrine of Pearl and Gold. Far worse it far'd the next Year with the Reliques in *Lendisfarne*; where the Danes landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fryars kill'd some, carried away others Captive, sparing neither Priest nor Lay: Which many strange Thunders and fiery Dragons, with other Impressions in the Air seen frequently before, were judg'd to fore signify. This Year *Alric* third Son of *Vitred*, ended in *Kent* his long Reign of thirty four Years. With him ended the Race of *Hengist*: Thenceforth whomsoever Wealth or Faction advanc'd, took on him the Name and State of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784. name *Ealmond* then reigning in *Kent*; but that consists not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where else mention'd. The Year following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a strenuous and subtle King; he had much Intercourse with *Charles* the Great, at first Enmity, to the interdicting of Commerce on either side, at length much Amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himself yet extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent Man, though a Monk, whom the King's of *England* in those Days had sent Orator into *France*, to maintain good Correspondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, saith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual Tribute to the Pope, out of every House in his Kingdom; for yielding perhaps to translate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfield* in his own Dominion. He drew a Trench of wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *British* Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Eseferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great Hope, who also had been crown'd nine Years before his Father's Decease, restoring to the Church what his Father had seiz'd on: Yet within four Months by a Sickness ended his Reign. And to *Kenulf* next in right of the same Progeny bequeath'd his Kingdom. Mean while the Danish Pirates who still wasted *Northumberland*, venturing on Shoar to spoil another Monastery at the Mouth of the River *Don*, were assail'd by the *English*, their chief Captain slain on the Place; then returning to Sea, were most of them ship-wreck'd; others driven again on Shoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this their Punishment to the Power of *St. Cudbert*, offended with them for the rising of his Convent. Two Years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted at last from the Fate of his many Predecessors, miserably slain by his People, some say deservedly, as not unconscious with them who train'd *Ofred* to his Ruine. *Osbold*, a Nobleman, exalted to the Throne, and in less than a Month, deserted and expelled, was forc'd to fly at last from *Lendisfarne* by Sea to the *Pictish* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf* whom *Ethelred* six Years before had commanded to be put to Death at *Ripon*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was suppos'd, and with solemn Dirge carried into the Church, after Midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banish'd, now recall'd, was in *York* created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the *Annals* call *Eadbright*

^a *Cambden*, in his *Brit. Tit. Devonshire*, tells us, that the Danes first landed at *Teignmouth* in that County: Now *Tinmouth*, a Fisher-Town, which was burnt by the French in the last War.

^b He assisted *Cherlemagne* in his Founding the University of *Paris*.

^c Call'd *Offa's Dyke*, about 90 Miles long, says *Mr. Cambden*.

^d From the Mouth of *Dee* to that of the River *Wye*. *Mr. Lloyd*, in his *Additions to Wales* (in the late Edition of *Cambden*) has set down the exact Course of it, *Page* 587.

- A. D. 796. *Sim. Dun.* Eadbright (so different they often are one from another, both in Timing, and in Naming) by some means having usurp'd Regal Power, after two Years Reign contending with Kenulf the Mercian, was by him taken Prisoner, and soon after, out of pious Commiseration, let go: But not receiv'd of his own, what became of him, *Malmbs.* *Malmbs.* leaves in doubt. *Simeon* writes, that Kenulf commanded to put out his Eyes, and lop off his Hands; but whether the Sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second Year after this, they in Northumberland who had conspir'd against Ethelred, now also raising War against Eardulf, under Wada their chief Captain, after much havoc on either side at Langho, by Whaley in Lancashire, the Conspirators at last flying, Eardulf return'd with Victory. The same Year London, with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a sudden Fire was consum'd. The Year 800 made way for great alteration in England, uniting her seven Kingdoms into one, by Ecbert the famous West-Saxon; him Birthric, dying Childless, left next to reign, the only Survivor of that Lineage descended from Inegild the Brother of King Ina. And according to his Birth, liberally bred, he began early from his Youth to give signal Hopes of more than ordinary Worth growing up in him; which Birthric fearing, and withal his juster Title to the Crown, secretly sought his Life, and Ecbert perceiving, fled to Offa the Mercian: But he having marry'd Eadburg his Daughter to Birthric, easily gave ear to his Ambassadors coming to require Ecbert. He again put to his shifts, escap'd thence into France; but after three Years banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his Education, Charles the Great then reigning, he was call'd over by the publick Voice (for Birthric was newly dead) and with general Applause created King of West-Saxons. The same day Eihelmund at ^b Kimeresford, passing over with the Worcestershire Men, was met by Weolstan another Nobleman with those of Wilshire, between whom happen'd a great Fray, wherein the Wilshire Men overcame, but both Dukes were slain; no reason of their Quarrel written. Such Bickerings to recount, met often in these our Writers; what more Worth is it than to Chronicle the Wars of Kites or Crows flocking and fighting in the Air? The Year following, Eardulf the Northumbrian, leading forth an Army against Kenulf the Mercian, for harbouring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelates, Arms were laid aside, and Amity soon sworn between them. But Eadburga the Wife of Birthric, a Woman every way wicked, in Malice especially cruel, could not or car'd not to appease the general Hatred justly conceiv'd against her; accusom'd in her Husband's Days to accuse any whom she spighted; and not prevailing to his Ruine, her Practice was by Poison secretly to contrive his Death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband, lighting on a Cup which she had temper'd, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sipp'd thereof only, and in a while after still pining away, ended his Days; the Favourite drinking deeper, found speedier the Operation. She fearing to be question'd for these Facts, with what Treasure she had, pass'd over Sea to Charles the Great, whom with rich Gifts coming to his presence, the Emperor courtly receiv'd with this pleasant Proposal: Choose, Eadburga, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son. (for his Son stood by him) to be thy Husband: She, no Dissembler of what she lik'd best, made easie answer: Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger Man. To whom the Emperor, between jest and earnest, Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestow'd on thee my Son; but since thou hast chosen him, thou shalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheless he assign'd her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess; for that Life, it may seem, she chose next to profess: But being a while after detected of Unchastity with one of her Followers, she was commanded to depart thence; from that time wandering poorly up and down with one Servant, in Pavia a City of Italy, she finish'd at last in Beggary her shameful Life. In the Year 805, Cuthred, whom Kenulf the Mercian had, instead of Pren, made King in Kent, having obscurely reign'd eight Years, deceas'd. In Northumberland, Eardulf the Year following was driven out of his Realm by Alfwold, who reign'd two Years in his room; after whom Eandred, Son of Eardulf, thirty three Years. But I see not how this can stand with the sequel of Story out of better Authors: Much less that which Buchanan relates the Year following of Acaius King of Scots, who having reign'd thirty two Years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what Year of his Reign tells not) Hungus King of Picts, with 10000 Scots, against Athelstan a Saxon or Englishman, then wasting the Pictish Borders; that Hungus, by the aid of those Scots, and the Help of St. Andrew their Patron, in a Vision by Night, and the Appearance of his Cross by Day, routed the astonish'd English, and slew Athelstan in fight. Who this Athelstan was, I believe no Man knows: Buchanan supposes him to have been some Danish Commander, on whom King Alured, or Alfred, had bestow'd Northumberland: But of this I find no footstep in our ancient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of Alfred, it must be little less than one hundred Years after: This Athelstan therefore, and this great Overthrow seems rather to have been the Fancy of some Legend, than any warrantable Record. Mean while, Ecbert having with much Prudence, Justice and Clemency, a Work of more than one Year, establish'd his Kingdom, and himself in the Affections of his People, turns his first Enterprize against the Britains, both them of Cornwall, and those beyond Severn, subduing both. In Mercia, Kenulf the sixth Year after, having reign'd with great Praise of his religious Mind and Virtues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son Kenelm, a Child of seven Years, was committed to the Care of his Eldest Sister Quendred; who with a Female Ambition aspiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his Nurture, to murder him, led into a woody Place upon Pretence of Hunting. The Murder, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a written Note on the Altar at Rome, is a long Story told, tho' out of order, by *Malmbs.* and under the Year 821, by *Matt. West.* where I leave it to be fought by such as are more credulous than I wish

^a Eihelmund says, he was ordain'd King; Dr. Lloyd Bishop of Worcester, from *Affer's Annals*, *Simeon* of Durham, *Roger Hoveden*, and others, proves Ecbert's Accession to the Throne to be two Years forwarder, Anno 802.
^b It seems to be *Kempford* on the Edge of Gloucestershire, next to Wilshire.

A. D. 819. with my Readers. Only the Note was to this purpose:

*Low in a Mead of Kine under a Thorn,
Of Head hereaft li'th poor Kenelm King-born.*

820.

Ingulf.

823.

Sax. An.

Keolwulf, the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one Year's Reign was driven out by one *Bernulf* an Usurper: Who in his third Year, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by *Ecbert*, though with great Loss on both Sides, overthrown and put to flight at *Ellandune*, or *Wilton*: Yet *Malmsbury* accounts this Battel fought in 806, a wide difference, but frequently found in their Computations. *Bernulf* thence retiring to the *East-Angles*, as part of his Dominion by the late Seizure of *Offa*, was by them met in the Field and slain: But they doubting what the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves, both King and People, to the Sovereignty of *Ecbert*. As for the Kings of *East-Angles*, our *Annals* mention them not since *Ethelwald*; him succeeded his Brother's Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf* (a good King, well acquainted with *Bede*) and *Elwold* who left the Kingdom to *Beorn*, he to *Ethelred* the Father of this *Ethelbrite*, whom *Offa* perfidiously put to Death. *Simeon* and *Hoveden*, in the Year 749, write, that *Elfwald* King of *East-Angles* dying, *Humbeanna* and *Albert* shar'd the Kingdom between them; but where to insert this among the former Successions, is not easie, nor much material: After *Ethelbrite* none is nam'd of that Kingdom till their submitting now to *Ecbert*: He from this Victory against *Bernulf* sent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Alstan* Bishop of *Shirburn*, and *Wulfred* a Chief Com-mgnder, into *Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his eighteenth Year, overcame and drove him over the *Thames*; whereupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and lastly *Essex*, with her King *Swithred*, became subject to the Dominion of *Ecbert*. Neither were these all his Exploits of this Year, the first in order set down in *Saxon Annals*, being his Fight against the *Devonshire Welsh*, at a Place call'd *Gafulford*, now *Camelford* in *Cornwall*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after two Years preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his King-

man on the *East-Angles*, was by them with his five Consuls, as the *Annals* call them, surpriz'd and put to the Sword: And *Witlaf* his Successor first vanquish'd, then upon Submission with all *Mercia*, made Tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it self was fallen to shivers; their Kings, one after another, so often slain by the People, no Man daring, tho' never so ambitious, to take up the Scepter, which many had found so hot, (the only effectual Cure of Ambition that I have read) for the Space of thirty three Years after the Death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mllo*, as *Malmsbury* writes, there was no King: Many Noblemen and Prelates were fled the Country. Which mis-rule among them, the *Danes* having understood, oft-times from their Ships entring far into the Land, infested those Parts with wide Depopulation, wasting Towns, Churches and Monasteries, for they were yet Heathen: The Lent before whose coming, on the North-side of *St. Peter's* Church in *York*, was seen from the Roof to rain Blood. The Causes of these Calamities, and the Ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in those Days, attributes in several Epistles, and well may to the general Ignorance and decay of Learning, which crept in among them after the Death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the Archbishop; their neglect of breeding up Youth in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay Apparel of their Priests and Nuns, discovering their vain and wanton Minds; Examples are also read, even in *Beda's* Days, of their wanton Deeds: Thence Altars defil'd with Perjuries, Cloisters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with Blood of their Princes, Civil Dissentions among the People, and finally all the same Vices which *Gildas* alleg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britains*. In this Estate, *Ecbert*, who had now conquer'd all the South, finding them in the Year 827, (for he was march'd thither with an Army to compleat his Conquest of the whole Island) no wonder if they submitted themselves to the Yoke without resistance, *Eandred* their King becoming Tributary. Thence turning his Forces the Year following, he subdu'd more thoroughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*.

A. D. 825.

827

828.

Mar. West.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continued to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book V.

A. D.
828.

THE Sum of things in this Island, or the best Part thereof, reduc'd now under the Power of one Man; and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time here before unless in Fables; Men might with some Reason have expected from such Union, Peace and Plenity, Greatness, and the flourishing of all Estates and Degrees. But far the contrary fell out soon after, Invasion, Spoil, Desolation, Slaughter of many, Slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; Danes commonly called, and sometimes Dacians by others, the same with Normans; as barbarous as the Saxons themselves were at first reputed, and much more; for the Saxons first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovoked, came only to destroy. But if the Saxons, as is above related, came most of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmark*, as *Danish* Writers affirm, and that Danes and Normans are the same; then in this Invasion, Danes drove out Danes, their own Posterity: And Normans afterwards, none but Ancients Normans. Which Invasion perhaps, had the Heptarchy stood divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each Prince and People, excited by their nearest Concernments, had more industriously defended their own Bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed Governor, sent oft-times from the remote Residence of a secure Monarch. Though as it fell out in those Troubles, the lesser Kingdoms revolting from the *West-Saxon* Yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with their own Safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they fought to repel the Danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed Servitude on a sinful Nation, fitted by their own Vices for no Condition but servile, all Estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to punish our instrumental Punishers, though now Christians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine Retaliation, Invasion for Invasion, Spoil for Spoil, Destruction for Destruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the *Britains* were at their Arrival, broken with Luxury and Sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the Exercise of Arms, and the Study of all vertuous Knowledge, some betook them to over-worldly or vitious Practice, others to Religious Idleness

and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive Visions; easily perceiv'd such, by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Masses, Idols, add to these Ostentation of Alms, got oft-times by Rapine and Oppression, or intermixt with violent and lustful Deeds, sometimes prodigally bestow'd, as the Expiation of Cruelty and Bloodshed. What longer Suffering could there be, when Religion itself grew so void of Sincerity, and the greatest Shews of Purity were impur'd.

ECBERT.

ECBERT in full height of Glory, having now enjoy'd his Conquest seven peaceful Years, his victorious Army long since disbanded, and the Exercise of Arms perhaps laid aside, the more was found unprovided against a sudden Storm of Danes from the Sea, who landing in the 32. of his Reign, wasted *Shoepes* in *Kent*. *Ecbert* the next Year, gathering an Army, for he had heard of their Arrival in 35 Ships, gave them Battel by the River *Carr* in *Dorsetshire*; the Event whereof was, that the Danes kept their Ground, and encamp'd where the Field was fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Dudda* and *Osmond*, and two Bishops as some say, were there slain. This was the only Check of Fortune we read of, that *Ecbert* in all his time receiv'd. For the Danes returning two Years after with a great Navy, and joyning Forces with the *Cornish*, who had enter'd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these Invasions against *Ecbert*, the *Danish* History is not silent; whether out of their own Records or ours, may be justly doubted; for of these Times at home, I find them in much Uncertainty, and beholding rather to out-landish Chronicles than any Records of their own. The Victor *Ecbert*, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous Success, the next Year with Glory ended his Days, and was buried at *Winchester*.

ETHELWOLF.

ETHELWOLF the Son of *Ecbert* succeeded; by *Malmsbury* describ'd a Man of mild Nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therefore contented with the ancient

^a Near *Charmouth* in *Dorsetshire*.

^b At *Henston* in *Cornwall*: So call'd from *Hengi*? the *Saxon*.

A. D.
828.

Calvisius.

Pontan.

Ecbert first Monarch of England; which Name was at this time given to this Kingdom.

832.

Sax. An.

833.

Sax. An.

835.

Sax. An.

Pontan.

Hist. Dan.

l. 4.

836.

Sax. An.

A. D. 836. ancient *West-Saxon* Bounds, he gave to *Ethelstan* his Brother, or Son, as some write, the Kingdom of *Kent* and *Essex*. But the *Saxon Annalist*, whose Authority is elder, saith plainly, that both these Countries and *Sussex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelstan* by *Ecbert* his Father. The unwarlike Disposition of *Ethelwolf*, gave Encouragement no doubt, and easier Entrance to the *Danes*, who came again the next Year with thirty three Ships; but *Wulfheard*, one of the King's Chief Captains, drove them back at *Southampton* with great Slaughter; himself dying the same Year of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have been one of *Ecbert*'s old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwolf* to subdue *Kent*. *Ethelhelm* another of the King's Captains with the *Dorsetshire* Men, had at first like Success against the *Danes* at *Portsmouth*; but they reinforcing stood their Ground, and put the *English* to rout. Worse was the Success of *Earl Herbert* at a Place call'd *Merfwar*, slain with the most Part of his Army. The Year following in *Lindsey* also, *East-Angles*, and *Kent*, much Mischief was done, by their landing; where the next Year, imbolden'd by Success, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *London* it self, with no less cruel Hostility. And giving no respite to the peaceable Mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with the next Year in thirty five Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good their Ground. In *Northumberland* *Eandred* the Tributary King deceasing, left the same Tenure to his Son *Ethelred*, driven out in his fourth Year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation, hastening forth to Battel against the *Danes* at *Alvetheli*, fell with the most part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in Fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat: And to be yet farther like him in Fate, was slain the fourth Year after. *Osbert* succeeded in his room. But mote Southerly, the *Danes* next Year after met with some stop in the full course of their outrageous Insolencies. For *Earnulf* with the Men of *Somerset*, *Alstan* the Bishop, and *Oſric* with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the River's Mouth of *Pedridan*, slaughter'd them in great Numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory. This Repulse quell'd them, for ought we hear, the Space of six Years; then also renewing their Invasion, with little better Success. For *Keorle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devonshire*, assaulted and overthrew them at *Wigganbeorch* with great Destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same Year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealker* his General, their great Army defeated, and nine of their Ships taken, the rest driven off, however to ride out the Winter on that Shoar, *Aſſer* saith, they then first winter'd in *Shepey Isle*. Hard it is through the bad Expression of these Writers to define this Fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea-fight. Nevertheless, with fifty Ships (*Aſſer* and others add three hundred) they enter'd the Mouth of *Thames*, and made Excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, destroy'd both; of *London*, *Aſſer* signifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* also the *Mercian*, Successor of *Withlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then

passing over *Thames* with their Powers into *Surrey*, and the *West-Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, at a Place call'd *Ak-Lea*, or *Oak-Lea*, they receiv'd a total Defeat with memorable Slaughter. This was counted a lucky Year to *England*, and brought to *Ethelwolf* great Reputation. *Burhed* therefore who after *Bertulf* held of him the *Mercian* Kingdom, two Years after this, imploring his Aid against the *North-Welch*, as then troublesome to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in Person, and thereby reduc'd them to Obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* sent his Son *Alfrid*, a Child of five Years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both consecrated to be King afterward, and adopted to be his Son. At home *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with those of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at their landing in *Tanet*, and at first put them back; but the slain and drown'd were at length so many on either side, as left the Loss equal on both: Which yet hinder'd not the Solemnity of a Marriage at the Feast of *Easter*, between *Burhed* the *Mercian*, and *Ethelſwida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. Howbeit the *Danes* next Year winter'd again in *Shepey*. Whom *Ethelwolf* not finding humane Health sufficient to resist, growing daily upon him, in hope of Divine Aid, register'd in a Book, and dedicated to God, the tenth Part of his own Lands, and of his whole Kingdom, eas'd of all Impositions, but converted to the Maintenance of Masses and Psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it self, in *William of Malmsbury*. *Aſſer* saith, he did it for the Redemption of his Soul, and the Soul of his Ancestors. After which, as having done some great Matter, to shew himself at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope, he takes a long and cumbersome Journey thither with young *Alfrid* again, and there stays a Year, when his Place requir'd him rather here in the Field against Pagan Enemies left wintering in his Land. Yet so much Manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*. But e'er his Return, *Ethelbald* his eldest Son, *Alstan* his trusty Bishop, and *Enulf* Earl of *Somerset* conspir'd against him; their Complaints were, that he had taken with him *Alfrid* his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out-landish Wife; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The Disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than War: But the King abhorring Civil Discord, after many Conferences tending to Peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son: Division was made, but the Matter so carried, that the Eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Western and best given to the Son; at which many of the Nobles had great Indignation, offering to the King their utmost Assistance for the Recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his Portion assign'd. In the *East-Angles*, *Edmund*, Lineal from the Ancient Stock of those Kings, a Youth of fourteen Years only, but of great Hopes, was with consent of all but his own crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the

^a At Port now call'd *Portland*.

^b On *Merfwarum*, says the *Saxon Chronicle*, i. e. Among the Marshes, or Inhabitants of the Marshes or Fens. The Name does not denote any particular Place, as Mr. Milton imagin'd.

^c This Battel is rather suppos'd to be fought at the Mouth of the River *Ans*, on *Bladen-Down* in *Somersetshire*; the Village being from the Slaughter of that Day, call'd *Bleaden* or *Bloody-Down*.

^d Thought to be *Wenbury* in *Devonshire*.

^e *Okely* in *Surrey*, upon the Borders of *Sussex*.

^f At *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*.

A. D. 857. *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* been driven out of their Country, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid against *Donaldus* the *Scotish* King, to recover their ancient Possession. *Osbert*, who in Person undertook the Expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at first put to a Retreat; but returning soon after on the *Scots*, oversecure of their suppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great Slaughter, took Prisoner their King, and pursu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlingbridge*. The *Scots* unable to resist longer, and by Ambassadors intreating Peace, had it granted them on these Conditions: The *Scots* were to quit all they had possess'd within the Wall of *Severus*: The Limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlingbridge* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other side *Dunbritton-Frith*; from that time so call'd of the *British* then seated in *Cumberland*, who had join'd with *Osbert* in this Action, and so far extended on that Side the *British* Limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themselves witness (and who would think them fabulous to the Disparagement of their own Country?) How much wanting have been our Historians to their Country's Honour, in letting pass unmention'd an Exploit so memorable, by them remember'd and attested, who are wont offer to extenuate than to amplify ought done in *Scotland* by the *English*? *Donaldus* on these Conditions releas'd, soon after dies, according to *Buchanan*, in 858. *Ethelwolf*, chief King in *England*, had the Year before ended his Life, and was bury'd as his Father at *Winchester*. He was from his Youth much addicted to Devotion; so that in his Father's time he was ordain'd Bishop of *Winchester*; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne: Managing therefore his greatest Affairs by the Advice of two Bishops, *Astan* of *Sherburne*, and *Swithin* of *Winchester*. But *Astan* is noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by *William* of *Malmsbury*; the more vehemently, no doubt, for doing some notable Damage to that Monastery. The same Author writes, that *Ethelwolf* at *Rome* paid a Tribute to the Pope, continu'd to his Days. However he were facile to his Son and seditious Nobles, in yielding up part of his Kingdom; yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeas'd. The *West-Saxons* had decreed, ever since the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birhric*, that no Queen should sit in State with the King, or be dignify'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen should lose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his Death he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons, *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*; to the younger, *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*; to the Elder, all the rest: To *Peter* and *Paul* certain Revenues yearly, for what Uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

ETHEL BALD, and ETHELBERT,

A. D. 860. *Ethelbald*, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, though contrary Sin, of too much Love to his Father's Wife; and whom at first he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three Years end, without doing ought more worthy to be remember'd; having reign'd two Years with his Father, impiously usurping, and

three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested by the *Danes*; not of Divine Favour doubtless, but to his great Condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous Life. *Huntingdon* on the other side much praises *Ethelbald*, and writes him bury'd at *Sherburn*, with great Sorrow of his People, who miss'd him long after. *Mat West.* saith, that he repented of his Incest with *Judith*, and dismiss'd her: But *Affer* an Eye-witness of those Times, mentions no such thing.

ETHELBERT alone.

Ethelbald by Death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Virtue and no Blame, had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peaceful; once or twice invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the West with a great Army, and sack'd *Winchester*, were met by *Osric* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Barkshire*, beaten to their Ships, and forc'd to leave their Booty. Five Years after, about the Time of his Death, they set foot again in *Taney*; the *Kentishmen* weary'd out with so frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain Sum of Money; but e'er the Peace could be ratify'd, and the Money gather'd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a sudden Eruption in the Night, soon wasted all the East of *Kent*. Mean while, or something before, *Ethelbert* deceasing was bury'd as his Brother at *Sherburn*.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred the third Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his first coming to the Crown was entertain'd with a fresh Invasion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the *East-Angles*; there they winter'd, and coming to terms of Peace with the Inhabitants*, furnish'd themselves of Horses, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of their own: These Pagans, *Affer* saith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted thus for a long Expedition, they ventur'd the next Year to make their way over Land and over *Humber*, as far as *York*, them they found to their handsembroil'd in Civil Dissentions; their King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella* Leader of another Faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonish'd by their common Danger, toward's the Year's end, with united Powers made Head against the *Danes* and prevail'd; but pursuing them over-eagerly into *York*, then but slenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where slaughter'd, both within and without; their Kings also both slain, their City burnt, saith *Malmsbury*, the rest as they could made their Peace, over-run and vanquish'd as far as the River *Tine*, and *Ecbert* of *English* Race appointed King over them. *Bromton*; no ancient Author (for he wrote since *Mat. West.*) nor of much Credit, writes a particular Cause of the *Danes* coming to *York*: That *Bruern* a Nobleman, whose Wife King *Osbert* had ravish'd, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The Example is remarkable, if the Truth were as evident. Thence Victorious, the *Danes* next Year enter'd into *Mercia* towards *Nottingham*, where they spent the Winter. *Burhed*, then King of that Country, unable to resist, implores,

A. D.

860

Sax. An.

865

Sax. An.

866

Sax. An.

Huntingd.

* The

Danes

winter'd

in Eng-

land.

867

Sax. An.

Affer.

868

A. D. 868. plores the Aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his Brother, they assembling their Forces and joining with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel: The *Danes*, not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that Town and Castle, so that no great Fight was hazarded there; at length the *Mercians*, weary of long Suspence, enter'd into Conditions of Peace with their Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to *York*, made their abode there the space of one Year, committing, some say, many Cruelties. Thence imbarking to *Lindsey*, and all the Summer destroying that Country, about September they came with like Fury into *Kesteven*, another part of *Lincolnshire*, where *Algar*, the Earl of *Howland*, now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hundred stout Soldiers belonging to the Abby of *Croiland*, three hundred from about *Boston*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd, *Osgot* Governor of *Lincoln*, with five hundred of that City, all joining together, gave Battel to the *Danes*; slew of them a great Multitude, with three of their Kings, and pursu'd the rest to their Tents: But the Night following, *Gothburn*, *Basag*, *Osketil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, five Kings; and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidro* the Elder and Younger, coming in from several parts with great Forces and Spoils, great part of the *English* began to flink home. Nevertheless *Algar*, with such as forsook him not, all next Day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and sustaining unmov'd the brunt of their Assaults, could not withhold his Men at last from pursuing their counterfeited Flight; whereby open'd and disorder'd, they fell into the Snares of their Enemies, rushing back upon them. *Algar*, and those Captains fore-nam'd with him, all resolute Men, retreating to a Hill-side, and slaying of such as follow'd them, manifold their own Number, dy'd at length upon heaps of Dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence passing on into the Country of *East-Angles*, rifled and burnt the Monastery of *Ely*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* affailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himself taken, bound to a Stake, and shot to Death with Arrows, his whole Country subdu'd*. The next Year with great Supplies, saith *Huntingdon*, bending their march toward the *West-Saxons*, the only People now left, in whom might seem yet to remain Strength or Courage likely to oppose them, they came to *Reading*, fortify'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames* and *Kenet*; and about three Days after, sent out Wings of Horse under two Earls to forage the Country; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Barkshire*, at *Englesfeld* a Village nigh, encounter'd them, slew one of their Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four Days after came the King himself and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battel; and the *Danes* issuing forth, a bloody Fight began, on either side great Slaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* lost his Life; but the *Danes* losing no Ground, kept their place of standing to the end. Neither did the *English* for this make less haste to another Conflict at *Ecesdune*, or *Albdown*†, four Days after, where both Armies with their whole Forces on either side met. The

Danes were imbattel'd in two great Boddies, the one led by *Bascai* and *Halfden*, their two Kings; the other by such Earls as were appointed. In like manner the *English* divided their Powers, *Ethelred* the King stood against their Kings; and though on the lower Ground, and coming later into the Battel from his *Orisons*, gave a fierce Onset, wherein *Bascai* (the *Danish* History names him *Ivarus* the Son of *Regnerus*) was slain. *Alfred* was plac'd against the Earls, and beginning the Battel ere his Brother came into the Field, with such Resolution charg'd them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are nam'd, *Sedroc*, *Elder* and Younger, *Osbern*, *Fren*, *Harald*; at length in both Divisions, the *Danes* turn their Backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest pursu'd till Night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* fourteen Days after such an Overthrow, fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Basing*, under conduct, saith the *Danish* History, of *Agnerus* and *Hubbo*, Brothers of the slain *Ivarus*, should obtain the Victory; especially since the new Supply of *Danes*, mention'd by *Asser*, arriv'd after this Action. But after two Months, the King and his Brother fought with them again at *Merton**, in two Squadrons as before, in which Fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver their Meaning with more than wonted Infancy. Yet these I take (for *Asser* is here silent) to be the chief Fountain of our Story, the Ground and Basis upon which the *Monks* later in Time Gloss and Comment at their Pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Bishop only, but many valiant Men lost their Lives. This Fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; whereof, as is thought, King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was bury'd at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inscribes, that he had his Death's Wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Danish* History 872^a. Of all these terrible Landings and Devastations by the *Danes*, from the Days of *Ethelwulf* till their two last Battels with *Ethelred*, or of their Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Danish* History of best Credit saith nothing; so little Wit or Conscience it seems they had to leave any Memory of their Brutish, rather than Manly Actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of *Asser*, from *Danubius*, rather than from *Denmark*, more probably some barbarous Nations of *Prussia*, or *Livonia*, not long before seated more Northward on the *Baltick* Sea.

A L F R E D.

Alfred the fourth Son of *Ethelwulf*, had scarce perform'd his Brother's Obleques, and the Solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the Month's end in haste with a small Power he encounter'd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and most part of the Day foil'd them; but unwarily following the Chase, gave others of them the Advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained Masters of the Field.

^a It appears by the Inscription on his Tomb, which may be read in *Winbourn Church*, that he fell per manus Danorum Paganorum, by the Hands of the Pagan *Danes*, the 23^d of April, Anno 872.

^b *Asserius Menevensis*, *Asser* Bishop of *St. David's*, wrote the Life of this Prince, in whose Reign he liv'd. The Life of King *Alfred* was also written at large by Sir *John Spelman*, (Son to Sir *Henry*) the Original Manuscript whereof is now in the Bodleian Library. It was translated into Latin; and publish'd in Folio, with *Mr. Walker's* Notes, some Years ago.

A. D. 871.

Pontan.
Hist. Dan.
l. 4.
Merton in
Surrey.

Camden.

* By *Hinguar* and *Hubba*.
871.
Sax. An.

Asser.

† Aston in
Barkshire.

- A.D. 871. Field. This Year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had been fought against the Danes on the South-side of *Thames*, besides innumerable Excursions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in Fight, so that weary on both sides at the Years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next Year the Danes took their march to *London*, now expos'd their Prey, there they winter'd, and thither came the *Mercians* to renew Peace with them. The Year following they revok'd back to the Parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torksey* in *Lincolnshire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made Peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing their Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyshire*, and there wintering, they constrain'd *Burhead* the King to fly into Foreign Parts, making Seizure of his Kingdom, he running the direct way to *Rome*, with better Reason than his Ancestors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the *English* School. His Kingdom the Danes farmed out to *Kelfwulf*, one of his Household Servants or Officers, with Condition to be resign'd them when they commanded. From *Rependune* they dislodg'd, *Hafden* their King, leading part of his Army Northward, winter'd by the River *Tine*, and subjecting all those Quarters, wasted also the *Picts* and *British* beyond: But *Cuthrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Anwynd*, other three of their Kings moving from * *Repton* in *Darbyshire*, came with a great Army to † *Grantbrig*, and remain'd there a whole Year. *Alfred* that Summer purposing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect of Navigation, had expos'd the Land to these Piracies) meet with seven Danish Rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable Success from so small a Beginning: For the *English* at that time were but little experienc'd in Sea Affairs. The next Years first Motion of the Danes was towards *Warham* Castle: When *Alfred* meeting them, either by Policy, or their Doubt of his Power; *Ethelwerd* saith, by Money brought them to such Terms of Peace, as that they swore to him upon a hollow'd Bracelet, others say upon certain Reliques (a solemn Oath it seems which they never vouchsafed before to any other Nation) forthwith to depart the Land: But falsifying that Oath, by Night with all the Horse they had (*Affer* saith, slaying all the Horsemen he had) stole to *Exeter*, and there winter'd. In *Northumberland*, *Hafden* their King began to settle, to divide the Land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the West who were marched to *Exeter*, enter'd the City, courting now and then to *Warham*; but their Fleet the next Year sailing or rowing about the West, met with such a Tempest near to *Swanwich* *, or *Gnavewic*, as wrack'd 120 of their Ships, and left the rest easie to be master'd by those Gallies which *Alfred* had set there to guard the Seas, and streiten *Exeter* of Provision. He the while beleaguering them in the City; now humbled with the Loss of their Navy (two Navies, saith *Affer*, the one at *Gnavewic*, the other at *Swanwine*) distress'd them so, as that they gave him as many Hostages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths, to keep their covenanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer coming on, they departed into *Mercia*, whereof part they divided amongst themselves, part left to *Kelwulf* their substituted King. The Twelfth tide following, all Oaths forgotten they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire* dispeopling the Countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himself with a small Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny Places †, and for some time all alone, as *Florent* saith, sojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-herd, made afterwards for his Devotion, and Aptness to Learning, Bishop of *Winchester*. *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hingwar*, coming with twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great Spoil, landed in *Devonshire*, nigh to a strong Castle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Garrison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with twelve Hundred of their Men. Mean while the King about *Easter*, not despairing of his Affairs, built a Fortrefs at a Place call'd *Athelney* in *Somersetshire*, therein valiantly defending himself and his Followers, frequently sallying forth. The seventh Week after, he rode out to a Place call'd † *Ecbyrt-stone* in the East part of *Selwood*: Thither resorted to him with much Gratulation, the *Somerset* and *Wiltshire* Men, with many out of *Hampshire*, some of whom a little before had fled their Country; with these marching to *Ethandune* now *Edindon* in *Wiltshire*, he gave Battel to the whole Danish Power, and put them to flight. Then besieging their Castle, within fourteen Days took it. *Malmesbury* writes, that in this time of his Recess, to go a Spy into the Danish Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the Habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining Access to the King's Table, and sometimes to his Bed-Chamber, got Knowledge of their Secrets, their careles encamping, and thereby this Opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The Danes by this Misfortune broken, gave him more Hostages, and renew'd their Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Their King *Gytro*, or *Gothrum*, offer'd willingly to receive Baptism, and accordingly came with thirty of his Friends, to a Place call'd *Aldra*, or * *Aukre*, near to *Athelney*, and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receiv'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Athelstan*. After which, they abode with him twelve Days, and were dismiss'd with rich Presents. Whereupon the Danes remov'd next Year to *Cirencester*, thence peaceably to the *East-Angles*; which *Alfred*, as some write have bestow'd on *Gothrum* to hold of him; the Bounds whereof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Thames*, and joining there with a great Fleet newly come into the River, thence pass'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enter'd, so far conquering or wasting, as witness'd sufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemish* were no more able than the *English*, by Policy or Prowess to keep off that Danish Inundation from their Land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent their Landing; three Years after (quiet the mean while) with more Ships and better provided, puts to Sea, and at first met with four of theirs; whereof two he took, throwing the Men over-board, then with two others, wherein were two of their Princes, and took them also, but not without some Loss of his own. After three Years another Fleet of them appear'd on these Seas, so huge, that one part thought themselves sufficient to enter upon *East-France*, the other came to *Rocheſter*, and beleaguerr'd it, they within stoutly defending themselves, till *Alfred* with great Forces, coming down upon the Danes, drove them to their Ships, leaving for haſt all their Horses behind them. The same Year *Alfred* sent a Fleet toward the *East-Angles*, then inhabited

* Between the Rivers *Tone* and *Parret* in *Somersetshire*, about *North-Petherton*.

† Possibly *Brinton* on the West-side of *Wiltshire*. See the Gloss to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

A. D. 885. inhabited by the *Danes*, which at the Mouth of *Stour*^a, meeting with sixteen *Danish* Ships, after some fight took them all, and slew the Soldiers aboard; but in the way home lying careless, were overtaken by another Part of that Fleet, and came off with Loss; whereupon perhaps those *Danes* who were settled among the *East-Angles*, erected with new Hopes, violated the Peace which they had sworn to *Alfred*, who spent the next Year in repairing *London*, (besieging, saith *Huntingdon*) much ruin'd and unpeopl'd by the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but those who had been led away Captive, soon return'd to their Dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, was by the King appointed their Governor^b. But after thirteen Years respite of Peace, another *Danish* Fleet of 250 Sail^c, from the East part of *France* arriv'd at the Mouth of a River in *East Kent*, call'd^d *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood^e *Andred*, famous for Length and Breadth; into that Wood they drew up their Ships four Mile from the River's Mouth, and built a Fortrefs. After whom *Hæsten* with another *Danish* Fleet of eighty Ships, entering the Mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the former Army remaining at a Place call'd *Apehtree*. *Alfred* perceiving this, took of those *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of those in *Essex*, Hostages, lest they should join, as they were wont, with their Country-men newly arriv'd. And by the next Year, having got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd so, as to be ready for either of them, who first should happen to stir forth; Troops of Horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spar'd from strong Places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter Foraging Parties of the Enemy. The King also divided sometimes his whole Army, marching out with one Part by turns, the other keeping intrench'd. In Conclusion, rowling up and down, both sides met at *Farnham* in *Surry*^f; where the *Danes* by *Alfred*'s Horse Troops were put to flight, and crossing the *Thames* to a certain Island near *Coln* in *Essex*, or as *Cambden* thinks, by *Colebroke*, were Besieg'd there by *Alfred* till Provision fail'd the Besiegers, another Part staid behind with the King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the Siege at *Colney*, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea to the *East-Angles*, and with a Hundred Ships coasting Southward, landed in *Devonshire*, and Besieged *Exeter*; thither *Alfred* hastened with his Powers, except a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: With whom the Citizens marching forth to * *Beamslet*, where *Hæsten* the *Dane* had built a strong Fort, and left a Garrison, while he himself with the Main of his Army was enter'd far into the Country, luckily surprize the Fort, master the Garrison, make prey of all they find there; their Ships also they burnt or brought away with good Booty, and many Prisoners, among whom, the Wife and two Sons of *Hæsten* were sent to the King, who forthwith set them at Liberty. Whereupon *Hæsten* gave Oath of

Amity and Hostages to the King; he in requital, whether freely, or by Agreement, a Sum of Money. Nevertheless, without regard of Faith given, while *Alfred* was busied about *Exeter*, joyning with the other *Danish* Army, he built another Castle in *Essex* at *Shoberie*, thence marching Westward by the *Thames*, aided with *Northumbrians* and *East-Anglish* *Danes*, they came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in their way. But, *Ethred*, *Ethelm*, and *Ethelnoth*, the King's Captains, with united Forces † pitch'd nigh to † Out of them at *Buttington*, on the *Severn* Bank in *Somersetshire*, the River running between, *Shire*. and there many Weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes*, who Besieg'd *Exeter*, having eaten part of their Horses, the rest urg'd with Hunger broke forth to their Fellows, who lay encamp'd on the East-side of the River, and were all there discomfited, with some Loss of valiant Men on the King's Party; the rest fled back to *Essex* and their Fortrefs there. Then *Laf*, one of their Leaders, gather'd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglish* *Danes*, who leaving their Money, Ships and Wives with the *East-Angles*, and marching Day and Night, sat down before a City in the West call'd^g *Wirheal* near to *Chester*, and took it e'er they could be overtaken. The *English* after two Days Siege, hopeless to dislodge them, wast-ed the Country round to cut off from them all Provision, and departed. Soon after which, next Year the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirheal*, 895. destitute of Victuals, enter'd *North-Wales*; thence *Sax. An.* laden with Spoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *East-Angles* as far as *Essex*, where they seiz'd on a small Island call'd *Me-Mercey*. *refig*. And here again the *Annals* record them to besiege *Exeter*, but without Coherence of Sence or Story. Others relate to this purpose, that returning by Sea from the Siege of *Exeter*, 896. and in their way landing on the Coast of *Suffex*, *Sim. Dun.* they of *Chichester* sallied out, and slew of them *Florent*. many Hundreds, taking also some of their Ships. The same Year they who possess'd *Merefig*, intending to winter thereabouts, drew up their Ships, some into the *Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank thereof built a Castle twenty Miles from *London*; to assault which the *Londoners* aided with other Forces, march'd out the Summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the King's Captains. *Hun-* 896. *tingdon* writes quite the contrary, that these four *Sax. An.* were *Danish* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: But little Credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* single. For the King thereupon with his Forces, lay encamp'd nearer the City, that the *Danes* might not infest them in time of Harvest; in the mean time, subtly devising to turn *Lee* Stream several ways; whereby the *Danish* Bottoms were left on dry Ground: Which they soon perceiving march'd over the Land to *Quatbrig*^h on the *Severn*, built a Fortrefs and winter'd there; while their Ships left in *Lee*, were either broken or brought away by the *Londoners*; but their Wives and Children they had left in Safety with the *East-Angles*. The next Year was pestilent, and

^a Not that in *Kent*, but that which runs by *Harwich* in *Essex*.

^b In the Year 886, 'tis said *Alfred* founded the University of *Oxford*, and in the next, he held that great Council wherein all the Laws were made that go under his Name. *Cambd. Spelm.*

^c In 885, Mr. *Milton* says the *Danes* invaded *England*, and in 893, they came again; so there cou'd be but 8 Years Peace.

^d The Mouth of this River then ran into the Sea near *Rumney*, but 'tis now turn'd.

^e The *Weald* of *Kent*, *Suffex*, and the Wood-land part of *Hampshire*.

^f Mr. *Cambden* writes, that the Battel of *Farnham* was fought in the Year 893. *Brit. Tit. Surrey.*

^g Mr. *Milton* mistakes the Name of the Country for that of the City. *H. Huntingdon* says 'twas a certain City in *Wirheal* call'd *Legacester*, now *Chester*, and the Country that runs into the Sea to the N. W. is by Mr. *Cambden* call'd *Wirrall*. *Brit. Tit. Cheshire.*

^h This is most like to be *Bridgenorth* in *Shropshire*. For what Reasons, see the Gloss of the *Saxon* Chronicle, under the Title of *Cmathbrigge*. Suppos'd by others to be *Cambridge*, in *Gloucestershire*, now a Village situated on the River *Cam*, where it falls into the *Severn*.

A. D. 897. and besides the common sort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, with many others; and to this Evil, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth, robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Gallies. But the King causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy Oars higher, swifter and steddier than such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frisons*, his own Invention, some of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirates, who had done much harm in the Isle of *Wight* and Parts adjoining. The Bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the Water, part on the Sands; not without Loss of some Eminent Men on the *English* side. The Pirates at length were either slain or taken, two of them stranded; the Men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his Command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her Men much wounded: The same Year not fewer than twenty of their Ships perish'd on the South Coast with all their Men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* landing here, as *Mat. West.* writes, though not in what part of the Island, after an unsuccessful Fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, sail'd into *France*, and conquer'd the Country, since that time called *Normandy*. This is the Sum of what pass'd in three Years against the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, set down so perplexedly by the *Saxon* Annalist, ill-gifted with Utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spoken, whether meant of the *Danes* or of the *Saxons*. After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three Years of Peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all vertuous Employments both of Mind and Body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his Days in the Year 900, the 51 of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried Regally at *Winchester*: He was born * at a Place call'd † *Wantage* in *Berkshire*, his Mother *Osburga* the Daughter of *Oslac* the King's Cup-bearer, a *Goth* by Nation, and of Noble Descent. He was of Person comelier than all his Brethren, of pleasing Tongue and graceful Behaviour, ready Wit and Memory; yet through the Fondness of his Parents towards him, had not been taught to read till the twelfth Year of his Age; but the great Desire of Learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems Day and Night, which with great Attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in Devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his Bosom to use on all Occasions. He thirsted after all Liberal Knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little Vacancy from Wars, and the Cares of his Kingdom; yet leisure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate thereof what he could to his People, by translating Books out of *Latin* into *English*, *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Bede's* History, and others, permitted none unlearn'd to bear Office, either in Court or Commonwealth: At twenty Years of Age, not yet Reining, he took to Wife *Egelfwitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The Extremities which beset him in the sixth of his Reign, *Neo-*

than Abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger Days the Complaints of such as injur'd and oppress'd repair'd to him, as then second Person in the Kingdom for Redress; which neglect, were it such indeed, were yet excusable in his Youth, through Jollity of Mind, unwilling perhaps to be detain'd long with sad and sorrowful Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking Regal Charge, no Man more patient in hearing Causes, more inquisitive in Examining, more exact in doing Justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more severe in punishing unjust Judges or obstinate Offenders. Thieves especially and Robbers, to the Terror of whom in Cross-ways were hung upon a high Post certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; so that Justice seem'd in his Days not to flourish only, but to triumph: No Man than he more frugal of two precious things in Man's Life, his Time and his Revenue; no Man wiser in the Disposal of both. His Time, the Day and Night, he distributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equal Portions: The one was for Devotion, the other for Publick or Private Affairs, the third for Bodily Refreshment: How each Hour past, he was put in mind by one who had that Office. His whole Annual Revenue, which his first Care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal Parts; the first he employ'd to Secular Uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his Soldiers, Household Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended Monthly by turn; the second was to pay his Architects and Workmen, whom he had got together of several Nations; for he was also an Elegant Builder, above the Custom and Conceit of *Englishmen* in those Days: The third he had in Readiness to relieve or honour Strangers according to their Worth, who came from all Parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal Part of his Yearly Wealth he dedicated to Religious Uses; those of four Sorts; the first to relieve the Poor, the second to Building and Maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study Sacred Knowledge and Liberal Arts, ^b some say at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the Relief of Foreign Churches, as far as *India* to the Shrine of *St. Thomas*, sending thither *Sigelm* Bishop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; Gifts also, and a Letter he receiv'd from the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, sent many to *Rome*, and for them receiv'd Reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his Noble Mind, which render'd him the Mirrour of Princes; his Body was diseas'd in his Youth with a great Soreness in the Siege, and that ceasing of it self, with another inward Pain of unknown Cause, which held him by frequent Fits to his dying Day; yet not disenabl'd to sustain those many glorious Labours of his Life both in Peace and War.

EDWARD the Elder.

EDWARD the Son of *Alfred* succeeded, in *Malmsh.* Learning not equal, in Power and Extent of *Huntingd.* Dominion, surpassing his Father. The beginning of his Reign had much Disturbance by *Ethelwald* an

* A *Saxon* Lord descended from *Witlgar* first Prince of the Isle of *Wight*.

^b The Truth of it is so clearly made out by several Authors, that he had no reason to mention it so suspiciously.

A. D. 901. an ambitious young Man, Son of the King's Uncle, or Cuosin-German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variously deliver'd. He vainly avouching to have equal Right with *Edward* of Succession to the Crown, possess'd himself of *Winburne* in *Dorset*, and another Town diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompass'd with the King's Forces at *Badburie*, a Place nigh, his Heart failing him, he stole out by Night, and fled to the *Danish* Army beyond *Humber*. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thither^a. About this time the *Kentish* Men, against a Multitude of *Danish* Pirates, fought prosperously at a Place call'd *Holme*, as *Hoveden* records, *Ethelwald* aided by the *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three Years after, failing to the *East-Angles*, perswaded the *Danes* there to fall into the King's Territory, who marching with him as far as *Crecklad*, and passing the *Thames* there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and laden with Spoils return'd home. The King with his Powers making Speed after them, between the ^b *Dike* and *Ouse*, suppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridgeshire*, as far as the Fens Northward, laid waste all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanding that all his Army should follow him close without delay; but the *Kentish* Men, though often call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Danish* Army prevented them, and joyn'd Battel with the King: Where Duke *Sigulf* and Earl *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were slain; on the *Danes* part, *Eorik* their King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high Note, and of them greater Number, but with great Ruine on both sides; yet the *Danes* kept in their Power the burying of their slain. Whatever followed upon this Conflict, which we read not, the King two Years after with the *Danes*, both of *East-Angles* and *Northumberland*, concluded Peace, which continu'd three Years, by whomsoever broken; for at the end thereof King *Edward* raising great Forces out of *West-Sex*, and *Mercia*, sent them against the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where staying five Weeks, they made great Spoil and Slaughter. The King offer'd them Terms of Peace, but they rejecting all, enter'd with the next Year into *Mercia*, rendring no less Hostility then they had suffer'd; but at *Ternel* in *Staffordshire*, saith *Florent*, were by the *English* in a set Battel overthrown. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a Hundred Sail, others gone Southward, came back and met him. The *Danes* now supposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took Liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of Prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The King guessing what might embolden them, sent before him the lightest of his Army to entertain them; then following with the rest, set upon them in their return over *Cantrig* in *Gloucestershire*, and slew many Thousands, among whom *Ecwils*, *Hafden*, and *Hinguar* their Kings, and many other harsh Names in *Huntingdon*; the Place also of this Fight is variously written by

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Ethelwerd and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfield*. The Year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had given *London*, with his Daughter in Marriage; now dying, King *Edward* resum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoining, into his own hands, and the Year after, built, or much repair'd by his Soldiers, the Town of *Hertford* on either side *Lee*, and leaving a sufficient Number at the Work, march'd about middle Summer with the other part of his Forces into *Essex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Soldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Country, subject formerly to the *Danes*, yielded themselves to his Protection^c. Four Years after (*Florent* allows but one Year) the *Danes* from *Leister* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordshire*, committed much Rapine, and in some Towns thereof great Slaughter; while another Party wasting *Hertfordshire*, met with other Fortune; for the Country-people inur'd now to such kind of Incursions, joyning stoutly together, fell upon the Spoilers, recover'd their own Goods, with some Booty from their Enemies. About the same time *Elfled* the King's Sister sent her Army of *Mercians* into *Wales*, who routed the *Welch*, took the Castle of ^d *Brecenam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and brought away the King's Wife of that Country, with other Prisoners. Not long after she took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Castle by a sharp Assault. But the Year ensuing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Devonshire*, under two Leaders, *Otter* and *Roald*; who sailing thence Westward about the Lands End, came up to the Mouth of *Severn*^e; there landing wasted the *Welch* Coast, and *Irchenfield* part of *Herefordshire*; where they took *Kuneleac* a *British* Bishop, for whose Ransome King *Edward* gave forty Pound, but the Men of *Hereford* and *Glocestershire* assembling, put them to flight, slaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, pursu'd them to a Wood, and there beset, compell'd them to give Hostages of present Departure. The King with his Army sat not far off, securing from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; so that openly they durst not, by Night they twice ventur'd to land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchor'd by a small Island, where many of them famish'd; then sailing to a Place call'd *Deomed*, they cross'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, staid there a Month, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of *Ouse* e'er his departing, and *Turkitel* a *Danish* Leader, with those of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yielded him Subjection. Whereupon the next Year he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took Possession thereof, staid there a Month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of *Ouse*. Thence the Year following went again to *Maldon*, repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having small hope to thrive here, where things with such Prudence were manag'd against his Interest, got leave of the King, with as many Voluntaries as would follow him, to pass on to *France*. Early the next Year King *Edward* re-edifi'd *Tovechester*, now *Torchester*; and another

^a *Ran Higden*, in his *Polychron*, says she took her out of the Monastery of *Winburne*, and went away with her to the *Danes*.

^b The *Devil's Ditch*, which formerly divided the Kingdoms of the *Mercians* and the *East-Angles*.

^c The next Year 914. the *Danes* committed great Outrages in *Buckinghamshire* about *Bernwood*, and destroy'd an ancient Roman Burgh, which stood where now *Briel* stands.

^d *Brecenammere* is the right Name: In *English* *Brecknock Mere*.

^e Where they besieg'd an Island, which *Florence* of *Worcester* calls *Reoric*, suppos'd to be *Stepholm*; and when they had taken it, were almost starv'd with Hunger. This Island is now of no Use nor Defence, yielding nothing fit for Humane Nourishment: It lies about two Leagues from the Shore, over-against *Up-hill* in *Somersetshire*.

^f *Deomed* the *Saxon* Annals call it. 'Tis no particular Place, but a Country; the same which the Ancients call'd *Demetæ*, including *Carmarthenshire*, *Pembrokeshire*, and *Cardiganshire*.

A. D. 921. *Wigmore in Herefordshire.* ther City in the Annals call'd *Wigmore*. Mean while the *Danes* of *Leister* and *Northamptonshire*; not liking perhaps to be neighboured with strong Towns, laid Siege to *Torchester*, but they within, repelling the Assault one whole Day till Supplies came, quitted the Siege by Night; and pursu'd close by the besieged, between *Brinwood*^a and *Ailsbury* were surpriz'd, many of them made Prisoners, and much of their Baggage lost. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *East-Angles*, finding that Castle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*, judging that Place more opportune from whence to make their Excursions; and soon after went forth with design to assail *Bedford*: But the Garrison issuing out, slew a great part of them, the rest fled. After this, a great Army of them gather'd out of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, came and besieg'd the City call'd *Wigmore* a whole Day; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of their Cattel: Whereupon the *English*, from Towns and Cities round about joyning Forces, laid Siege to the Town and Castle of *Temsford*, and by Assault took both; slew their King with *Toglea* a Duke, and *Mannan* his Son an Earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather than yield. Encourag'd by this, the Men of *Kent*, *Surrey*, and part of *Essex*, enterprize the Siege of *Colchester*, nor gave over till they won it, sacking the Town, and putting to Sword all the *Danes* therein, except some who escap'd over the Wall. To the Succour of these, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *East-Angles*, united their Forces; but coming too late, as in Revenge beleagu'd *Maldon*; but that Town also timely reliev'd, they departed, not only frustrate of their Design, but so hotly pursu'd, that many Thousands of them lost their Lives in the Flight. Forthwith King *Edward*, with his *West-Saxons*, went to *Pasham* upon *Ouse*, there to guard the Passage, while others were building a Stone Wall about *Torchester*; to him the Earl *Thurfert*, and other Lord *Danes*, with their Army there about as far as *Weolud*, came and submitted. Whereat the King's Soldiers joyfully cry'd out to be dismiss'd home: Therefore with another part of them he enter'd *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where Breaches had been made; all the People thereabout returning to Obedience. The like was done at *Colchester* by the next remove of his Army; after which both *East* and *West-Angles*, and the *Danish* Forces among them, yielded to the King, swearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: The Army also of *Danes* at *Grantbrig*, surrendering themselves, took the same Oath. The Summer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built a Castle there on the South-side of the River, where all the People of those Quarters acknowledg'd him Supream. During his abode there, *Elfred* his Sister a Martial Woman, who after her Husband's Death would no more marry, but gave her self to Publick Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring sometimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the chief Seat of *Mercia*, whereof by Gift of *Alfred* her Father, she was Lady or Queen; whereby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did also *North-Wales*, with *Hewel*, *Cledaucus*,

and *Jeothwell* their Kings. Thence passing to *Nottingham*, he enter'd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part *English*, part *Danes*, and receiv'd Fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheeshire*, he built and fortify'd *Thelwel*; and while he staid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he sent to repair and fortify *Manchester*. About Midsummer following, he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over-against it on the South-side of that River, and with a Bridge joyn'd them both; thence journeyed to a Place call'd *Bedecanwillan* in *Piekland*; there also built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him Honour as to his Sovereign, together with the whole *Scotish* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, *Danish* Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both *English* and *Danes*. The King also of a People thereabout call'd *Strat-gledwalli* (the *North-Welch*, as *Cambden* thinks, of *Strat-Cluid* in *Denbighshire*, perhaps rather the *British* of *Cumberland*) did him Homage, and not undeserv'd. For *Buchanan* himself confesses, that this King *Edward*, with a small number of Men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole United Power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, slew most of the *Scotish* Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolm*, whom *Constantine* the *Scotish* King had made General, and design'd Heir of his Crown, to save himself by flight, sore wounded. Of the *English*, he makes *Athelstan* the Son of *Edward* Chief Leader; and so far seems to confound Times and Actions, as to make this Battel the same with that fought by *Athelstan*, about twenty four Years after at *Bruneford*, against *Anlaf* and *Constantine*, whereof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occasion to inveigh against the *English* Writers, upbraiding them with Ignorance, who affirm *Athelstan* to have been Supream King of *Britain*, *Constantine* the *Scotish* King with others to have held of him; and denies that in the Annals of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found thereof; which I shall not stand much to contradict; for in *Marianus*, whether by Sirname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotish* Affairs, till the time of King *Dunchad* slain by *Machetad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the Year 1040. which gives Cause of Suspicion, that the Affairs of *Scotland* before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to their own Country-man, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the Year following dy'd at *Farendon*; a Builder and Restorer even in War, not a Destroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives many Children; his Eldest Daughter *Edgith*, he gave in Marriage to *Charles* King of *France*, Grand-child of *Charles* the *Bald* above mention'd; of the rest in Place convenient. His Laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at *Winchester*, in the Monastery by *Alfred* his Father. And a few Days after him dy'd * *Ethelwerd* his Eldest Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Island in Subjection, yet so as petty Kings reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the *Danes* had set up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under their Yoke, at the end of six Years had expell'd, one *Ricfig* was set up King, and bore

A. D. 922.

923. Sax. An.

924. Sax. An.

The Scots King do Homage to King Edward.

Buch. l. 6.

Buch. l. 6.

925.

Sax. An. In Ears-shire. Huntingd. Mat. West.

*At Oxford

Sim. Dun.

^a Forest of *Bernwood*. See *Kemner's* Paroch. Antiquities of *Ambrosden*, &c.

^b This is an Error which has been handed down to our Historians by *Marianus*, who mistook the *Saxon* Annals. These do not tell us, that King *Edward* repair'd *Manchester*, but that he repair'd manye ceapstap, i. e. Many Cities. Which is certainly the Sense of the Place.

^c The *Cottonian* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals relate, that he went from *Nottingham* into *Peakland*, the *Peak* in *Darbyshire*, and thence to *Bedecanwell*, suppos'd to be *Bakewell* in that County.

A. D. 925. bore the Name three Years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Guthred*; the latter if we believe Legends, of a Servant made King by Command of St. *Cudbert*, in a Vision; and enjoyn'd by another Vision of the same Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and Privileges to his Church and Monastery. But now to the Story.

ATHELSTAN.

926. **A** *Thelstan* next in Age to *Ethelward* his Brother, who deceas'd untimely few Days before, though born of a Concubine, yet for the great Appearance of many Vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne^a, at *Kingsstone* upon *Thames*, and by his Father's last Will, saith *Malmsbury*, yet not without some Opposition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices; who not liking he should reign, had conspir'd to seize on him after his Father's Death, and put out his Eyes. But the Conspiratours discover'd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was sent to *Rome* to assert his Innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediately, and carried out by his Servants, three Days after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber*, the *Danes* though much aw'd were not idle. *Inguald*, one of their Kings, took Possession of *York*. *Sitric*, who some Years before had slain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheshire*; and however he defended these Doings, grew so considerable, that *Athelstan* with great Solemnity gave him his Sister *Edgith* to Wife: But he enjoy'd her not long, dying e're the Year's end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Guthfert* the Kingdom, driven out the next Year by *Athelstan*; not unjustly saith *Huntingdon*, as being first Raisers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid* a British King, whom *Athelstan* this Year drove out of his Kingdom; and perhaps they were both one, the Name and Time not much differing, the Place only mistaken. *Malmsbury* differs in the Name also, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them also I wish as much mistaken, who write that *Athelstan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin*'s towardly Vertues, lest added to the Right of Birth, they might some time or other call in question his illegitimate Precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, some say, with one Servant in a rotten Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the Youth far off Land, and in rough Weather despairing, threw himself over-board; the Servant more patient, got to Land† and reported the Success. But this *Malmsbury* confesses to be sung in old Songs, not read in warrantable Authors: And *Huntingdon* speaks as of a sad Accident to *Athelstan*, that he lost his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in that *Athelstan*, as is written by all, tenderly lov'd, and bred up the rest of his Brethren, of whom he had no less Cause to be jealous. And the Year following he prosper'd better than from so foul a Fact, passing into *Scotland* with great Puissance, both by Sea and Land, and chasing his Enemies before him, by Land as far as *Dunfeoder*, and *Wertermore*, by Sea as far as *Cathness*. The Cause of this Expedition, saith *Malmsbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thither fled, though not deny'd at length by *Constantine*, who

with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a Place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, surrender'd himself and each his Kingdom to *Athelstan*, who brought back with him for Hostage the Son of *Constantine*. But *Gudfert* escaping in the mean while out of *Scotland*, and *Constantine* exasperated by this Invasion, perswaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* King of *Ireland* and the *Isles*, his Son-in-Law, with 615 Ships, and the King of *Cumberland* with other Forces, to his Aid. This within four Years effected, they enter'd *England* by *Humber*, and fought with *Athelstan* at a Place call'd *Wendune*, others term it * *Brunanburg*, others *Bruneford*, which *Inguif* places beyond *Humber*, *Cambden* in *Glendale* of *Northumberland* on the *Scotch* Borders: the bloodiest Fight, say Authors, that ever this Island saw; to describe which, the *Saxon* Annalist went to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another Writer, now labouring under the Weight of his Argument, and over-charg'd, runs on a sudden into such^b extravagant Fancies and Metaphors, as bear him quite beside the Scope of being understood. *Huntingdon*, though himself peccant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a Pastime to his Readers. I shall only sum up what I can attain, in usual Language. The Battel was fought eagerly from Morning till Night; some fell of King *Edward*'s old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other side great Multitudes, the rest fled to their Ships. Five Kings, and seven of *Anlaf*'s Chief Captains were slain on the Place, with *Froda* a *Norman* Leader; *Constantine* escap'd home, but lost his Son in the Fight, if I understand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a small remainder of his great Host. *Malmsbury* relates this War, adding many Circumstances after this manner. That *Anlaf* joyning with *Constantine* and the whole Power of *Scotland*, besides those which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelstan* who had retir'd on set purpose to be the surer of his Enemies, enclosed from all Succour and Retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceiving the Valour and Resolution of *Athelstan*, and mistrusting his own Forces though numerous, resolv'd first to spy in what Posture his Enemies lay: And imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the Habit of a Musician, got access by his Lute and Voice to the King's Tent, there playing both the Minstrel and the Spy: Then towards Evening dismiss'd, he was observ'd by one who had been his Soldier and well knew him, viewing earnestly the King's Tent, and what Approaches lay about it, then in the Twilight to depart. The Soldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blamed for letting go his Enemy; answer'd, that he had given first his Military Oath to *Anlaf*, whom if he had betray'd, the King might suspect him of like treasonous Mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good distance off; and so done, it happen'd that a Bishop with his Retinue coming that Night to the Army, pitch'd his Tent in the same Place, from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by Night, as he had design'd to assault the Camp, and especially the King's Tent, finding there the Bishop in stead, slew him with all his Followers. *Athelstan* took the Alarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided; but that the

^a He was crown'd by *Athelm* Bishop of *Canterbury*, on a Scaffold erected for that purpose, in the midst of the Town.

^b What he calls *extravagant Fancies*, is nothing but a Passage in Imitation of *Cædmon*'s Verse, which was the Standard of Poetry among the *Saxons*. This *Cædmon*, says Mr. *Cambden* in his Remains, about the Year 680, became so Divine a Poet in our English Tongue, that with his sweet Verses he withdrew many from Vice to Virtue.

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the Day now appearing, he put his Men in order, and maintain'd the Fight till Evening; wherein *Constantine* himself was slain, with five other Kings and twelve Earls, the Annals were content with seven, in the rest not disagreeing. *Inghulf* Abbot of *Croyland*, from the Authority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: That *Athelstan*, about a Mile distant from the Place where Execution was done upon the Bishop and his Supplies, alarm'd at the Noise, came down by break of Day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch'd and wearied now with the Slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, consisting most of *West-Saxons*, against *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Irish*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* against *Constantine* and his *Scots*. The Shower of Arrows and Darts over-pass'd, both Battels attack'd each other with a close and terrible Engagement, for a long space neither side giving Ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul* a Man of great Stature and Strength, taking with him a few *Landoners* of select Valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worstershire* Men, a Captain of undaunted Courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Constantine* himself fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* valiantly defending their King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the Goodness of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet been beaten down, had not *Singin* his faithful Second at the same time slain *Constantine*; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, whereof a huge Multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving Worldly Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own Cost he had repair'd from *Danish* Ruins, and left there this Memorial of his former Actions. *Athelstan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more ease vanquish'd *Ludwal* the King, and possess'd his Land. But *Malmsbury* writes, that commiserating humane Chance, as he displac'd, so he restor'd both him and *Constantine* to their Regal State; for the surrender of King *Constantine* hath been above spoken of. However the *Welsh* did him Homage at the City of *Hereford*, and coveranted Yearly Payment of Gold 20 Pound, of Silver 300, of Oxen 25 thousand, besides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also took *Exeter* from the *Cornish Britains*, who till that time had equal Right there with the *English*, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *British* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and near, three Years after he dy'd at *Glister*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmsbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Cousin-Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelstan*, both slain in the Battel against *Anlaf*. He was thirty Years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in Wisdom from his Childhood, comely of Person and Behaviour; so that *Alfred* his Grandfather in Blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a Child into Soldiers Habit. He had his Breeding in the Court of *Elfred* his Aunt, of whose Vertues more than Female we have related, sufficient to evince that his Mother, though said to be no wedded Wife, was yet such of Parentage and Worth, as the Royal Line disdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmsbury's* Days (for it seems he refus'd not the Authority of

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Ballads for want of better) that his Mother was a Farmer's Daughter, but of excellent Feature; who dreamt one Night she brought forth a Moon that should enlighten the whole Land: Which the King's Nurse hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one Day to visit his Nurse, saw there this Damself, lik'd her, and by earnest Suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Athelstan*, a bounteous, just and affable King, as *Malmsbury* sets him forth; nor less honour'd abroad by Foreign Kings, who sought his Friendship by great Gifts or Affinity; that *Harold* King of *Norwic* sent him a Ship, whose Prow was of Gold, Sails Purple, and other Golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, sent from *Norwic*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place so far from such Superfluity of Wealth, the other from all Sea: The Embassadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *York*. His Sisters he gave in Marriage to greatest Princes, *Elgif* to *Otho* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdlith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, sprung of *Charles* the Great, *Ethilda* to *Hgo* King of *France* who sent *Aldulf* Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all these great Suitors, especially from the Emperour and King of *France* came rich Presents, Horses of excellent Breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Vessels of Onyx, and other precious things, which I leave Poetically describ'd in *Malmsbury*, taken, as he confesses, out of an old Versifier, some of whose Verses he recites. The only Blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his Brother *Edwin*, who disavow'd by Oath the Treason whereof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equal hearing. But these were Songs, as before hath been said, which add also that *Athelstan*, his Anger over, soon repent-ed of the Fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc'd him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearer's own Mouth, who slipping one Day as he bore the King's Cup, and recovering himself on the other Leg, said aloud, fatally as to him it proved, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to Heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himself first on the Adviser of that Fact, took on him seven Years Penance, and as *Mat. West.* saith, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this Day.

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941.

EDMUND.

Edmund not above eighteen Years old succeeded his Brother *Athelstan*, in Courage not inferior. For in the second of his Reign he freed *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Cities of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leister*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it seems gave not good Proof of their Fidelity. *Simcon* writes that *Anlaf* setting forth from *York*, and having wasted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leister*; but that ere the Battels joyn'd, Peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulstan* the two Arch-bishops, with Conversion of *Anlaf*; for the same Year *Edmund* receiv'd at the Font-stone this or another *Anlaf*, as saith *Huntingdon*, not him spoken of before, who dy'd this Year (so uncertain they are in the Story of these Times also) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Bishop

942.
Sax. An.

A. D. 942. Bishop confirm'd him: Their Limits were divided North and South by *Walling-street*. But spiritual Kindred little avail'd to keep Peace between them, who ever gave the Cause; for we read him two Years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now first call the Son of *Sitric*) and *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, taking the whole Country into Subjection. *Edmund* the next Year harrafs'd *Cumberland*, then gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, thereby bound to assist him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mat. West.* adds, that in this Action *Edmund* had the Aid of *Leol* in Prince of *North-Wales*, against *Dummail* the *Cumbrian* King, him depriving of his Kingdom, and his two Sons of their Sight^a. But the Year after, he himself by strange Accident, came to an untimely Death, feasting with his Nobles on *St. Austin's Day* at *Puckle-kerke* in *Glostershire*, to celebrate the Memory of his first converting the Saxons. He spy'd *Leof* a noted Thief whom he had banish'd, sitting among his Guests; who reat transported with two much Vehemence of Spirit, though in a just Cause, rising from the Table he ran upon the Thief, and catching his Hair, pull'd him to the Ground. The Thief who doubted from such handling no less than his Death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a short Dagger struck the King, who still laid at him, and little expected such Assassination, mortally into the Breast. The Matter was done in a Moment, e'er Men set at Table could turn them, or imagine at first what the stir meant, till perceiving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the Murtherer, and hew'd him to Pieces; who like a wild Beast at Abbey, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his Fall. The King was buried at *Glaston*, whereof *Dunstan* was then Abbot; his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other *Saxon Kings*.

EDRED.

948. **E**DRED the third Brother of *Athelstan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Children, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy Predecessors, and crown'd at *Kingston*. *Northumberland* he thoroughly subdu'd, the *Scots* without Refusal swore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtful Faith, soon after chose to themselves one *Eric*, a Dane. *Huntingdon* still haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have been rid) and will have him before *Eric* recall'd once more and reign four Years, then again put to his Shifts. But *Edred* entring into *Northumberland*, and with Spoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his Rear. *Edred* turning about, both shook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a second Inroad: Which the *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, slew *Amanicus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many Presents appeasing *Edred*, submitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom *Osulf* was the first. About this time *Wulstan* Arch-bishop of *York*, accus'd to have slain certain Men of *Thetford*, in revenge of their Abbot whom the Towns-men had slain, was committed by the King to close Custody; but soon after enlarg'd, was restor'd to his Place. *Malmsbury* writes, that his Crime was to have conniv'd at the Revolt of his Coun-

trymen: But Kind *Edred* two Years after sickning in the Flower of his Youth, dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Winchester*.

A. D.

955.

Sim. Dun.

EDWI.

EDWI the Son of *Edmund* now come to Age, after his Uncle *Edred's* Death took on him the Government, and was crown'd at *Kingston*. His lovely Person firnamed him the Fair: His Actions are diversly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable. But *Malmsbury* and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married or kept as Concubine, his near Kinswoman, some say both her and her Daughter; so inordinately given to his Pleasure, that on the very Day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Consultation, to sit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiva*, so was her Name, who had such Power over him. Whereat his Barons offended, sent Bishop *Dunstan*, the boldest among them, to request his return: He going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his Dalliance and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him by the Hand, between Force and Perswasion brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly displeased, and instigated perhaps by her, who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent *Dunstan* into Banishment, caus'd his Monastery to be rifled, and became an Enemy to all Monks. Whereupon *Odo* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* pronounc'd a Separation or Divorce of the King from *Algiva*. But that which most incited *William* of *Malmsbury* against him, he gave that Monastery to be dwelt in by Secular Priests, or, to use his own Phrase, made it a Stable of Clerks: At length these Affronts done to the Church were so resented by the People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *West-Saxons* only, bounded by the River *Thames*; with Grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his Days, and was buried at *Winchester*. Mean while *Elffin* Bishop of that Place after the Death of *Odo*, ascending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the same Year for his Pall, was frozen to Death in the Alps.

Ethelwerd.

Mat. West.

956.

Hoveden.

957.

Sax. An.

958.

Mat. West.

EDGAR.

EDGAR by his Brother's Death now King of all *England* at sixteen Years of Age, called home *Dunstan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no War all his Reign; yet always well prepar'd for War, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour and Prosperity, gaining thence the Sirname of *Peaceable*, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be sure, by Monks, for his building so many Monasteries; as some write, every Year one: For he much favour'd the Monks against Secular Priests, who in the time of *Edwi* had got Possession in most of their Covents. His Care and Wisdom was great in guarding the Coasts round with stout Ships, to the number of three thousand six hundred, *Mat. West.* reckons them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four Squadrons, to Sail to and fro about the four Quarters of the Land meeting each

959.

Malms.

Mat. West.

^a The *Laudean* Copy of the *Saxon Annals*, and *Ethelwerd* in his History, place the Death of King *Athelstane*, Anno 898.

A. D.
959.

each other; the first of one thousand two hundred Sail from East to West, the second of as many from West to East, the third and fourth between North and South, himself in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the Force of Strangers, and prevented Foreign War; but by their two frequent resort hither in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their Vices unaware. Thence the People, saith *Malsbury*, learnt of the Outlandish Saxons Rudeness, of the Flemish Daintiness and Softness, of the Danes Drunkenness; though I doubt these Vices are as naturally home-bred here as in any other Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring-time he usually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to see Justice well administered, and the Poor not oppress'd. Thieves and Robbers he routed almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of Prey altogether; enjoyning *Ludwal* King of *Wales* to pay the Yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which he did for two Years together, till the third Year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the Cause he was not Crown'd till the 30th of his Age; but then with great Splendor and Magnificence at the City of *Bath*, in the Feast of *Pentecost*^a. This Year dy'd *Swarling* a Monk of *Croyland*, in the 142 Year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 115th in that Fenny and Watrish Air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next Year went to *Chester*, and summoning to his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took Homage of them: Their Names are

[King *Edgar* row'd down the *Dee* be *Kened* King of *Scot-*land, *Mal-*colm King of *Cumber-*land *Mac-*cuse King of *Man* and the *Isles*, and Five *Irish* and *Welsh* Kings.

975. *Kened* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*. *Maccuse* of the *Isles*, five of *Wales*, *Dufwil*, *Huwel*, *Griffith*, *Jacob*, *Juderhil*, these he had in such awe, that going one Day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each Man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he himself sat at the Stern: Which might be, done in Merri-ment, easily obey'd; if with a serious Brow, discover'd rather Vain-Glory, and insulting Haughtiness, than Moderation of Mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his Words then utter'd, That his Successors might then glory to be Kings of *England*, when they had such Honour done them. And perhaps the Divine Power was displeas'd with him for taking too much Honour to himself; since we read that the Year following he was taken out of this Life by Sickness in the height of his Glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glaston* Abby. The same Year, as *Mat. West* relates, he gave to *Kened* the *Scottish* King, many rich Presents, and the whole Country of *Laudain*, or *Lothein*, to hold of him on condition that he and his Successors should repair to the *English* Court at high Festivals when the King sat crown'd; gave him also many lodging Places by the way, which till the Days of *Henry* the second were still held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not Tall, of Body Slender, yet so well made, that in Strength he chose to contend with such as were thought Strongest, and dislik'd nothing more than that they should spare him for Respect or Fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, sitting one Day at Table was heard to say jestingly amongst his Servants, He wonder'd how so many Provinces could be held in Subjection by such a little dapper Man: His Words were brought to the King's Ear; he

sends for *Kened* as about some private Business, and in Talk drawing him forth to a secret Place, takes from under his Garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now saith he, It shall be try'd which ought to be the Subject; for it is shameful for a King to boast at Table, and shrink in Fight. *Kened* much abash'd fell presently at his Feet, and besought him to Pardon what he had simply spoken, no way intended to his Dishonour or Disparagement: Wherewith the King was satisfied. *Cambden* in his Description of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein it appears, he had in Subjection all the Kingdoms of the *Isles* as far as *Norway*, and had subdu'd the greatest part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*: But of this other Writers make no mention. In his Youth having heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire*, much commended for her Beauty, he sent Earl *Athelwold*, whose Loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answer'd Report, to demand her in Marriage. He at the first View taken with her Presence, disloyalty, as it often happens in such Employments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary Commendation of her Feature, he easily took off the King's Mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Ethelwold* had forestall'd the King, and *Elfrida*'s Beauty more and more spoken of, the King now heated not only with a Relapse of Love, but with a deep Sense of the Abuse, yet dissembling his Disturbance, pleasantly told the Earl, what Day he meant to come and visit him and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his Welcome, but in mean while acquainting his Wife, earnestly advis'd her to deform herself, what she might, either in Dress or otherwise, lest the King, whose amorous Inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had step'd between her and the King, against his coming Arrays herself richly, using whatever Art she could devise might render her the more aimable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her Love, the more for that he had been so long defrauded and robbed of her, resolv'd not only to recover his intercepted Right, but to punish the Interloper of his destin'd Spouse, and appointing with him, as was usual, a Day of Hunting, drawn aside in a Forest, now call'd *Harewood*, smote him through with a Dart. Some censure this Act as Cruel and Tyrannical, but consider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourable, and that no Man of sensible Spirit, but in his Place, without extraordinary Perfection, would have done the like: For next to Life, what worse Treason could have been committed against him? It chanc'd that the Earl's base Son coming by upon the Fact, the King sternly ask'd him, How he lik'd this Game; he submissively answering, That *Whatsoever pleas'd the King, must not displease him*; the King return'd to his wonted Temper, took an Affection to the Youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husband's Death, though therein she had no hand, cover'd the Place of his Bloodshed with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. Another Fault is laid to his Charge, on

A. D.
795.

^a In an Assembly of the *Witena* Gemot or Council of Wisemen.

A. D. 975. no way excusable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where she was plac'd by her Friends to avoid his Pursuit, and kept her as his Concubine; but liv'd not obstinately in the Offence; for sharply reprov'd by *Dunstan*, he submitted to seven Years Penance, and forthat time to want his Coronation: But why he had it not before, is left unwritten. Another Story there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel than a History; but as I find it in *Malmfbury*, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his Youth he abstain'd not from Women, and coming on a Day to *Andover*, caus'd a Duke's Daughter there dwelling, reported of rare Beauty, to be brought to him. The Mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter should be so deflower'd, at fit time of Night sent in her Attire one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it seems not unhandsome nor unwitty; who supply'd the Place of her young Lady. Night pass'd, the Maid going to rise, but Day-light scarce yet appearing, was by the King ask'd, why she made such haste, she answer'd, to do the Work which her Lady had set her; at which the King wondring, and with

much ado staying her to unfold the Riddle, for he took her to be the Duke's Daughter, she falling at his Feet besought him, that since at the Command of her Lady she came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in Recompence to set her free from the hard Service of her Mistress. The King a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a Jest, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her, and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. These only are his Faults upon Record, rather to be wonder'd how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at sixteen to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Virtues were so many and so mature, he dying before the Age wherein Wisdom can in others attain to any Ripeness: However with him dy'd all the *Saxon* Glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but their decline and ruin under a double Conquest, and the Causes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the Praises of their former Actions and Liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more than long enough for another Book.

A. D. 975.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book VI.

EDWARD the Younger.

EDWARD the Eldest Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfeda* his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to Right and his Father's Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his second Wife, and her Faction only repining, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred*, a Child of seven Years, prefer'd before him; that she under that Pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were seen in Heaven, portending not Famine only, which follow'd the next Year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to ensue. The Troubles begun in *Edwin's* Days, between Monks and Secular Priests, now reviv'd and drew on either side many of the Nobles into Parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is said with Gifts, drove the Monks out of those Monasteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in their stead put Secular Priests with their Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *East-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Bretnoth* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *East-Angles* from such Intruders. To appease these Tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Winchester*, and nothing

there concluded, a General Council both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Calm* in *Wiltshire*, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against *Dunstan*, the Room wherein they sat fell upon their Heads, killing some, maiming others, *Dunstan* only escaping upon a Beam that fell not, and the King absent by reason of his tender Age. This Accident quieted the Controversie, and brought both Parts to hold with *Dunstan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious Will of his Stepmother and her Son *Ethelred*: To whom she displeas'd that the Name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the Way; which in this manner she brought about. *Edward* on a Day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his Attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his Mother lodg'd at *Corvesgate* (*Corfe* Castle, saith *Cambden*, in the Isle of *Purbeck*) innocently went thither. She with all shew of Kindness welcoming him, commanded Drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his Horse; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a Poignard. The poor Youth who little expected such Unkindness there, turning speedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through

A. D. 978.

A. D. 978. *Malmsh.* Loss of Blood falling from his Horse, and expiring, yet held with one Foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his Blood, and Buried without Honour at *Werham*, having reigned about three Years: But the Place of his Burial not long after grew famous for Miracles. After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsbury* faith, had a hand in his Death) he was Royally interr'd at *Skepton*, or *Shaftsbury*. The Murtheress *Elfrida* at length repenting, spent the Residue of her Days in Sorrow and great Penance.

ETHELRED.

979. *Malmsh.* *E*THELRED second Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida*, (for *Edmund* dy'd a Child) his Brother *Edward* wickedly remov'd, was now next in Right to succeed, and accordingly crown'd at *KingsTon*: Reported by some, fair of Visage, comely of Person, elegant of Behaviour; but the Event will shew, that with many sluggish and ignoble Vices he quickly sham'd his out-side; born and prolong'd a fatal Mischief of the People, and the Ruine of his Country; whereof he gave early Signs from his first Infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Bishop was baptizing him^a. Whereat *Dunstan* much troubl'd, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these Words, *By God and God's Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard*. Another thing is written of him in his Childhood, which argu'd no bad Nature, that hearing of his Brother *Edward's* cruel Death, he made loud Lamentation; but his furious Mother offended therewith, and having no Rod at hand, beat him so with great Wax Candles, that he hated the Sight of them ever after. *Dunstan* though unwilling set the Crown upon his Head; but at the same time foretold openly as is reported, the great Evils that were to come upon him and the Land, in Avengement of his Brother's innocent Blood. And about the same time, one Midnight, a Cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all *England*; and within three Years the *Danish* Tempest, which had long surceast, revolv'd again upon this Island. To the more ample relating whereof, the *Danish* History, at least their latest and diligentest Historian, as neither from the first landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *West-Saxon Birthric*, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more than enough to make out the bare Names and Successions of their uncertain Kings, and their small Actions at home: Unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own Annals; the surer, and the sadder Witnesses of their Doings here, not Glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly barbarous. For the *Danes* well understanding, that *England* had now a slothful King to their Will, first landing at *Southampton* from seven great Ships, took the Town, spoiled the Country, and carried away with them great Pillage; nor was *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* uninfested on the Shoar; Pirates of *Norway* also harried the Coast of *West-Chester*: And to add a worse Calamity, the City of *London* was burnt, casually or not, is not written. It chanc'd four Years after, that *Ethelred* besieg'd *Rocheſter*, some way or other offended by the Bishop thereof. *Dunstan* not approving the Cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not *St. Andrew* the Patron of that City, nor waſt his Lands; an old Craft of the

Clergy to secure their Church-Lands, by entailing them on some Saint; the King not hearkning, *Dunstan* on this Condition that the Siege might be rais'd, sent him a hundred Pound, the Money was accepted and the Siege dissolv'd. *Dunstan* reprehending his Avarice, sent him again this Word, Because thou hast respected Money more than Religion, the Evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee; but not in my Days, for so God hath spoken. The next Year was calamitous, bringing strange Fluxes upon Men, and Murrain upon Cattel. *Dunstan* the Year following dy'd, a strenuous Bishop, zealous without dread of Person, and for ought appears, the best of many Ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular Affairs. He was Chaplain at first to King *Athelstan*, and *Edmund* who succeeded, much employ'd in Court Affairs, till envied by some who laid many things to his Charge, he was by *Edmund* forbidden the Court, but by the earnest Mediation, faith *Ingulf*, of *Turkitel* the Chancellor, receiv'd at length to Favour, and made Abbot of *Glaston*^b. lastly by *Edgar* and the general Vote, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Not long after his Death, the *Danes* arriving in *Devonshire* were met by *Goda* Lieutenant of that Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put back the *Danes*, but with Loss of their own Lives. The third Year following, under the Conduct of *Justin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steytan*, they landed and spoil'd *Ipswich*, fought with *Brithnot* Duke of the *East-Angles* about *Maldon*, where they slew him; the Slaughter else had been equal on both sides. These and the like Depradations on every side, the English not able to resist, by Counsel of *Siric* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*; it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with their Iron: And ten thousand Pounds was paid to the *Danes* for Peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. The next Year but one they took by Storm and rifl'd *Bebbanburgh* an ancient City nigh *Durham*: Sailing thence into the Mouth of *Humber*, they waſted both sides thereof, *Yorkshire* and *Lindsey*, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, *Fraena*, *Frithegiſt*, and *Godwin*, but being all *Danes* by the Father's side, willingly began Flight, and forsook their own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less Treachery was at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, whom the King for some Offence had banish'd, but now recall'd, sent from *London* with a Fleet to surprize the *Danes*, in some Place of Disadvantage, gave them over-night Intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, faith *Florent*, perceiving, pursu'd, took the Ship, but miss'd of his Person; the *Londoners* by chance grappling with the *East Angles* made them fewer, faith my Author, by many thousands. Others say, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not only escap'd, but with a great Fleet set upon the *English*, took many of their Ships, and in Triumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to besiege *London*: For *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and *Swane* of *Denmark*, at the head of these, came with ninety four Gallies. The King for this Treason of *Alfric*, put out his Son's Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by Land and Water, so valiantly resisted their Besiegers, that they were forc'd in one Day with great Loss to give over.

A. D.
986.

987.

Malmsh.

988.

Malmsh.

991.

Sim. Dun.

Tribute

first paid

to the

Danes.

993.

Sim. Dun.

Florent.

Hunting.

994.

Sim. Dun.

^a This seems to be a Monkish Fable, copy'd from the Story of *Constantine* the VIth Emperor of *Constantinople*, who is said to have done so, and was thence called *Copronymus*.
^b Then Bishop of *Worcester*.

A. D. 994. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Countries round about, waſting with Sword and Fire all *Essex*, *Kent*, and *Suffex*. Thence horſing their Foot, diffus'd far wider their outrageous Incursions, without Mercy either to Sex or Age. The slothful King instead of Warlike Opposition in the Field, ſends Ambassadors to treat about another Payment; the Sum promis'd was now 16000; till which paid, the *Danes* winter'd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviting *Anlaf* to come and viſit him at *Andover*; where he was Royally entertain'd, ſome ſay baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and diſmiſs'd, with great Preſents, promiſing by Oath to depart, and moleſt the Kingdom no more; which he perform'd, but the Calamity ended not ſo, for after ſome Intermiſſion of their Rage for three Years, the other Navy of *Danes* ſailing about to the Weſt, enter'd *Severn*, and waſted one while *South-Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, till at length they winter'd about *Tauiſtoc*. For it were an endleſs Work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular Place, and to repeat as oft what Devaſtations they wrought, what Deſolations left behind them, eaſie to be imagin'd. In Sum, the next Year they afflicted *Dorſetſhire*, *Hamſhire*, and the Iſle of *Wight*; by the *Engliſh* many Reſolutions were taken, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the Faithhood, or discourag'd by the Weakneſs of their Leaders, they were put to rout, or diſbanded themſelves. For Soldiers moſt commonly are as their Commanders, without much odds of Valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or leſs wiſely diſciplin'd and conducted. The following Year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enter'd *Medway*, and beſieg'd *Rocheſter*; but the *Kentiſh* Men aſſembling, gave them a ſharp Encounter, yet that ſuffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other Places. Againſt theſe Depopulations, the King levied an Army; but the unſkilful Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burthening and impoveriſhing the People, conſuming the publick Treſure, and more emboldening the Enemy, than if they had ſat quiet at home. What Cauſe mov'd the *Danes* next Year to paſs into *Normandy*, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outrageous than before. Mean while the King, to make ſome Diſerſion, undertakes an Expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were moſt planted; there and in the Iſle of *Man*, or as *Cimbrden* ſaith, *Angleſey*, imitating his Enemies in ſpoiling and unpeopling; the *Danes* from *Normandy* arriving in the River *Ex*, laid ſiege to *Exeter*; but the Citizens, as thoſe of *London*, valourouſly defending themſelves, they wreck'd their Anger, as before, on the Villages round about. The Country People of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire* aſſembling themſelves at *Penbo*, ſhew'd their Readineſs, but wanted a Head; and beſides, being then but few in Number, were eaſily put to flight; the Enemy plundering all at Will, with loaded Spoils paſs'd into the Iſle of *Wight*; from whence all *Dorſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, felt again their Fury. The *Saxon* Annals write, that before their coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamſhire* Men had a bickering with them, wherein *Ethelward* the King's General was ſlain, adding other things hardly to be underſtood, and in one ancient Co-

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py; ſo end. *Ethelred*, whom no Adverſity could awake from his ſoft and ſluggiſh Life, ſtill coming by the worſe at fighting, by the Advice of his Peers not unlike himſelf, ſends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loſtly, to ſtoop baſely and propoſe a third Tribute to the *Danes*. They willingly hearken, but the Sum is enhanc'd now to twenty four thouſand Pound, and paid; the *Danes* thereupon abſtaining from Hoſtility. But the King to ſtrengthen his Houſe by ſome Potent Affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had War or no good Correſpondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15th, who made Peace between them about eleven Years before. Puſt up now with his ſuppos'd acceſs of Strength by this Affinity, he caus'd the *Danes* all over *England*, though now living peaceably, in one Day perfidiouſly to be maſſacred, both Men, Women and Children; ſending private Letters to every Town and City, whereby they might be ready all at the ſame Hour; which till the appointed time (being the 9th of *July*) was conceal'd with great Silence, and perform'd with much Unanimity; ſo generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. Weſt.* writes, that this Execution upon the *Danes* was ten Years after; that *Huna* one of *Ethelred's* Chief Captains, complaining of the *Daniſh* Inſolencies in time of Peace, their Pride, their raviſhing of Matrons and Virgins, incited the King to this Maſſacre, which in the Madneſs of Rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among theſe, *Gunhildis* the Siſter of *Swane* was not ſpar'd, though much deſerving not Pity only, but all Protection: She with her Husband *Earl Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receiving Chriſtianity, had her Husband and young Son ſlain before her Face, her ſelf then beheaded; foretelling and denouncing that her Blood would coſt *England* dear. Some ſay this was done by the Traytor *Edric*, to whoſe Cuſtody ſhe was committed; but the Maſſacre was ſome Years before *Edric's* Advancement; and if it were done by him afterw'd, it ſeems to contradict the private Correſpondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* breathing Reveng'e, haſted the next Year into *England*, and by the Treason or Negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonſhire*, ſack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from Eaſt to Weſt-gate, broken down: After this waſting *Wiltſhire*, the People of that County, and of *Hamſhire*, came together in great Numbers with Reſolution ſtoutly to oppoſe him; but *Alfric* their General, whoſe Son's Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himſelf on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he ſhould have order'd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, feign'd himſelf taken with a Vomiting; whereby his Army in great Diſcontent, deſtitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy; who ſtreight took *Wilton* and *Salisbury*, carrying the Pillage thereof to his Ships. Thence the next Year landing on the Coaſt of *Norfolk*, he waſted the Country, and ſet *Norwich* on fire; *Ulſketel* Duke of the *East-Angles*, a Man of great Valour, not having ſpace to gather his Forces, after Conſultation had, thought it beſt to make Peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three Weeks, iſſued ſilently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, ſtaid there a Night, and in the Morning

A. D. 1002.

Florent. Huntingd.

The *Danes* maſſacred throughout *England*. *Calviſtus*.

Mat. Weſt.

1003. *Sim. Dun.*1004. *Sim. Dun.*^a *Pen* in *Somerſetſhire*, on the Borders of *Dorſetſhire*.^b *Old Sarum*; for *Salisbury*, or *New Sarum*, was not built till the Reign of *Henry* the 3d, above 200 Years afterwards.^c He came with his Fleet to *Norwich* up the River *Tare*, which was then Navigable.

- A. D. 1004. *Sim. Dun.* ning left it flaming. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded some to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean while with what Secrecy and Speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out against the Enemy, and gave them a fierce Onset retreating to their Ships; but much inferior in Number, many of the chief *East-Angles* there lost their Lives. Nor did the *Danes* come off without great Slaughter of their own; confessing that they never met in *England* with so rough a Charge. The next Year, whom War could not, a great Famine drove *Swane* out of the Land. But the Summer following, another great Fleet of *Danes* enter'd the Port of *Sandwich*, thence pour'd out over all *Kent* and *Sussex*, made Prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *West-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; but they who held it safer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, shifting lightly from Place to Place, frustrated the slow Motions of a heavy Camp, following their wonted Course of Robbery, then running to their Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the King's Army, which gone home to Winter, they carried all their Pillage to the Isle of *Wight*, and there staid till *Christmas*; at which time the King being in *Shropshire*, and but ill employ'd (for by the Procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alfhelm* a Noble Duke, treacherously to be slain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: Thence to *Ashdune*, and other Places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable Pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making their way through, they got safe with vast Booty to their Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with their last Summer's Jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpose, which by Proof they found too toilsome for their soft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourse to their last and only Remedy, their Coffers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable Peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under thirty six thousand Pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk such easie Kine) in Name of Tribute and Expences: Which out of the People over all *England*, already half beggar'd, was extorted and paid. About the same time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, firnam'd *Streon*, from obscure Condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the King's Daughter. The Cause of his Advancement, *Florent* of *Worster*, and *Mat. West.* attribute to his great Wealth, gotten by fine Policies and a plausible Tongue: He prov'd a main Accessory to the Ruine of *England*, as his Actions will soon declare. *Ethelred* the next Year somewhat rousing himself, ordain'd that every three hundred and ten Hides (a Hide is so much Land as one Plow can sufficiently till) should set out a Ship or Galley, and every nine Hides find a Corslet and Head-piece: New Ships in every Port were builded, victual'd, fraught with stout Mariners and Soldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A Man might now think that all would go well, when suddenly a new Mischief sprung up, Dissention among the great Ones; which brought all this Diligence to as little Success as at other times before. *Bitric* the Brother of *Edric*, falsely accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer set over the South-
- Saxons*, who fearing the Potency of his Enemies, with twenty Ships got to Sea, and practis'd Piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a Place where he might be easily surpriz'd, *Bitric* sets forth with eighty Ships, all which driven back by a Tempest, and wrack'd upon the Shoar, were burnt soon after by *Wulnoth*. Dishearten'd with this Misfortune, the King returns to *London*; the rest of his Navy after him; and all this great Preparation to nothing. Whereupon *Turkill*, a *Danish* Earl, came with a Navy to the Isle of *Tanet*, and in *August* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* joyn'd with him. Thence coasting to *Sandwich*, and landed, they went onward and began to assault *Canterbury*, but the Citizens and *East Kentish* Men, coming to Composition with them for three thousand Pound, they departed thence to the Isle of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in several Quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so unskilfully or unsuccessfully, that the *Danes* were not thereby hinder'd from exercising their wonted Robberies. It happen'd that the *Danes* one Day were gone up into the Country, far from their Ships; the King having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return; his Men were resolute to overcome or die, Time and Place advantageous; but where Courage and Fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *Edric* with subtle Arguments that had a shew of deep Policy, disputed and perswaded the Simplicity of his Fellow Counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the *Danes* pass without Ambush or Interception. The *Danes* where they expected Danger, finding none, pass'd on with great Joy and Booty to their Ships. After this, sailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Essex* to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls'd as oft to their great Loss. Spring begun, leaving their Ships, they pass'd through a *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordshire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided Forces, wast-ed on both sides the *Thames*; but hearing, that an Army from *London* was march'd out against them, they on the North-side passing the River at *Stanes*, join'd with them on the South into one Body, and, enrich'd with great Spoils, came back through *Surrey* to their Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Easter*, sailing to the *East-Angles*, they arriv'd at *Ipswich*, and came to a Place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Ulfketel* with his Forces lay, who with a sharp Encounter soon entertain'd them; but his Men at length giving back, through the Subtlety of a *Danish* Servant among them who began the Flight, lost the Field, though the Men of *Cambridgeshire* stood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelstan* the King's Son-in-Law, with many other Noblemen, was slain; whereby the *Danes*, without more Resistance, three Months together had the spoiling of those Countries and all the Fens, burnt *Thetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridge*; thence to a hilly Place not far off, called by *Huntingdon*, *Balesham*, by *Cambden*, *Gogmagog* Hills, and the Villages thereabout they turn'd their Fury, slaying all they met save one Man, who getting up into a Steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole *Danish* Army. They therefore so leaving him, their Foot by Sea, their Horse by Land through *Essex*, return'd back laden to their Ships left in the *Thames*.

A. D. 1008.

1009.

1010.

The Danes

burn Ox-

ford and

Cambridge

the Year

1010.

* The Hill Country of *Hertfordshire*, *Bucks*, and *Oxfordshire*; so call'd from *Chilt* or *Cylt*, in *Saxon*, Chalk.

A. D. 1010. *Hunting.* But many Days pass'd not between, when falling again out of their Ships as out of Savage Dens, they plunder'd over again all *Oxfordshire*, and added to their Prey *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordshire*; then like wild Beasts glutted, returning to their Caves. A third Excursion they made into *Northamptonshire*, burnt *Northampton*, ransacking the Country round; then as to fresh Pasture betook them to the *West-Saxons*, and in like sort harrasing all *Wiltshire*, return'd, as I said before, like wild Beasts, or rather Sea-monsters to their Water-stables, accomplishing by *Christmas* the Circuit of their whole Years good Deeds; an unjust and inhumane Nation, who receiving or not receiving Tribute where none was owing them, made such Destruction of Mankind, and Rapine of their Livelihood, as is a Misery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not, for the next Year repeating the same Cruelties on both sides the *Thames*, one way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, solicited again by the King for Peace, and receiving their Demands both of Tribute and Contribution, they slighted their Faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid Siege to *Canterbury*. On the 20th Day, by the Treachery of *Almere* the Arch-deacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of Massacre as a Sport: Some they threw over the Wall, others into the Fire; hung some by the privy Members; Infants pulled from their Mothers Breasts, were either toss'd on Spears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the Hair dragg'd and ravish'd. *Alfage* the grave Arch-bishop, above others hated of the *Danes*, as in all Councils and Actions to his Might their known Opposer, taken, wounded, imprison'd in a noisome Ship; the Multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only spar'd. Early the next Year before *Easter*, while *Ethelred* and his Peers were assembl'd at *London*, to raise now the fifth Tribute, amounting to forty eight thousand Pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propose to the Arch-bishop, who had been now seven Months their Prisoner, Life and Liberty, if he pay them three thousand Pound; which he refusing, as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his Tenants, is permitted till the next *Sunday* to consider; then hal'd before their Council, of whom *Turkill* was Chief, and still refusing, they rise, most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of their Axes, then thrust forth, deliver him to be pelted with Stones; till one *Thrum* a converted *Dane*, pitying him half dead, to put him out of Pain, with a pious Impiety, at one Stroke of his Ax on the Head, dispatch'd him^a. His Body was carried to *London*, and there buried, thence afterwards remov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time the Tribute paid and Peace so often violated sworn again by the *Danes*, they dispersed their Fleet; forty five of them, and *Turkill* their Chief, staid at *London* with the King, swore him Allegiance to defend his Land against all Strangers, on Condition only to be fed and cloath'd by him. But this voluntary Friendship of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitful, that staying under this Pretence he gave Intelligence to *Swane*, when it would be most seasonable to come. In *July* therefore of

the next Year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sandwich*, made no stay there, but sailing first to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landing and encamp'd at *Gainsborough*: Whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Uthred* their Earl; those of *Lindsey* also, then those of *Fisburg*, and lastly all on the North of *Watling-street* (which is a High-way from East to West Sea) gave Oath and Hostages to obey him: From whom he commanded Horses and Provision for his Army, taking with him besides Bands and Companies of their choicest Men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the Care of his Fleet and Hostages; he marches towards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Soldiers to exercise all Acts of Hostility; with the Terror whereof fully executed, he took in few Days the City of *Oxford*, then *Winchester*; thence tending to *London*, in his hasty Passage over the *Thames*, without seeking Bridge or Ford, lost many of his Men. Nor was his Expedition against *London* prosperous; for assaying all means by Force or Wile to take the City, wherein the King then was, and *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was stoutly beaten off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his Course, after usual Havock made, he sat a while and refresh'd his Army. There *Ethelred* an Earl of *Devonshire*, and other great Officers in the West, yielded him Subjection. These things flowing to his Wish, he betook him to his Navy, from that time stil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, saith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* also sent him Hostages, and made their Peace, for they fear'd his Fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc'd to narrow Compass, sent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his Treasure to *Richard II.* her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himself with the *Danish* Fleet abode some while at *Greenwich*, then sailing to the Isle of *Wight*, pass'd after *Christmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receiv'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himself churlishly and proudly towards *Emma* his Sister, besides his dissolute Company with other Women. Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almost insupportable Tribute of the People, spoiling them when he list'd; besides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The next Year beginning, *Swane* sickens and dies^b; some say terrifi'd by an appearing Shape of *St. Edmund* arm'd, whose Church at *Bury* he had threaten'd to demolish; but the Authority hereof relies only upon the Legend of *St. Edmund*. After his Death the *Danish* Army and Fleet made his Son *Canute* their King; but the Nobility and States^c of *England* sent Messengers to *Ethelred*, declaring that they prefer'd none before their Native Sovereign, if he would promise to govern them better than he had done, and with more Clemency. Whereat the King rejoicing, sends over his Son *Edward* with Ambassadors to court both high and low, and win their Love, promising largely to be their mild and devoted Lord, to consent in all Things to their Will, follow their Counsel, and whatever had been done or spoken by any Man against him, freely to Pardon, if they would loyally restore him to be their King. To this the

A. D. 1013.

Ethelred flies to the Duke of *Normandy*. *Malmsh.*

1044. *Sim. Dun.* *Mat. West.* *Florence.* *Malmsh.*

^a *Alfage* was kill'd not at *Canterbury*, but at *Greenwich*; to which Place, the Station of their Ships, they had brought him Prisoner. And therefore in the present Church of *Greenwich*, on the top of the Partition Wall, between the Nave of the Church and the Chancel is this Inscription, *This Church was Erected and Dedicated to the Glory of God, and the Memory of S. Alphage, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, here slain by the Danes; because he would not ransom his Life by an unreasonable Sum of Money, An. 1012.*

^b At *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*.

^c The Wife and Chief Men as well of the Clergy as the Laity.

A. D. 1014. the People cheerfully answer'd, and Amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both sides. An Embassy of Lords is sent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent*, and is joyfully receiv'd of the People, marches with a strong Army against *Canute*; who having got Horses, and joyn'd with the Men of *Lindsey*, was preparing to make spoil in the Countries adjoining; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driven to his Ships, and his Confederates of *Lindsey* left to the Anger of their Countrymen, executed without Mercy by Fire and Sword. *Canute* in all haste sailing back to *Sandwich*, took the Hostages given to his Father from all Parts of *England*, and with slit Noses, Ears cropp'd, and Hands chopp'd off, setting them ashore, departed into *Denmark*. Yet the People were not disburthen'd, for the King rais'd out of them thirty thousand Pound to pay his Fleet of Danes at *Greenwich*. To these Evils the Sea in ^a *October* pass'd his Bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of their Inhabitants many thousands. The Year following, an Assembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon*, having invited two Noblemen, *Sigeferth* and *Morcár*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of ^b *Seav'nburg* to his Lodging, secretly murder'd them: The King, for what Cause is unknown, seiz'd their Estates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be kept at *Maldulfsburg*, now *Malmsbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married against his Father's Mind, then went and possess'd their Lands, making the People there subject to him. *Mat. West.* saith, that these two were of the Danes, who had seated themselves in *Northumberland*, slain by *Edric* under Colour of Treason laid to their Charge. They who attended them without, tumulding at the Death of their Masters, were beaten back; and driven into a Church, and defending themselves, were burnt there in the Steeple †. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmark* with a great Navy, two hundred Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms, and all Provision; and, which *Encomium Emma* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, *Olav* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; and as the same Author then living writes, sent out Spies to discover what Resistance on Land was to be expected; who return'd with certain Report, that a great Army of *English* was in readiness to oppose them. *Turkill*, who upon the Arrival of those *Danish* Powers, kept Faith no longer with the *English*, but joining now with *Canute*, as it were to re-ingratiating himself after his Revolt, whether real or complotted, counsel'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the Management of this first Battel; the King assented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of those which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to their Wish, encounter'd the *English*, though double in Number, at a Place call'd *Scorastan*, and was at first beaten back with much Loss. But at length animating his Men with Rage only and Despair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great Reward and Possessions from *Canute*. But of this Action no other Writer makes mention. From *Sandwich* therefore sailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing over all *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Wiltshire*, he spread wasteful Hostility. The King lay

then sick at *Cosham* in this County; though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Streon* in another, rais'd Forces by themselves; but so soon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice against the Life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great Advantage. *Edric* easily enticing the forty Ships of Danes to side with him, revolted to *Canute*, the *West-Saxons* also gave Pledges and furnished him with Horses. By which means the Year ensuing, he with *Edric* the Traytor, passing the *Thames* at *Creclad*, about *Twelftide*, enter'd into *Mercia*, and especially *Warwickshire*, depopulating all Places in their way. Against these, Prince *Edmund*, for his Hardiness call'd *Ironside*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unless *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and so every Man return'd home. After the Festival, *Edmund* gathering another Army, besought his Father to come with the *Londoners*, and what Force besides he was able; they came with great Strength gotten together, but being come, and in a hopeful way of good Success, it was told the King, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning Whisper of the Enemy, disbanded his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as some thought to raise fresh Forces; but he with *Earl Uthred* on the one side, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little else but waste the Provinces; *Canute* to conquer them, *Edmund* to punish them who stood neuter; for which cause *Stafford*, *Shropshire*, and *Lestershire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruining the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing, dismiss'd his Forces, and came to *London*. *Uthred* the Earl hastened back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other Remedy, submitted himself with all the *Northumbrians*, giving Hostages to *Canute*. Nevertheless by his Command or Connivance, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a *Danish* Lord, *Uthred* was slain, and *Iric* another Dane made Earl in his stead. This *Uthred* Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his Treatise of the Siege of *Durham*, in his Youth obtain'd a great Victory against *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole Power of his Kingdom was fallen into *Northumberland*, and laid siege to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl, unable to resist, had secur'd himself in *Bebbanburg*, a strong Town; but *Uthred* gathering an Army rais'd the Siege, slew most of the *Scots*, their King narrowly escaping, and with the Heads of their slain, fixt upon Poles, beset round the Walls of *Durham*. The Year of this Exploit *Simeon* clears not, for in 969, and in the Reign of *Ethelred*, as he affirms, it could not be. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyful of his Success, before *Easter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the *end* of *April* ensuing, *Ethelred* after a long, troublesome, and ill-govern'd Reign, ended his Days at *London*, and was buried in the Church of *St. Paul*.

A. D.

1015.

Wiltshire.

1016.

Sim. Dun.

* 23d of April.

EDMUND

^a The Saxon Annals tell us 'twas on the Vigil of *St. Michael* in September.

^b The same Annals call the Place *Seafenburghs*, i. e. Seven Towns, but where they lay we know not.

^c *Shersfen* in *Wiltshire*. See the Addit. to that County in the *English* Edition of *Cambden*. The Battle of *Scorstan* in the *Saxon* Annals, comes under the Year 1016. and after *Ethelred's* Death. This *Scorstan* is suppos'd by others to be the Place where Four Stones call'd *Shirestones* part the four Counties of *Oxford*, *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Warwick*.

EDMUND Ironside.

A. D.
1016.Florent.
Æthelred in
the Life of
Ed Conf.
Rieuall de
Geneal.
Reg. Ang.Florent.
Sim. Dun.

After the Decease of *Ethelred*, they of the Nobility who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens, chose *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Father's Room; but the Arch-Bishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles assembling together elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the Race of *Ethelred*, and swore him Fidelity: He also swore to them, in Matters both Religions and Secular, to be their faithful Lord. But *Edmund* with all speed going to the *West-Saxons*, was joyfully receiv'd of them as their King, and of many other Provinces by their Example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May*, came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then causing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey* side, turn'd the Stream and drew his Ships thither West of the Bridge; then begirting the City with a broad and deep Trench, assail'd it on every side; but repuls'd as before by the valourous Defendants, and in Despair of Success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the Defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the *West-Saxons*, e'er *Edmund* could have time to assemble all his Powers: Who yet with such as were at hand invoking Divine Aid, encounter'd the *Danes* at ^a *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, and put him to flight. After Midsummer, increas'd with new Forces, ^b he met with him again at a Place call'd *Sherastan*, now ^c *Sharstan*; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire* Men, then siding with the *Danes*, he only maintain'd the Fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till Night and Weariness parted them. Day-light returning renew'd the Conflict; wherein the *Danes* appearing inferiour, *Edric* to dishearten the *English*, cut off the Head of one *Osmer*, in Countenance and Hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the *English*, That *Edmund* being slain and this his Head, it was time for them to flie; which Fallacy *Edmund* perceiving, and openly shewing himself to his Soldiers, by a Spear thrown at *Edric*, that missing him yet flew one next him, and through him another behind, they recover'd Heart, and lay fore upon the *Danes* till Night parted them as before: For e'er the third Morn, *Canute* sensible of his Loss, march'd away by Stealth to his Ships at *London*, renewing there his League. Some would have this Battel at *Sherastan* the same with that at ^d *Scorastan* beforemention'd, but the Circumstance of Time permits not that, having been before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the Process of things appears: From *Sherastan*, or *Sharstan*, *Edmund* return'd to the *West-Saxons*, whose Valour *Edric* fearing, lest it might prevail against the *Danes*, sought

Pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it, swore Loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *West Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Siege, chasing *Canute* and his *Danes* to their Ships. Then after two Days passing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and so coming on their Backs, kept them so turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: Then returns again to his *West-Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Siege, but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd ^e *Arenne*; and from the Banks thereof wasted *Mercia*; thence their Horse by Land, their Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while, with multiplied Forces out of many Shires, crossing again at *Branford*, came into *Kent*, seeking *Canute*; encountred him at *Orford*, and so defeated, that of his Horse, they who escap'd fled to the Isle of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* still the Traytor, by some Wilc or other detain'd his Pursuit: And *Edmund* who never wanted Courage, here wanted Prudence to be so misled, ever after forsaken of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* crossing with his Army into *Essex*, thence wasted *Mercia* worse than before, and with heavy Prey return'd to his Ships: Them *Edmund* with a collected Army pursuing, overtook at a Place call'd ^f *Affandune*, or *Asseshill*, ^g now *Ashdown* in *Essex*; the Battel on either side was fought with great Vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceiving the Victory to encline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him ^h, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match'd with Numbers: By which Desertion the *English* were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *East-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility slain, so as the *English* of a long time had not receiv'd a greater Blow. Yet after a while *Edmund* not absurdly call'd *Ironside*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another Field, was hinder'd by *Edric* and others of his Faction, advising him to make Peace and divide the Kingdom with *Canute*. To which *Edmund* over-ru'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually given, both Kings ⁱ met together at a Place call'd *Deorhirst* in *Gloucestershire*; *Edmund* on the West-side of *Severn*, *Canute* on the East with their Armies, then both in Person wasted into an Island, at that time call'd *Olaneege*, ^j now *Alney* in the midst of the River; swearing Amity and Brotherhood, they parted the Kingdom between them. Then interchanging Arms and the Habit they wore, assessing also what Pay should be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this Interview, and the Cause thereof, others write otherwise; *Malmsbury*, that *Edmund* grieving at the Loss of so much Blood spilt for the Ambition only of two Men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to *Canute*, offering him single Combat, to prevent in their own Cause the Effusion of more Blood than their own; that *Canute* though of Courage enough, yet not unwisely doubting

A. D.
1016.* *Ashingdon*
Cambden.

Cambd.

Cambd.
Sax. Ann.^a *Pen* is in *Somersetshire*.^b *Canute* was then at the Siege of *London*, according to the Annals we have often mention'd, did not command the *Danes* in the Fight at *Pen*, nor at *Sherstan*.^c *Sherston* in *Wiltshire*, *Cambd.* Thought by others to be *Shirestones* on the Borders of *Oxfordshire*.^d Mr. Milton owns, That no other Writer, but the Author of *Encomium Emæ*, mentions, the first Battel of *Scorastan*: And 'tis much to be doubted, whether there was any such Action.^e Mr. Gibson, the Editor of the *Saxon Annals*, supposes there is a Mistake in the Copy; and that it should be read to *Waran* or *Ware*, on the River *Lee*; or else, that this *Arenne* is the River we now call *Orwell*, which divides *Essex* from *Suffolk*.^f Rather *Affington*, in that County: for the *Saxon Annals* have it *Affandun*: Whereas the old *Affeshun* is the Word always turn'd by the Moderns into *Ashdown*.^g The *Magesætons* suppos'd by *Cambd.* to be the *Radnorshire* Men.^h *Bromton's Chronicle* says, their Commissioners only met.ⁱ *Cambden* writes it was call'd *Alney* by the *Saxons*: It now bears the Name of the *Isle*, i. e. *Isle*; others say this Island was betwixt *Oversbridge* and *Maysmore*. *Brit. last Edit.* p. 245.

Malmsb.

A. D. 1016. *Hunting. Mat. West. Rivall.* to adventure his Body of small Timber, against a Man of Iron sides; refus'd the Combat, offering to divide the Kingdom; this Offer pleasing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to consent; and the Decision was; that he as his Hereditary Kingdom should rule the *West-Saxons*, and all the ^a *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North*. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. West.* relates, That the Peers on every side wearied out with continual Warfare, and not refraining to affirm openly, that they two who expected to reign singly, had most Reason to fight singly, the Kings were content; the Island was their Lists, the Combat Knightly; till *Knute* finding himself too weak, began to parley, which ended as is said before. After which the *Londoners* bought their Peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the Feast of *St. Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried near to *Edgar* his Grand-father at *Glaston*. The Cause of his so sudden Death is uncertain; common Fame, saith *Malsbury*, lays the Guilt thereof upon *Edric*, who to please *Canute*, allur'd with Promise of Reward two of the King's Privy-Chamber, though at first abhorring the Fact, to assassinate him at the Stool, by thrusting a sharp Iron into his hinder Parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. West.* relate it done at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and something vary in the manner, ^b not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to reign sole King of *England*, calls to him all the *Dukes*, *Barons*, and *Bishops* of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were Witnesses what Agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdom, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *West-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? They who understood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his Anger, timorously answer'd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part thereof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* should be their Guardian, till they came to Age of reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for Fear or Hope of Reward they attested what was not true: Notwithstanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

CANUTE, OR KNUTE.

1017. *Sim. Dun. Sax. An. The first Danish King of England 570 Years after the Saxon Invasion.* CANUTE having thus founded the Nobility, and by them understood, receiv'd their Oath of Fealty, they the Pledge of his bare Hand, and Oath from the *Danish* Nobles; whereupon the House of *Edmund* was renounc'd, and *Canute* crown'd. Then they enacted, That *Edwi*, Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great Hope, should be banish'd the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himself secure while *Edwi* liv'd, consulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likeliest to do the Work. *Ethelward* sent for, and tempted by the King in private, with largest Rewards, but abhorring in his Mind the Deed, promis'd to do it when he saw his Opportunity; and so still deferr'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards,

receiv'd into Favour as a Snare, was by him or some other of his false Friends, *Canute* contriving it, the same Year slain. *Edric* also counsel'd him to dispatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons ^d of *Ironside*; but the King doubting that the Fact would seem too foul done in *England*, sent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he disdaining the Office, sent them for better Safety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the German Emperor. A Digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor, under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* saith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Malefclot* King of the *Rugians*, who receiv'd him honourably, and of that Country gave him a Wife. *Canute* settl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four Parts; the *West-Saxons* to himself, the *East-Angles* to *Earl Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Eric*; then made Peace with all Princes round about him, and his former Wife being dead, in July married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The Christmas following was an ill Feast to *Edric*, of whose Treason, the King having now made use as much as serv'd his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be slain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the Head of *Edric* fix'd on a Pole, he commanded to be set on the highest Tower of *London*, as in a double Sense he had promis'd him, for the Murther of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malsbury*, and *Mat. West.* write, that suspecting the King's intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be strangl'd in the Room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the King's Command struck off his Head. Other great Men though without Fault, as *Duke Norman* the Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of *Duke Agelmar*, ^e he put to Death at the same time, jealous of their Power or Familiarity with *Edric*: And notwithstanding Peace, kept still his Army; to maintain which, the next Year he squeez'd out of the *English*, though now his Subjects, not his Enemies, seventy two, some say, eighty two thousand Pound, besides fifteen thousand out of *London*. Mean while great War arose at *Carr*, between *Uthred* Son of *Waldef*, *Earl* of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*. But here *Simeon* the Relater seems to have committed some Mistake, having slain *Uthred* by *Canute* two Years before, and set *Eric* in his Place: *Eric* therefore it must needs be, not *Uthred*, who manag'd this War against the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* ⁸ at *Oxford*, it was agreed on both Parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. West.* saith, of *Edward* the Elder. The next Year *Canute* sail'd into *Denmark*, and there abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. West.* say, he went thither to repress the *Swedes*, and that the Night before a Battel to be fought with them, *Godwin* stealing out of the Camp with his *English*, assaulted the *Swedes*, and had got the Victory

^a No mention made of the North or South by the Authors that speak of the Combat.

^b He stabb'd him with a long Knife in the same Parts.

^c *William* of *Malsbury* writes, that this Prince having been long toss'd about by Sea and Land, return'd at last to *England*, where he lay conceal'd to his Death, and was then bury'd at *Tarvisstock*.

^d By *Agathe*, Widow of *Sigefrith* the *Dane*.

^e And *Britthrio*, Son to *Ælfger*, *Earl* of *Devenanscire* or *Devonshire*.

^f In the Annals the Tax is but 82000 Pounds in all; 11000 Pound for *London*, and 71000 Pound for the rest of *England*.

^g And *English*. *Bromton* says, 'twas done in a great Council or Parliament.

A. D. 1020. Victory e'er *Canute* in the Morning knew of any Fight. For which bold Enterprize, though against Discipline, he had the *English* in more Esteem ever after. In the Spring at his return into *England*, he held in the time of *Easter* a great Assembly at * *Chirchester*, and the same Year was with *Turkill* the *Dane* at the Dedication of a Church by them built at *Affendune*†, in the Place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But suspecting his Greatness, the Year following banish'd him the Realm, and found occasion to do the like by *Eric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the same Jealousie^a. Nor yet content with his Conquest of *England*, though now above ten Years enjoy'd, he pass'd with fifty Ships into *Norway* dispossest *Olave* their King, and subdu'd the Land, first with great Sums of Money sent the Year before to gain him a Party, then coming with an Army to compel the rest^b.

1029. Thence returning King of *England*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, yet not secure in his Mind, under colour of an Embassy he sent into Banishment *Hacun* a powerful *Dane*, who had married* the Daughter of his Sister *Gunildis*, having conceiv'd some Suspicion of his Practices against him: But such Course was taken, that he never came back; either perishing at Sea, or slain by Contrivance the next Year in *Orkney*. *Canute* therefore having thus establish'd himself by Bloodshed and Oppression, to wash away, as he thought the Guilt thereof, sailing again into *Denmark*, went thence to *Rome*, and offer'd there to *St. Peter* great Gifts of Gold and Silver, and other precious things; besides the usual Tribute of *Romscot*, giving great Alms, by the way, both thither and back again, freeing many Places of Custom and Toll with great Expence, where Strangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great Amendment of Life at the Sepulchre of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to his whole People in a large Letter written from *Rome* yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to *St. Edmund* at *Bury*^d, whom his Ancestors had slain, threw out the Secular Priests who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in their stead; then going into *Scotland*, subdu'd and receiv'd Homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings there, *Melbeath* and *Fermare*. Three Years after having made^e *Swane* his suppos'd Son by *Algiwa* of *Northampton*, Duke *Alfhelm's* Daughter (for others say the Son of a Priest whom *Algiwa*, barren, had got ready at the time of her feigned Labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* his Son by *Emma*, King of *Denmark*, and design'd *Harold* his Son† by *Algiwa* of *Northampton*, King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchester* in the old Monastery. This King, as appears, ended better than he began; for tho' he seems to have had no hand in the Death of *Ironside*, but detested the Fact, and bringing the Murtherers, who came to him in hope of great Reward, forth among his Courtiers, as at were to receive Thanks, after they had openly related the manner of their killing him, deliver'd them to deserved Punishment, yet he spar'd *Edric* whom

V O L. I.

he knew to be the prime Author of that detestable Fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the Confidence of his Merits, and upbraided by him that he had first relinquish'd, then extingish'd *Edmund* for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therefore said he with a chang'd Countenance, *Traytor to God and to me, thou shalt die; thine own Mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed*. Whereupon, although present and private Execution was in Rage done upon *Edric*, yet he himself in cool Blood scrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Children of *Edmund*, who had better Right to be the Lord's Anointed here than himself. When he had obtain'd in *England* what he desir'd, no wonder if he sought the Love of his conquer'd Subjects for the Love of his own Quiet, the Maintainers of his Wealth and State, for his own Profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the less care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*. He commanded to be observ'd the Ancient *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, not that he made them, but strictly observ'd them. His Letter from *Rome* professes, if he had done aught amiss in his Youth, through Negligence or want of due Temper, full Resolution with the Help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Viscounts, that neither for Fear of him, or Favour of any Person, or to enrich the King, they suffer Injustice to be done in the Land; commands his Treasurers to pay all his Debts e'er his return home, which was by *Denmark*, to compose Matters there; and what his Letter profess'd, he perform'd all his Life after. But it is a fond Conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no Violence till they have attain'd the utmost of their Ambitions and Desires; then to think God appeas'd by their seeking to bribe him with a Share, however large, of their ill-gotten Spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing Right, when they have no longer need to do Wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was Famous through *Europe*, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour then at *Rome*, with rich Gifts and many Grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of Passages from Toll and Custom. I must not omit one remarkable Action done by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great Scene of Circumstance, and emphatical Expression, to shew the small Power of Kings in respect of God; which, unless to Court-Parasites, needed no such laborious Demonstration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be set on the Shoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the State that Royalty could put into his Countenance, said thus to the Sea: *Thou Sea belong'st to me, and the Land whereon I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunish'd resisted my Commands: I charge thee come no farther upon my Land, neither presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign Lord*. But the Sea, as before,

L

A. D. 1035.

Malmsh.

came

^a In the Year before, *Canute* founded the Monastery of *St. Edmundsbury*, in Honour of *St. Edmund* the King, and two Years afterwards remov'd the Reliques of *St. Alphege*, whom his Countrymen had murther'd; both which were Popular Acts. The Body of *Alphege* was translated to *Canterbury*.

^b *Bromton* writes, That he was in a manner expell'd by his own Subjects, for his Weakness and Effeminacy: And returning a Year afterwards, the People rose upon him and slew him. He was canoniz'd under the Title of *King Olaf the Martyr*.

^c This Letter was sent into *England* by *Living* Abbot of *Tarvisstock*. 'Twas address'd thus; To *Aethelnoth* Bishop of *Canterbury*, to *Alfric* of *York*, with all the Bishops and Primates; and to the whole English Nation, as well Noblemen as Plebeians, Health, &c. is very Kind and Particular. 'Tis at large in *William* of *Malmsh.* Hist.

^d This was done Eleven Years before, as appears by an old Manuscript belonging to *St. Edmundsbury*; also by the Lord *Coke*, in the Preface to the 8th Book of his Reports.

^e *Sweyne* is suppos'd to be his Son by some other Woman, probably a *Dane*, before he was King of *England*: For 'tis not likely that *Algiwa*, who 'tis said was barren, should be able to impose two Sons upon him.

A. D. 1035. came rowling on, and without Reverence both wet and dashed him. Whereat the King quickly rising, wish'd all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed deserv'd the Name of a King, but he whose Eternal Laws, both Heaven, Earth, and Sea obey. A Truth so evident of it self, as I said before, that unless to shame his Court Flatterers, who would not else be convinc'd, Canute needed not to have gone wet-shod home: The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, esteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

HAROLD.

Florent. *Bromton.* *Hunting.* *Mat. West.* *Entom. Em.* *1036.* *Sim. Dun.* *Harold* for his Swiftness firnam'd *Harefoot*, the Son of *Canute* by *Algiwa* of *Northampton* (though some speak doubtfully as it shew'd him not, but had him of a Shoemaker's Wife, as *Swane* before of a Priest; others of a Maid-servant, to conceal her Barrenness) in a great Assembly at *Oxford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the *Londoners*, according to his Father's Testament elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Æl-* not the Arch-bishop having in his Custody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to infer) all Religion. *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxons* with him, stood for *Hardecnute*. *Malm-* bury saith, that the Contest was between *Dane* and *Englsh*; that the *Danes* and *Londoners* grown now in a manner *Danish*, were all for *Hardecnute*; but he being then in *Denmark*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet so as that the Kingdom should be divided between them; the *West* and *South* part reserv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc'd into the Throne, banish'd *Emma* his Mother-in-Law, seiz'd on his Father's Treasure at *Winchester*, and there remain'd. *Em-* ma not holding it safe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Bastard was yet under Age, retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean while *Alfred* and *Edward*, Sons of *Ethelred*, accompanied with a Small number of *Norman* Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to visit their Mother *Emma*, not yet departed the Land, and perhaps to see how the People were inclin'd to restore them their Right; *Elfred* was sent for by the King then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all seeming Friendship entertain'd him, was in the Night surpriz'd and made Prisoner, most of his Company put to various sorts of cruel Death, decimated twice over, then brought to *London*, was by the King sent bound to *Ely*, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd soon after in their Custody. *Malm-* bury gives little Credit to this Story of *Elfred*, as not chronick'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, sent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all speed into *Normandy*. But the Author of *Encomium Emmae*, who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the same Year when these things were done; by his Relation differing from all others, much aggravates the

Cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have practis'd in secret (for openly he durst not) against the Life of *Emma*, sought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his Power; and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the Name of their Mother, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces written to this purpose.

A. D.
1036.

Emma in Name only Queen, to her Sons *Edward* and *Alfred* imparts Motherly Salutation. While we severally bewail the Death of our Lord the King, most dear Sons, and while daily ye are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom, your Inheritance; I admire what Counsel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily strengthening to the Reign of your Usurper, who incessantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his Party, either by Gifts, Prayers, or Threats. But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, than to be held under the Power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me speedily, and privately; to receive from me wholesome Counsel, and to know how the Business which I intend, shall be accomplish'd. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewel, as dear both as my own Heart.

Encom. Em.

These Letters were sent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by express Messengers, with Presents also, as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the Time and Place. *Alfred* therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and small numbers about him, appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the Snare of Earl *Godwin*, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly sorrowing for the Loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the Nobles her faithfullest Adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling assign'd at *Bruges* by the Earl; where having remain'd about two Years, she was visited out of *Denmark* by *Hardecnute* her Son; and he not long had remain'd with here there, when *Harold* in *England*, having done nothing the while worth Memory, save the Taxing of every Port at eight Marks of Silver to sixteen Ships, dy'd at *London*, some say at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Winchester*. After which, most of the Nobility, both *Danes* and *Englsh* now agreeing, send Embassadors to *Hardecnute* still at *Bruges* with his Mother, entreating him to come and receive as his Right, the Scepter, who before Midsummer came with sixty Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmark*.

1039.
Sim. Dun.

Hunting.

1040.

Sim Dun.
Malmsh.

HARDECNUTE.

Hardecnute receiv'd with Acclamation, and seated in the Throne, first call'd to mind the Injuries done to him, or his Mother *Emma*, in the time of *Harold*; sent *Alfric* Arch-bishop of *York*, *Godwin* and others, with *Troud* his Executioner, to *London*, commanding them to dig up the Body of King *Harold*, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a second Order into the *Thames*.

* *Radulph de dicoto*, who wrote in the Reign of King *John*, says he was a Shoemaker's Son.
b The Annals call them the Seamen of *London*, whose Citizens as *William* of *Malmshury* observes, by their long Conversation with the *Danes*, were become wholly *Danish* in their Inclinations.
c The *Saxon* Annals place her Flight to Earl *Baldwin*, under the Year 1037.

A. D. 1040. *Thames*. Whence taken up by a Fisherman, and convey'd to a Church-yard in *London*, belonging to the *Danes*, it was interr'd again with honour. This done, he levied a fore Tax, that eight Marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet, should be paid throughout *England*; by which time they who were so forward to call him over, had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Bishop of *Worcester*, about the Death of *Elfred* his half Brother, which *Alfric* the Archbishop laid to their Charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Bishoprick, and gave it to his Accuser: But the Year following, pacify'd with a round Sum, restor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his Peace by a sumptuous Present, a Galley with a gilded Stem bravely rigg'd, and eighty Soldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of Gold on each Arm, weighing sixteen Ounces, Helmet, Corslet, and Hilts of his Swords gilded; a *Danish* Curtax list'd with Gold or Silver hung on his left Shoulder, a Shield with Bos and Nails gilded in his Left Hand, in his Right a Lance: Besides this he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own Counsel or Will, but by the Command of *Harold* he had done what he did, to the putting out of *Elfred*'s Eyes. The like Oath took most of the Nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. The next Year, *Hardecnute* sending his Housecarles^b, so they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them, rigorous in their Office, were slain at *Worcester* by the People; whereat the King enrag'd, sent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces and Commission to slay the Citizens, rifle and burn the City, waste the whole Province. Affrighted with such News, all the People fled; the Countrymen whither they could, the Citizens to a small Island in *Severn*, call'd *Beverge*, which they fortify'd and defended stoutly, till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home: But their City they found sack'd and burnt; wherewith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his half Brethren, tho' Rivals of his Crown, he shew'd himself always tenderly affection'd; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned Kindness receiv'd, remain'd safely and honourably in his Court^d. But *Hardecnute* the Year following, at a Feast wherein *Osgod*, a great *Danish* Lord, gave his Daughter in Marriage at *Lambeth*, to *Prudon*, another potent *Dane*; in the midst of his Mirth, Sound and Healthful to fight, while he was drinking fell down Speechless, and so dying, was buried at *Winchester* beside his Father. He was it seems a great lover of good Cheer; sitting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Dishes, and superfluity to all Comers. Whereas, saith *Huntingdon*, in our time Princes in their Houses made but one Meal a day^e. He gave his Sister *Gunildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in Marriage to *Henry* the *Almain* Emperor; and to send her forth pompously, all the Nobility contributed their Jewels and richest Ornaments. But it may seem a Wonder, that our Historians, if they deserve that Name, should, in a Matter so re-

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markable, and so near their own time, so much differ. *Huntingdon* relates, against the Credit of all other Records, that *Hardecnute* thus dead, the *English* rejoycing at this unexpected Riddance of the *Danish* Yoke, sent over to *Elfrid* the Eldest Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Prisoner at *Ely*, sent thither by *Harold* six Years before; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of Men to receive the Crown; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England*, by marrying her to *Edward* a simple Youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit than to accept her, persuaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many *Normans*, had promis'd them Lands here, that it was not safe to suffer a Warlike and subtil Nation to take root in the Land; that these were to be so handled as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of Relation to the King; thereupon, by common Consent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with Hostages to be left there, of their faithful Intentions to make him King, and their desires not to bring over with him many *Normans*; that *Edward* at their call, came then first out of *Normandy*; whereas all others agree, that he came voluntarily over to visit *Hardecnute*, as is before said, and was remaining in the Court at the time of his Death. For *Hardecnute* dead, saith *Malmshury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own Safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the Advice and Favour of Earl *Godwin*; desiring therefore by Messengers to have private Speech with him; the Earl a while deliberated: At last assenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fallen at his Feet; but that not permitted, told him the Danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great Perplexity besought his help to convey him some whither out of the Land. *Godwin* soon apprehending the fair Occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cheerfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying, but of reigning, which might easily be brought about, if he would follow his Counsel; then setting forth the Power and Authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it should be all his to set him on his Throne, if he on his Part would promise and swear to be for ever his Friend, to preserve the Honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter, *Edward*, as his Necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Assembly of States thereupon met at *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his Right; and by the powerful Influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Bromton*, with no probability, write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmark*, for what he had done to *Elfred*, return'd and submitted himself to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd openly with the Death of *Elfred*, and, not without much ado, by the intercession of *Leofric*, and other Peers, receiv'd at length into favour.

A. D.

1042.

L 2

EDWARD.

^a Also 29029 Pounds, and 11048 Pounds for 32 Sail of Ships. This Tax was the same as *Danegelt*, which was become a Prerogative.

^b Housecarles, in *English*, Servants of the Household.

^c The *Saxon Annals* tell us, he came into *England* the Year before, 1040.

^d *John Rouse* of *Warwick*, in his Treatise *De Regibus Ang.* relates, That the Day of King *Hardecnute*'s Death was kept by the *English* as a Holy-day in his Time, 400 Years afterwards, and was call'd *Hol Wednesday*.

^e Earl *Godwin* went with them.

EDWARD the Confessor.

The Saxon
Line re-
stor'd.A. D.
1043.

Sim. Dun.

Malmsb.

1045.
Sim. Dun.1046.
Sim. Dun.1047.
Sim. Dun.1048.
Sim. Dun.1049.
Sim. Dun.

GLAD were the English, deliver'd so unexpectedly from their Danish Masters^a, and little thought how near another Conquest was hanging over them. Edward, the Easter following, Crown'd^b at Winchester, the same Year accompanied with Earl Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, came again thither on a sudden, and by their Counsel seiz'd on the Treasure of his Mother Emma. The Cause alledg'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his Banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd Ethelred her former Husband, and thereafter the Children by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the Poor, and profuse to Monasteries. About this time also, King Edward, according to promise, took to Wife Edith or Egith, Earl Godwin's Daughter, commended much for Beauty, Modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a Woman, Learning. Ingulf, then a Youth, lodging in the Court with his Father, saw her oft, and coming from the School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logick. Edward, the next Year but one, made ready a strong Navy at Sandwich against Magnus King of Norway, who threaten'd an Invasion; had not Swane King of Denmark diverted him by a War at home to defend his own Land, not out of good will to Edward, as may be suppos'd, who at the same time express'd none to the Danes, banishing Gunildis the Niece of Canute with her two Sons, and Osgod, by firmane Clapa, out of the Realm. Swane overpower'd by Magnus, sent the next Year to entreat Aid of King Edward; Godwin gave counsel to send him fifty Ships fraught with Soldiers; but Leofric and the general Voice gainfaying, none were sent^c. The next Year Harold Harvager King of Norway sending Ambassadors, made Peace with King Edward; but an Earthquake at Worcester and Derby, Pestilence and Famine in many places, much lessen'd the Enjoyment thereof. The next Year, Henry the Emperor displeas'd with Baldwin Earl of Flanders, had straiten'd him with a great Army by Land; and sending to King Edward; desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his escape by Sea. The King therefore with a great Navy coming to Sandwich, there staid till the Emperor came to an agreement with Earl Baldwin. Mean while, Swane, Son of Earl Godwin, who not permitted to marry Edgiva the Abbess of Chester, by him deslour'd, had left the Land, came out of Denmark with eight Ships, feigning a desire to return into the King's Favour; and Beorn his Cousin-German, who commanded part of the King's Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldom might be restor'd him. Godwin therefore and Beorn with a few Ships, the rest of the Fleet gone home, coming to Pevensey, (but Godwin soon departing thence in pursuit of twenty nine Danish Ships, who had got much Booty on the Coast of Essex, and perish'd by

Tempest in their return) Swane with his Ships comes to Beorn at Pevensey, guilefully requests him to sail with him to Sandwich, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. Beorn mistrusting no Evil where he intended Good, went with him in his Ship, attended by three only of his Servants: But Swane, set upon barbarous Cruelty, not Reconciliation with the King, took Beorn, now in his Power, and bound him; then coming to Dartmouth, slew and bury'd him in a deep Ditch. After which, the Men of Hastings took six of his Ships, and brought them to the King at Sandwich; with the other two he escap'd into Flanders, there remaining, till Aldred Bishop of Worcester, by earnest mediation, wrought his Peace with the King. About this time King Edward sent to Pope Leo, desiring Absolution from a Vow, which he had made in his younger Years to take a Journey to Rome, if God vouchsaf'd him to Reign in England; the Pope dispens'd with his Vow, but not without the Expence of his Journey given to the Poor, and a Monastery built or re-edefy'd to St. Peter; who in a Vision to a Monk, as is said, chose Westminster, which King Edward thereupon rebuilding, endow'd with large Privileges and Revenues. The same Year, saith Florent of Worcester, certain Irish Pirates with thirty six Ships enter'd the Mouth of Severn, and with the Aid of Griffin Prince of South-Wales, did some hurt in those parts: Then passing the River Wey, burnt Dunedham, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom Aldred Bishop of Worcester, with a few out of Gloucester and Herefordshire, went out in haste: But Griffin, to whom the Welsh and Irish had privily sent Messengers, came down upon the English with his whole Power by Night, and early in the Morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. The next Year but one, King Edward remitted the Danish Tax, which had continu'd thirty eight Years heavy upon the Land; since Ethelred first paid it to the Danes, and what remain'd thereof in his Treasury he sent back to the Owners; but through imprudence, laid the foundation of a far worse Mischief to the English; while studying Gratitude to those Normans^d, who to him in Exile had been helpful; he call'd them over to publick Offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private Purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the Norman Conquest. Robert, a Monk of that Country, who had been serviceable to him there in time of need, he made Bishop, first of London, then of Canterbury; William his Chaplain, Bishop of Dorchester. Then began the English to lay aside their own Ancient Customs, and in many things to imitate French Manners, the great Peers to speak French in their Houses, in French to write their Bills and Letters, as a great piece of Gentility, ashamed of their own: A presage of their Subjection shortly to that People, whose Fashions and Language they affected so slavishly: But that which gave beginning to many Troubles ensuing, happen'd this Year, and upon this Occasion. Eustace Earl of Boloign, Father of the famous

A. D.
1049.

Mat. West.

King Edward repairs and enlarges Westminster Abby.

1051.

Sim. Dun.

Danegelt remitted

Ingulf.

The Normans advanced.

Ingulf.

French Manners and French Language affected first by the English Nobility.

Malmsb.

Godfrey,

^a Brenton in his Chronicle tells us, That the great Council, who elected Edward King, unanimously agreed and swore, That no Dane should Reign over them any more. The Danes Insolence being become intolerable; an Englishman not daring to pass a Bridge if he met a Dane, till the latter first pass'd it; and if he did not salute him, he was sure to be well beaten.

^b By Archbishop Eadige, who preach'd on this Occasion; which is the first Coronation-Sermon mention'd in History.

^c The same Author, Simeon of Durham, writes, That the King of Norway dying soon after, Swane recover'd his Kingdom.

^d Ingulf says, William Duke of Normandy, who was afterwards King of England, visited King Edward in this Year; and some Authors relate, that the King promis'd to make the Duke his Successor; but Ingulf affirms, no mention was

A. D.
1051.

Godfrey who won *Jerusalem* from the *Saracens*, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Sister, having been to visit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers insolently seeking to lodge by Force in a House there, provok'd so the Master thereof, as by chance, or Heat of Anger to kill him. The Count with his whole Train going to the House where his Servant had been kill'd, slew both the Sayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townsmen running to Arms, requited him with the Slaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escaping, ran back with Clamour to the King; whom seconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he stirr'd up to great Anger against the Citizens of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* in haste sent for, the Cause related and much aggravated by the King against that City, the Earl commanded to raise Forces, and use the Citizens thereof as Enemies. *Godwin*, sorry to see Strangers more favour'd of the King than his Native People, answer'd, that it were better to summon first the Chief Men of the Town into the King's Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwise, by Fine or Loss of Life might satisfy the King whose Peace they had broken, and the Count whom they had injur'd: Till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile Punishment them of his own Country unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King displeased with his Refusal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an Assembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloster*, where the Matter might be fully try'd; the Assembly was full and frequent according to Summons; but *Godwin* mistrusting his own Cause, or the Violence of his Adversaries; with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great Power gathered out of his own and his Sons Earldoms, which contain'd most of the South-East and West Parts of *England*, came no farther than *Beverston*, giving out that their Forces were to go against the *Welsh*, who intended an Irruption into *Herefordshire*; and *Swane* under that Pretence lay with part of his Army thereabout. The *Welsh* understanding this Device, and with all Diligence clearing themselves before the King, left *Godwin* detected of false Accusation in great Hatred to all the Assembly. *Leofric* therefore and *Siward* Dukes of great Power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all Parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithful to the King, send privily with speed to raise the Forces of their Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, sent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Eustace* and his Followers, together with those *Boisignians*, who as *Simeon* writes, held a Castle in the Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*. The King as then having but little Force at hand, entertain'd him a while with Treaties and Delays, till his summon'd Army drew nigh, then rejected his Demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin Fight against the King; begun with, not to give Ground. The King's Forces were the Flower of those Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: But *Leofric* and the wiser sort, detesting Civil War, brought the Matter to this Accord, That Hostages given on either side, the whole Cause should be again de-

bated at *London*. Thither the King and Lords coming with their Army, sent to *Godwin* and his Son (who with their Powers were come as far as *Southwark*) commanding their Appearance unarm'd, with only twelve Attendants, and that the rest of their Soldiers they should deliver over to the King. They to appear without Pledges before an adverse Faction deny'd; but to dismiss their Soldiers refus'd not, nor in ought else to obey the King as far as might stand with Honour and the just regard of their Safety. This Answer not pleasing the King, an Edict was presently issu'd forth, That *Godwin* and his Sons within five days depart the Land. He who perceiv'd now his Numbers to diminish, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Tosti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much Treasure as their Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, sail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith Tosti* had married: For *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then Hostage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Bristow*, in a Vessel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, pass'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* pursuing his Displeasure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter, sending her despoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid, to be kept in Custody by his Sister the Abbess there. His Reasons of so doing was as harsh as his Act, that she only, while her nearest Relations were in Banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy Ease at home. After this, *William* Duke of *Normandy* with a great number of Followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honourably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Castles, as it were to shew him what e'er long was to be his own (though at that time, saith *Inghel*, no mention thereof pass'd between them) then after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismiss'd, he return'd home. The next Year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried at *Winchester*^a. The Chronicle attributed to *John Bromton* a *Yorkshire* Abbot^c, but rather of some nameless Author living under *Edward* the Third, or later, reports that the Year before, by *Robert* the Archbishop, she was accus'd both of consenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and of preparing Poyson for *Edward* also; lastly, of too much Familiarity with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*; that to approve her Innocence, praying over-night to St. *Swithune*, she offer'd to pass blind-fold between certain Plow-shares red hot, according to the *Ordalian* Law, which without harm she perform'd; that the King thereupon receiv'd her to Honour, and from her and the Bishop, Penance for his Credulity; that the Archbishop ashamed of his Accusation, fled out of *England*. Which besides the Silence of ancienter Authors (for the Bishop fled not till a Year after) brings the whole Story into Suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be prov'd, that in the Memory of this Deliverance from the Nine burning Plow-shares, Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of St. *Swithune* nine Mannors, and Bishop *Alwin* other nine. About this time, *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, wasted *Herefordshire*; to oppose whom the People of that Country with many *Normans*, garrison'd in the Castle of *Hereford*, went out in Arms, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much Booty driven away by the *Welsh*. Soon after which, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in the Confines of *Somerset*

A. D.
1052.

Malmsh.

Sim. Dun.

See a Form of the Ordial, printed from the Liber Rossensis, by Mr. Brown in his Appendix ad Fastidium.

^a The Annals say *Bosham* in *Suffex*.^b According to the *Saxon Annals*, Mr. Milton is out in his Chronology; for the Events of the last three Years, the latest of them Earl *Godwin*'s Banishment, happen'd Anno 1048.^c *Henry of Knighton* also mentions it in his History.

A. D. 1052. *Malmf.* *Somerset and Dorsetshire*, spoiled many Villages, and resisted by those of *Somerset and Devonshire*, slew in Fight more than thirty of their principal Men, many of the common Sort, and return'd with much Booty to their Fleet. King *Edward* on the other side made ready above sixty Ships at *Sandwich*, well stor'd with Men and Provision, under the Conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his Norman Kindred, enjoining them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quicken them, he himself lay on Ship-board, oft-times watch'd and sail'd up and down in search of those Pirates. But *Godwin*, whether in a Mist, or by other Accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of *Kent*, and dispersing secret Messengers abroad, by fair Words allured the Chief Men of *Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex* to his Party; which News coming to the King's Fleet at *Sandwich*, they halted to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without Effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertis'd of this, forthwith sail'd to the Isle of *Wight*; where at length his two Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with their united Navy lay on the Coast, forbearing other Hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh Victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one Fleet they set forwards to *Sandwich*, using all fair Means by the way to encrease their Numbers both of Mariners and Soldiers. The King then at *London*, startl'd at those Tidings, gave speedy Order to raise Forces in all Parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for *Godwin* within a few Days after with his Ships or Galleys came up the River *Thames* to *Southwark*, and till the Tide return'd had Conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair Speeches, for he was held a good Speaker in those times, he brought to his bent. The Tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring, he row'd up in his Galleys along the South Bank; where his Land-Army, now come to him, in array of Battel stood on the Shore; then turning towards the North-side of the River, where the King's Galleys lay in some Readiness, and Land-Forces also not far off, he made shew as offering to Fight; but they understood one another, and the Soldiers on either side soon declar'd their Resolution not to Fight *English* against *English*. Thence coming to Treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both Armies were dissolv'd, *Godwin* and his Sons restor'd to their former Dignities, except *Swane*, who touch'd in Conscience for the Slaughter of *Beorn* his Kinsman, was gone barefoot to *Jerusalem*, and returning home, dy'd by Sickness or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin's* Daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had done many unjust things under the King's Authority, and given him ill Counsel against his People, banish'd the Realm, some of them not blameable permitted to stay. *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly escaping with their Followers, got to Sea. The Arch-bishop went with his Complaint to *Rome*; but returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the same Monastery from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* surrender'd their Castles, and by Permission of *Leofric* pass'd through his Countries with their *Normans* to *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The Year following *Rhesa*, Brother to *Griffin*, Prince of *South-Wales*, who by Inrodes had done much Damage to the *English*, taken at *Bu-lendan*, was put to Death by the King's Appointment, and his Head brought to him at *Gloster*.

1053.
Sim. Dun.

The same Year at *Winchester*, on the second Holy-day of *Easter*, Earl *Godwin* sitting with the King at Table, sunk down suddenly in his Seat as dead: His three Sons, *Harold*, *Tosti*, and *Gytba*, forthwith carried him to the King's Chamber, hoping he might revive: But the Malady had so seiz'd him, that the 5th Day after he expir'd. The *Normans*, who hated *Godwin*, give out, saith *Malmf-bury*, that mention happening to be made of *Elfred*, and the King thereat looking sowerly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himself, utter'd these Words, Thou, O King, at every mention made of thy Brother *Elfred*, look'st frowningly upon me: But let God not suffer me to swallow this Morsel, if I be guilty of ought done against his Life or thy Advantage; that after these Words, choak'd with the Morsel taken, he sunk down and recover'd not. His first Wife was the Sister of *Canute*, a Woman of much Infamy for the Trade she drove of buying up *English* Youths and Maids to sell in *Denmark*, whereof she made great Gain; but e'er long was struck with Thunder, and dy'd. The Year ensuing, *Siward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, with a great number of Horse and Foot, attended also by a strong Fleet at the King's Appointment, made an Expedition into *Scotland*, vanquish'd the Tyrant *Macbeth*, slaying many thousands of *Scots*, with those *Normans* that went thither, and plac'd ^b *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his stead; yet not without loss of his own Son, and many other both *English* and *Danes*. Told of his Son's Death, he ask'd, whether he receiv'd his Death's Wound before or behind? When it was answer'd before, I am glad, saith he; and should not else have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King *Edward* being without Issue to succeed him, sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Winchester* with great Presents to the Emperor, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother *Edmund Ironside*, might be sent into *England*. *Siward* but one Year surviving his great Victory, dy'd at *York*; reported by *Huntingdon* a Man of Giant-like Stature, and by his own Demeanour at point of Death manifested, of a rough and meer Soldierly Mind: For much disdain'd to die in Bed by a Disease, not in the Field fighting with his Enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly arm'd, and weapon'd with Battel-ax and Shield, to be set in a Chair, whether to fight with Death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other Weapons and Preparations were needful) in a Martial Bravery; but true Fortitude glories not in Feats of War, as they are such, but as they serve to end War soonest by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King bestow'd on *Tosti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: And soon after in a Convention held at *London*, banish'd without visible Cause, *Huntingdon* saith for Treason, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*; who passing into *Ireland*, soon return'd with eighteen Ships to *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, requesting his Aid against King *Edward*. He assembling his Powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordshire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous Captain, Son to the King's Sister, not by *Eustace*, but a former Husband, met two Miles distant from *Hereford*; and having Horsed the *English* who knew better to fight on Foot, without stroke he with his *French* and *Normans*, beginning to flie, taught the *English* by his Example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the Chase, slew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, slew seven Canons defending the Minster, burnt the Monastery and Reliques, then the City; killing some, leading Captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great

A. D.
1053.

1054.
Sim. Dun.

1055.
Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

^a The Annals tell us, *Godwin* plunder'd it, and kill'd all before him at *Porlock* in *Somersetshire*.

^b *Mat. Westminster* writes, King *Edward* bestow'd the Kingdom of *Scotland* on *Malcolm*, to be held of himself.

A. D.
1055.* As far as
Snowden in
Caermar-
thenshire.1056.
Sim. Dun.1057.
Sim. Dun.1058.
Sim. Dun.1059.
Sim. Dun.1061.
Sim. Dun.1062.
Sim. Dun.1063.
Sim. Dun.1064.
Sim. Dun.1065.
Sim. Dun.

great Spoils; whereof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloster* under the Conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*; who strenuously pursuing *Griffin*, enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale**. But the Enemy, flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offer'd, with the rest he return'd, and fortify'd *Hereford* with a Wall and Gates. Mean while, *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the diligence of *Harold*, after many Messages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him: *Algar* discharging his Fleet with pay at *Westchester*, came to the King, and was restor'd to his Earldom. But *Griffin*, with breach of Faith, the next Year set upon *Leofgar*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, and his Clerks, then at a place call'd *Glastbrig*, with *Agelnoth* Viscount of the Shire, and slew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward*, by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduc'd him to Peace. The next Year, *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironside*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had sent to the Emperor, came out of *Hungary*, design'd Successor to the Crown; but within a few Days after his coming, dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son *Margaret* and *Christina* his Daughters. About the same time also dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old Age, a Man of no less Virtue than Power in his time; Religious, Prudent and Faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva*^a, a Woman of great Praise. His Son *Algar* found less favour with King *Edward*, again banish'd after his Father's Death; but he again, by the Aid of *Griffin*, and Fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, soon recover'd his Earldom. The next Year *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, coming to visit King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Tosti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he swore Brotherhood: Yet the next Year but one, while *Tosti* was gone to *Rome* with *Abbed* Archbishop of *York* for his Pall, this sworn Brother taking advantage of his absence, roughly harass'd *Northumberland*. The Year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent Inrodes and Robberies of *Griffin*, whom no Bonds of Faith could restrain, King *Edward* sent against him after *Christmas*, *Harold* now Duke of *West-Saxons*, with no great Body of Horse from *Gloster*; where he then kept his Court; whose coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himself secure, escap'd hardly by Sea, ere *Harold* coming to^b *Rudelund*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloster* the same Day; But by the middle of *May* setting out with a Fleet from *Bristow*, he sail'd about the most part of *Wales*, and met by his Brother *Tosti* with many Troops of Horse, as the King had appointed, began to waste the Country; but the *Welsh* giving Pledges, yielded themselves, promis'd to become tributary, and banish *Griffin* their Prince; who lurking somewhere, was the next Year taken and slain by *Griffin* Prince of *North-Wales*; his Head, with the Head and Tackle of his Ship, sent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his Gentleness made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon*, his two Brothers, Princes in his stead; they two *Harold*, in behalf of the King, swore Fealty and Tribute. Yet the next Year, *Harold*

having built a fair House at a place call'd *Portas-cith* in *Monmouthshire*, and stor'd it with Provision, that the King might lodge there in time of Hunting; *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin*, slain the Year before, came with a number of Men, slew all he found there, and took away the Provision. Soon after which, the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beset the Palace of *Tosti* their Earl, slew more than two hundred of his Soldiers and Servants, pilaged his Treasure, and put him to flee for his Life. The Cause of this Insurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Tosti*'s behalf, *Gospatric* a Nobleman of that Country to be treacherously slain in the King's Court; and that *Tosti* himself the Year before with like treachery had caus'd to be slain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf*, two other of their Noblemen, besides his intolerable Exactions and Oppressions. Then in a manner the whole Country coming up to complain of their Grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Tosti*'s request had sent to pacifie the *Northumbrians*; but they laying open the Cruelty of his Government, and their own Birthright of Freedom^d, not to endure the Tyranny of any Governor whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing Reason, all the Accomplises of *Tosti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himself banish'd the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his stead. *Huntingdon* tells another Cause of *Tosti*'s Banishment, that one Day at *Windsor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Tosti* envying to see his younger Brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his Hair; the Scuffle was soon parted by other Attendants rushing between, and *Tosti* forbidden the Court. He with continu'd Fury riding to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an Entertainment for the King, came to the House and sat upon them with his Followers; then lopping off Hands, Arms, Legs of some, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath or Ale, which were laid in for the King's drinking: And at his going away charg'd them to send him this word, that of other fresh Meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Souse he should find plenty provided ready for him; that for his barbarous Act the King pronounc'd him banish'd; that the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at the King's displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be reveng'd of his Cruelties done to themselves; but this no way agrees, for why then should *Harold*, or the King, so much labour with the *Northumbrians* to re-admit him, if he were a banish'd Man for his Crimes done before? About this time it happen'd, that *Harold* putting to Sea one Day for his pleasure, in a Fisher-Boat, from his Mannor at *Boseham* in *Suffex*, caught with a Tempest toof an off Land, was carry'd into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pentiew*, on whose Coast he was driven, at his own request brought to Duke *William*; who entertaining him with great Curtesie, so far won him, as to promise the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Castle of *Dover*, then in his tenure, but the Kingdom also after King *Edward*'s Death to his utmost endeavour; thereupon be-

A. D.
1065.

Camden.

Malmib.

^a The Lady who is Famous in Story for riding Naked through *Coventry*, to gain some Immunities for the Citizens: The Story is at large in *Bromton's Chronicle*. The Pictures of Earl *Leofric*, and his Countess *Godiva*, were set up in the Windows of *Trinity Church*, with this Inscription:

Lurick, for the Love of thee,
Do set *Coventry* Toll-free.

^b By the Agreement of the Sound, and the Nearness of the Place to *Gloster*, it shou'd be *England* in *Monmouthshire*, which stands near the little River *Urk*; but the Ships he burnt must be very small, or the River more Navigable than 'tis at present.

^c *Florence of Worcester* says, they swore Fealty to Earl *Harold* also.

^d *William of Malmesbury* give us, the Reason for which the *Northumbrians* declar'd they took Arms, viz. That they were Freeman born, and as freely educated, and that they wou'd not endure the Insolence of an Earl; for they had learnt from their Ancestors to choose either Liberty or Death.

A.D.
1065.Leges Ed-
Conf. Tit.
Lex Noric.

trothing the Duke's Daughter, then too young for Marriage; and departing richly presented. Others say, that King Edward himself, after the Death of Edward his Nephew, sent Harold thither, on purpose to acquaint Duke William with his Intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: But Malmsbury accounts the former Story to be the truer. Ingulf writes, that King Edward now grown old, and perceiving Edgar his Nephew both in Body and Mind unfit to Govern, especially against the Pride and Insolence of Godwin's Sons, who would never obey him; Duke William on the other side of high Merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had sent Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to acquaint the Duke with his purpose, not long before Harold came thither. The former part may be true, that King Edward upon such Considerations had sent one or other; but Archbishop Robert was fled the Land, and dead many Years before. Eadmer and Simeon write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the King's Permission or Connivance, to get free his Brother Wulnod and Nephew Hacun the Son of Swane, whom the King had taken Hostages of Godwin and sent into Normandy; that King Edward foretold Harold, his Journey thither would be to the detriment of all England, and his own Reproach; that Duke William then acquainted Harold, how Edward e're his coming to the Crown had promis'd, if he ever attain'd it, to leave Duke William Successor after him. Last of these Matthew Paris writes, that Harold to get free of Duke William, affirm'd his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of Tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret Confederacy: So variously are these things reported. After this King Edward grew sickly, yet as he was able kept his Christmas at London, and was at the Dedication of St. Peter's Church in Westminster, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of Epiphany, or Twelfthide, deccas'd much lamented, and in the Church was Entomb'd. That he was harmless and simple, is conjectur'd by his words in anger to a Peasant, who had cross'd his Game, (for with Hunting and Hawing he was much delighted) By God and God's Mother, said he, I shall do you as shew'd a turn, if I can: Observing that Law-Maxim the best of all his Successors, That the King of England can do no wrong. The softness of his Nature gave growth to Factions of those about him, Normans especially and English; these complaining, that Robert the Archbishop was a Sower of Disfention between the King and his People, a Traducer of the English; the other side, that Godwin and his Sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, usurping to themselves equal share in the Government; oft-times making sport with his Simplicity, that thro' their Power in the Land they made no scruple to kill Men, of whose Inheritance they took a liking, and so to take possession. The truth is, that Godwin and his Sons did many things boisterously and violently, much against the King's mind; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his Wife Edith, Godwin's Daughter, in such averfation, as in Bed never to have touch'd her; whether for this Cause, or mistaken Chastity, not commendable; to enquire farther, is not material. His Laws held good and just, and long after desir'd by the English of their Norman Kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at Table not excessive, at Festivals nothing puffed up with the costly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Almsdeeds, and exhorted the Monks to

like Charity. He is said to be the first of English Kings that cur'd the Disease, call'd thence the King's Evil; yet Malmsbury blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royalty, not to his Sanctity; said also to have cur'd certain Blind Men with the Water wherein he had wash'd his Hands. A little before his Death, lying Speechless two Days, the third Day, after a deep Sleep, he was heard to pray, That if it were a true Vision, not an Illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks, whom he knew in Normandy, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing, told him they were sent Messengers from God to foretel, that because the Great Ones of England, Dukes, Lords, Bishops, and Abbots, were not Ministers of God, but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to their Enemies; and when he desir'd that he might reveal this Vision, to the end they might repent, it was answer'd, They neither will repent, neither will God pardon them. At this relation others trembling, Stigand the Simonious Archbishop, whom Edward much to blame had suffer'd many Years to sit Primate of the Church, is said to have laugh'd, as at the feavourish Dream of a doting Old Man; but the Event prov'd it true.

A. D.
1066.

King Edward the Confessor the first that cur'd the King's Evil.

HAROLD, Son of Earl Godwin.

Harold, whether by King Edward a little before his Death ordain'd Successor to the Crown, as Simeon of Durham, and others^a affirm; or by the prevalence of his Faction, excluding Edgar the right Heir; Grandchild to Edmund Ironside, as Malmsbury and Huntingdon agree; no sooner was the Funeral of King Edward ended, but on the same Day was Elected and Crown'd King: And no sooner plac'd in the Throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of Compliances to gain Affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Churchmen, courteous and affable to all reputed Good, a hater of Evil-doers, charg'd all his Officers to punish Thieves, Robbers, and all Disturbers of the Peace, while he himself by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Country: So good an Actor is Ambition. In the mean while a Blazing Star, seven Mornings together, about the end of April, was seen to stream terribly, not only over England, but other parts of the World; foretelling here, as was thought, the great Changes approaching: Plainliest prognosticated by Elmer a Monk of Malmsbury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for soaring too high. He in his Youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with these on the top of a Tower, spread out to gather Air, he flew more than a Furlong; but the Wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet so conceited of his Art, that he attributed the Cause of his Fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This Story, tho' seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad Narration, yet for the Strangeness thereof, I thought worthy enough the placing as I found it plac'd in my Author. But to digress no farther, Tosti the King's Brother coming from Flanders, full of Envy at his younger Brother's Advancement to the Crown, resolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therefore them of Wight Isle to Contribution, he sail'd thence

Floved.
Florent.1066.
Sim. Dun.

Huntingd.

^a The Annals says, He succeeded, as King Edward appointed. William of Malmsbury affirms, He extorted an Oath of Fidelity from the Chief Men—All the Bishops were for Harold.

A. D. 1066. thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coast between. *Harold* then residing at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horse Troops by Land, prepares in Person for *Sandwich*: Whereof *Tofti* having notice, directs his Course with sixty Ships towards *Lindsey*, taking with him all the Seamen he found, willing or unwilling: Where he burnt many Villages, and slew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother; the *Northumbrian* Earl, with their Forces on either side, soon drove him out of the Country: Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the *Scottish* King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the same time Duke *William* sending Ambassadors to admonish *Harold* of his Promise and Oath, to assist him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made answer, That by the Death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that Condition, he was absolv'd of his Oath, or not dead, he could not take her now an Outlandish Woman, without Consent of the Realm; that it was presumptuously done, and not to be persisted in, if without Consent or Knowledge of the States, he had sworn away the Right of the Kingdom; that what he swore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdom, conferr'd upon him with universal Favour and Acclamation of the People: To this flat Denial he added Contempt, sending the Messengers back, saith *Matthew Paris*, on maim'd Horses. The Duke thus contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the Pope, setting forth the Justice of his Cause, which *Harold*, whether through Haughtiness of Mind, or Distrust, or that the Ways to *Rome* were stop'd, sought not to do. Duke *William*, besides the Promise and Oath of *Harold*, alledg'd that King *Edward* by the Advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himself, and *Sigard* the Arch-bishop, had given him the Right of Succession, and had sent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, *Pledges* of the Gift; the Pope * sent Duke *William*, after this Demonstration of his Right, a consecrated Banner. Whereupon he having with great Care and Choice got an Army of tall and stout Soldiers, under Captains of great Skill and mature Age, came in *August* to the Port of *St. Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which also coming, he sails to the *Ile* of *Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William's* Preparations and Readiness to invade him, kept good Watch on the Coast, and Foot Forces every where in fit Places to guard the Shoar. But e'er the middle of *September*, Provision failing when it was most needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a sudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more than five hundred great Ships, (others lessen them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the Mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Tofti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed, and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouse*, as far as *Rical*, landed; and won *York* by Assault. At these Tidings *Harold* with all his Power hastes thitherward; but e'er his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *York*, on the North-side of *Ouse*, about the Feast of *St. Matthew* had given them *Battel*; successfully at first, but over-born at length with Numbers; and forc'd to turn their Backs, more of them perish'd in the River, than in the Fight. The *Norwegians* taking with them five hundred Hostages out of *York*, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retir'd to their Ships. But the fifth Day after King *Harold* with a great and well

appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stamford* Bridge, or *Battel* Bridge on *Darwent*, assailing the *Norwegians*, after much Blood-shed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with *Harvager* their King, and *Tofti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the King's Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Soldiers to guard the Ships, surrendering themselves with Hostages, and Oath given never to return as Enemies, he suffer'd freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the small Remnant of their Army. One Man of the *Norwegians* is not to be forgotten, who with incredible Valour keeping the Bridge a long Hour against the whole *English* Army, with his single Resistance delay'd their Victory; and scorning offer'd Life, till in the end no Man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his Fall open'd the Passage of Pursuit to a compleat Victory. Wherewith *Harold* lifted up in Mind, and forgetting now his former Shews of Popularity, defrauded his Soldiers of their due and well deserved Share of the Spoils. While these things thus pass'd in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay still at *St. Valerie*; his Ships were ready, but the Wind serv'd not for many Days; which put the Soldiery into much Discouragement and Murmur, taking this for an unlucky Sign of their Success; at last the Wind came favourable, the Duke first under sail awaited the rest at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of nine hundred Ships, with a prosperous Gale arriv'd at *Hastings*. At his going out of the Boat by a Slip falling on his Hands, to correct the Omen, a Soldier standing by said aloud, that their Duke had taken Seisin of *England*. Landed, he restrain'd his Army from Waste and Spoil, saying, that they ought to spare what was their own. But these are things related of *Alexander* and *Cesar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay their Story. The Duke for fifteen Days after landing kept his Men quiet within the Camp, having taken the Castle of *Hastings*, or built a Fortrefs there. *Harold* secure the while, and proud of his new Victory, thought all his Enemies now under Foot: But sitting jollily at Dinner, News is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great Multitude of Horse and Foot, Slingers and Archers, besides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevensey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not so late in the Year as now it was, for it was *October*; with his Forces much diminish'd after two sore Conflicts, and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great haste marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for Supplies which were on their way towards him, hurries into *Sussex* (for he was always in haste since the Day of his Coronation) and e'er the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about nine Mile from *Hastings*, and now drawing nigh, sent Spies before him to survey the Strength and Number of his Enemies: Them, discover'd such, the Duke causing to be led about, and after well fill'd with Meat and Drink sent back. They not over-wise, brought word that the Duke's Army were most of them Priests; for they saw their Faces all over shaven; the *English* then using to let grow on their upper-lip large Mustachios, as did anciently the *Britains*. The King laughing, answer'd, That they were not Priests, but valiant and hardy Soldiers. Therefore said *Girthe* his Brother, a Youth of noble Courage and Understanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy self to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath; let us unsworn undergo the Hazard of

A. D. 1066.

Camden.

Malmsb.

Sim. Dni. William the Norman lands at Pevensey near Hastings.

Girth.

A. D. 1066. *Battel, who may justly fight in the Defence of our Country; thou reserved to fitter time, mayst either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead.* The King not hearkning to this, lest it might seem to argue Fear in him, or a bad Cause, with like Resolution rejected the Offers of Duke William sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only Answer hastily deliver'd, *Let God judge between us.* The Offers were these, *That Harold would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by single Combat in the Sight of both Armies, or refer it to the Pope.* These rejected, both sides prepar'd to fight the next Morning, the English from singing and drinking all Night, the Normans from Confession of their Sins, and Communion of the Host. The English were in a fruit disadvantageous Place, so that many discourag'd with their ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the Onset, the rest in close Order with their Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: The King himself with his Brothers on foot, flood by the Royal Standard, wherein the Figure of a Man fighting was inwoven with Gold and precious Stones. The Norman Foot, most Bowmen, made the foremost Front, on their side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke arming, and his Corset given him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, *The Strength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army singing the Song of Rowland, the Remembrance of whose Exploits might hearten them, imploring lastly Divine Help, the Battel began; and was fought sorely on either side; but the main Body of English Foot by no means would be broken, till the Duke causing his Men to feign Flight, drew them out with desire of Pursuit into open Disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought their Overthrow; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning oft upon their Enemies, by the Advantage of an upper Ground, beat them down by Heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with their Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the third Hour of Day to Evening; when Harold having maintain'd the Fight with unspeakable Courage and personal Valour, shot into the Head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Soldiers without Heart longer to withstand the unwearied Enemy. With Harold, fell also his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them the greatest part of the English Nobility: His Body lying dead, a Knight or Soldier wounding on the Thigh, was by the Duke presently turn'd out of Military Service. Of Normans and French were slain no small Number; the Duke himself also that Day not a little hazarded his Person, having had three choice Horses kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his Dead carefully buried, the English also by Permission, he sent the Body of Harold to his Mother without Ransom, though she offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receiv'd, she buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by Harold^b. In the mean

The 14th
of October
1066.

while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themselves from Harold, hearing of his Death, came to London; sending *Aldgith* the Queen their Sister with all speed to *West-Chester*. *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the Londoners, would have set up *Edgar* the Right Heir, and prepar'd themselves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not liking the Choice, who each of them expected to have been chosen before him, withdrew their Forces and returned Home. Duke William contrary to his former Resolution, if *Florent* of *Worster*, and they who follow him say true, wasting, burning, and slaying all in his Way, or rather, as saith *Malmsbury*, not in a Hostile but in Regal Manner came up to London, met at *Barham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all submitted to him, gave Hostages, and swore Fidelity, he to them promis'd Peace and Defence; yet permitted his Men the while, to burn and make Prey. Coming to London with all his Army, he was on *Christmas* Day solemnly crown'd in the great Church at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, having first given his Oath at the Altar in Presence of all the People, to defend the Church, well govern the People, maintain Right Law, prohibit Rapine and unjust Judgment. Thus the English, while they agreed not about the Choice of their Native King, were constrain'd to take the Yoke of an Outlandish Conquerour. With what Minds, and by what Course of Life they had fitted themselves for this Servitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* spares not to lay open. Not a few Years before the Normans came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confessor's Days, had lost all good Literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin Service: He was a Miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in it self no fault, yet to their Consciences was irreligious. The great Men given to Gluttony and dissolute Life, made a Prey of the Common People, abusing their Daughters whom they had in Service, then turning them off to the Stews; the meaner sort tipling together Night and Day, spent all they had in Drunkenness, attended with other Vices, which effeminate Mens Minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with Fury and Rashness more than any true Fortitude or Skill of War, they gave to *William* their Conquerour so easie a Conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the Generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad Men to enjoy prosperous Days with the good, so his Severity oft-times exempts not good Men from their Share in evil Times with the bad.

A. D.
1066.

Sim. Dun.

If these were the Causes of such Misery and Thralldom to those our Ancestors, with what better Close can be concluded, than here in fit Season to remember this Age in the midst of her Security, to fear from like Vices without Amendment, the Revolution of like Calamities.

^a The Battel was fought near *Heathfield* in *Suffex*, at the Place where now stands the Town of *Battel*, so call'd from this Day's Action.

^b *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *Henry de Knighton* say, he was not slain in the Battel; but retiring privately out of it, liv'd and dy'd an Anchorite in a Cell near *St. John's Church* in *Chester*. Which is against the Report of all other Authentick Historians.

Many other Corrections and Additions might be made to Mr. Milton's History, if collated with Mr. *Sheringham's* *de Gente Anglorum*, Mr. *Langhorn's* *Antiquitates Albionenses*, and other Industrious and Learned Writers: But we have noted what is most remarkable in them, wherein they differ from Mr. Milton, or he falls short of them.

A COLLECTION

OF THE

History of England :

CONTAINING

*A Brief ACCOUNT of the most Remarkable
AFFAIRS of STATE.*

Compos'd by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of the Grooms of the
Privy Chamber to Queen ANNE, Consort to K. James I.

*The Subject
of the fol-
lowing Hi-
story fix'd.*

WHEN I first entertain'd the settled Thoughts of Collecting the Principal Affairs of this Kingdom of *England* into one Body, I design'd to have taken my Beginning at the first *British* Kings, and have proceeded according to the common List of their Succession, relating the things which happen'd most remarkable in their several Reigns; but not finding any authentick Proof of their Descent, I laid aside these Resolutions, upon these Considerations, That a far less compass of Time, and better known to us, (*viz.* From *William* the First, surnam'd the *Bastard*) would better suit my Abilities, if not overmatch them; that it is vain Curiosity to search farther into Antiquity, than we can get any good Information of, and of which we can have no Proof, and consequently can reap no real Advantage by it. For the Beginnings of all People and Kingdoms are as difficult to be found out as the Heads of great Rivers; and if they could be known, would promote but very little either our Virtue or Reputation; since it is evident, that most of them owe their Original to Poverty, Robbery, and Oppression; though Fabulous Writers (to magnifie their own Nations) have obtruded upon the Credulity of after-Ages strange Relations of Heroical and Miraculous Beginnings: So that great States, as well as Men, are best worth seeing, when they are in their most flourishing Condition, as they are, and not as they first were. Besides, it seems good to Divine Providence to

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check our over-inquisitive Dispositions, by leaving all things, of very great Antiquity, under irrecoverable Uncertainty, and so to bound our Searches within the compass of a few Ages; as if that were sufficient, both for Example and Instruction. For had we indeed the particular Occurrences of all former Ages and Nations, they would rather burthen our Memories, than better our Understandings: The Actions and Manners of Men receiving little Alteration by Time; Virtues and Vices being the same, though more or less in practice and vogue, according to the Goodness or Viciousness of Governours: The Changes and Ruins of States, proceeding from the same Causes, and the Methods of Affairs being carry'd on much in the same Course.

But yet since the History of those Ages, which I have chosen for the Subject of this Collection, cannot be well understood without some Knowledge of the Affairs of the Precedent, I shall take a brief View of the State of this Nation from the time it became a Tributary Province to the *Roman* Empire, which is as far as the most Ancient Records we have can give us light; for before that time, *England* was not more remote in Situation, than it was from the Knowledge of the World. And from hence it was that *Julius Caesar*, being but on the opposite Continent in *Gaul*, could get no perfect Information of the State of *Britain* by all the Means he could use, unless by some Merchants (of whom he summon'd as many as he could) who inform'd him of some of the

*Britain
first disco-
ver'd by the
Romans.*

M 2

^a *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth's* List of the Regal Succession from *Brutus* is very distinct and plain; but it hath so many Marks of pure Invention, either of himself, or the Authors from whom he pretends to transcribe them, that it is long since given up for a meer Romance by all our Learned Criticks in *English* History; and particularly the Bishop of *St. Asaph* is of Opinion, that the Grand Lye of all, which is the Story of *Brutus*, is nothing but a Forgery to make the *English* Kings as Nobly descended, as the Kings of other Nations, by drawing them from the *Trojans*, according to the Humour of the Age he liv'd in. This Story of *Brutus* is reckon'd Fabulous by *Sir William Temple*, in his Introduction to the *History of England*, p. 19.

the Coasts, but were ignorant of the State and Condition of the Inhabitants that dwelt in the Inland parts of the Isle, either being regardless of what concern'd not their Trade, or else being kept from any farther Knowledge of it by the *Britains*, who were cautious of discovering their Condition to Strangers: However *Cæsar*, rather than want a Pretence of invading, accus'd them of aiding his Enemies the *Gauls* secretly against him; and entering their Country, subdu'd some parts of it in the South; yet made so little progress towards an absolute Conquest, that he may rather be said to have shew'd it, than won it to the *Roman* Empire.

The most
ancient
State of
Britain.

What the State and Form of Government was among the *Britains* before this Invasion, the first and best Relation is from *Cæsar* himself, who tells us, That the *Britains* were divided into many^b petty Kingdoms, and names four Kings of *Kent*: That perceiving themselves in great Danger by the *Romans*, they by common Consent chose *Cassivellaun*, or *Cassibolin*, to be their King, and have not only the Administration of all publick Affairs, but the supreme Command, as General in the War: That having receiv'd some Defeats, they yielded their Cities up to him, and sent Hostages in Confirmation of it. By which it appears, that the Government of the ancient *Britains* was not Monarchical, as some have asserted; but like the^c *Gauls* (with whom they held a great Similitude, as well in Religion, as in their Manners and Language) was divided into many small Princedoms, without any Combination under one Head: After the same manner, as we have lately discover'd the People of *America* to be rul'd, and as most Countries were at first govern'd; till either Ambition and Power forc'd, or Interest and Policy taught them to introduce new Modes and arbitrary Ways of ordering Nations. And this was the Form of Government in *Britain*, *Gaul* or *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and all the West parts of *Europe*; till the *Romans*, having first subdu'd all *Italy* through the Divisions among themselves, which made them a Prey to their Enemies, became potent enough to ravish the Liberties of the other adjacent Nations from them: For the Kings of those Times were no better than Generals in Wars, and had no other Jurisdiction over their People, but to conduct them for their Safety. So that this Assertion, That there was a Monarchy establish'd among the *Britains* long before other Nations, will never pass for Truth, but with such Persons as understand little of true Antiquity, but model their Notion of it by the Constitutions of this present Time. For had there indeed been an Absolute Monarch in these Parts, under whose Conduct the *Britains* could have united their Forces against the common Invader, it is very probable they had never been conquer'd; since we find the *Romans* to have been sometimes very strangely foil'd by some petty Princes; and 'tis plain, that though^d the *Britains* had not the Im-

provement of Letters, yet they wanted not many great Souls, who had a quick Sense of Honour and Greatness, and delighted in the boldest and bravest Attempts. But not being united in their publick Danger, they expos'd themselves to the common Enemy; who, often more by the Divisions of others, than by his own Power, became Master of the World.

So that with what probability the long Succession of Absolute Monarchs from^e *Brutus* to *Cassivellaun* can be maintain'd, I am to seek; and therefore shall leave it to those, who are of more easie Faith: Adding only thus much to justify my own Diffidence, That I cannot imagine how the Memory of those ancient Times could be preserv'd to Posterity, when it is almost certain, that they had not the Use of Letters in this Nation till the *Romans* brought them in. Indeed some report, That not only the Greek Tongue, but Schools of Learning were settled here long before the *Romans*' Arrival; which, had it been true, we should have had some mention of it in *Cæsar*'s, or others Writings: Whereas now, on the contrary, we find that the *Druids*, who were the Ministers of Justice and Religion among the *Britains*, and the admired Philosophers of those Ages, committed not their Mysteries to Writing, but deliver'd them by Tradition; which sure they would not have done, had they had more certain ways of imparting them to their Nation. And *Cornelius Tacitus* tells us, That *Agricola*, Prefect of this Province under *Domitian*, caused the principal Men's Sons to be taught the Liberal Sciences; which the *Britains* could not have been ignorant of, had the Greek Learning been settled among them so many Ages before. Wherefore 'tis clear, that there was no other way of conveying the Transactions of former Ages but by Tradition; and how little that can be depended upon, all wise Men know.

As to the State of the *Britains* during their Subjection to the *Romans*, we find that they were govern'd by the *Roman* Prefects; or if they had any Kings of their own, they were tributary, and had no other Authority than what they had from the Emperor's Will, who, as *Tacitus* relates, made Kings but Instruments of more heavy Bondage and Slavery, speaking of *Cogedunus*, to whom *Claudius* gave certain Cities in *Britain*, under the Title of King. For when *Cæsar* had once got Footing among them, and made part of their Country tributary, they would not venture to withstand the *Roman* Arms for the future, and recover their ancient Freedom; for tho' during the time of the Civil Wars at *Rome*, by which the Government there was chang'd from a Commonwealth to a Monarchy, they had twenty Years space given them to rid themselves of their Enemies, yet they patiently submitted; and as soon as *Augustus* had gotten the absolute Sovereignty, all the Princes and Cities of *Britain* came voluntarily with their Gifts and Tributes to profess their Subjection to him, and gain his Favour,

The State
of the Bri-
tains un-
der the Ro-
mans.

^a The *British* Pearls, which were then of great Esteem in the World, were no small Motive to *Cæsar* to invade *Britain*. Dry Honour, without Gain, was not always the Inducement of the *Roman* Heroes to conquer the World. *Rome* herself lov'd a full Treasury, and her Great Men a full Purse.

^b *Strabo* gives the Names of the several People and Kingdoms among the Old *Britains* before the *Romans* Invasion, which are exactly set down to us in the late Edition of Mr. *Camden's Britannia*.

^c The most probable Account of the first Original of the People of this Island, is, That they were some Colonies of *Gauls*, who transplanted themselves into *Britain*, when their own Country grew over-populous, which was usual in the long-liv'd Ages of Men, near the Creation and Flood.

^d The *Britains*, through the continual Wars they had among themselves, were such expert Soldiers for those early Times, that *Cæsar* himself confesses, he learnt many Stratagems of War from them: So that had they had Union among themselves, *Cæsar* might have return'd without Success.

^e The Story of *Brutus*, which seems nothing but an Invention of the *Britains* to be even with the rest of the World in the Antiquity of their Descent; for 'twas then the Humour of the World to draw their Pedigree from the *Trojans*, is now utterly exploded.

Favour, fearing lest a new Governour should make their Yoke heavier than it hath hitherto been; which consisted only in a very tolerable Tribute, which they were contented to bear with their Neighbours. After *Augustus's* Death, when the Corruptions of the Empire had caused miserable Distractions in all Parts of the World, the *Britains* also falling into Factions among themselves, and Discontents with their *Roman* Governours, with-held their Obedience, till *Claudius* obtain'd the Empire; who being an ambitious Prince, and desirous of Glory, cast his Eye upon *Britain*, as the most probable Place for him to gain his first Triumph in. Hither therefore he sends *P. Ostorius Scapula*, a great Warriour, to be Proprætor; who tho' he met with various Distractions, and a resolute People, hardly to be forc'd into Subjection, yet as an experienc'd Commander, who knew how much the first Attempts do usually either daunt or encourage an Enemy, contriv'd to fall upon them by Surprise, and where he had any Advantages, to use an affrighting Severity against them: But these Stratagems did not produce the wished Effect; for *Caradocus* (one of the *British* Kings) maintain'd War against him for nine Years together, and could not be mastered by this brave General, till being betray'd by his own Nation, he came into his Hands, and was with his Wife and Children carried to *Rome* to be led in Triumph.

Claudius's Conquest of Britain, and their Revolt soon after. *Claudius* after this, passed at *Rome* for the Conqueror of *Britain*, tho' that Island was not perfectly reduc'd to their Obedience, till a long time after: For the *Britains*, finding that their Divisions were likely to betray them to the *Romans*, who would prove cruel Masters, enter'd into a defensive League against them upon this Occasion. *Prasutagus*, King of the *Iceni*, a Rich and Potent Prince, dying, left *Nero* his Heir, with the Care of his Wife and his two Daughters; hoping by this Gift, to secure his Family and Nation from any Injury from the *Romans*; but it happen'd clear otherwise after his Death: For he was no sooner dead, but the *Roman* Captains, as if his Kingdom had been left a Prey to them, ravag'd and plunder'd it; his Wife *Boadicea* was whipp'd, his Daughters ravish'd, his Kindred treated as Captives, and his rich Subjects depriv'd of their Paternal Inheritance and Estates. This inhumane Usage exasperated the *Britains* so much against them, that they conspired with the *Trinobantes*, and others, to recover their Liberty, and free themselves from such cruel Oppressors. *Boadicea*, the injured Queen, animated them in this Resolution, and led them forward in their Design. And first they set upon the Veteran Soldiers, who lay in Garrison at *London*, *Verulam* and *Carnalodunum*, and having put them to flight, with their Captain *Cerealis*, they slew Seventy Thousand of them. *Suetonius*, Governour of the Province, not discourag'd by this Loss from maintaining his Station, rally'd all the Forces he could together, and hasten'd to engage them. The *Britains* were

an hundred and twenty Thousand, under the Conduct of *Boadicea*, who together with their Wives, encourag'd them manfully to pursue the Advantage, and rather die, than come under the *Roman* Tyranny. *Suetonius* on the other side was not wanting with the like Advice: And so much the more, because his Army was much inferiour in ^b Number to the *Britains*, tho' of experienc'd old Soldiers. This Battel was very sharp, but the Victory in the issue fell to the *Romans*, who slew Eighty Thousand *Britains* in the gaining of it. *Boadicea* escap'd their Fury, but poison'd her self; choosing to die, rather than see the miserable Calamities which would certainly come upon her Country. After this Victory the *Romans* grievously oppress'd the *Britains*, who, tho' they often revolted, and upon every Advantage that they could spy, struggled to shake off their uneasie Yoke; yet being over-power'd with Numbers, which were sent against them almost from all Parts of the Empire, were at last forc'd to yield, and undergo an unwilling Subjection, being under the Curb of Fourteen Garrisons, and a standing Army of near Thirty Thousand Foot and Horse.

In this lamentable Condition of Slavery and Oppression did the *Britains* remain, as long as the *Romans* had the Government of them; who, not contented to rob them of their Estates and Possessions at home, and involve them in cruel Bondage, constrain'd them to engage in their ambitious Quarrels abroad, and purchase them Glory with the loss of their own Blood and Lives: And not only so, but being left to the arbitrary Power of their Governours, they were forc'd to assist them in their Rebellions: For after the Election of the Emperor, fell into the Hands of their Army, many Governours here having great Forces under their Command, were proclaim'd *Cæsars*, and set up for the whole Empire. Thus did *Caracallus* first, and after him *Alexander*, whom *Constantius*, who was Copartner with *Maximianus* in the Imperial Dignity, at his first coming into *Britain* conquer'd, by the auspicious Arms of *Asclepiodorus* Captain of his Life-guard. After this the ^d *Caledonians* and ^e *Picts* made their Inroads into the Northern parts of *Britain*, and much infested the Inhabitants, disturbing their Peace, and wasting their Lands; *Constantius*, who then was sole Emperor of the West, compassionating the Miseries of his Subjects, as well as desirous to secure his Dominions from the Spoil of these Barbarians, undertook a second Journey into *Britain*, and had the good Fortune to be Victorious against them, and drive them out of his Dominions; though he liv'd not to see the Peace that follow'd thereupon, dying soon after at *York*. *Constantine* his Son (afterwards surnamed the Great) was present at his Death, being upon notice of his Father's Sickneſs lately come out of *Illyria*, where he had been with *Galerius* warring against the *Sarmatians*. As soon as *Constantius* was dead, *Constantine* was immediately saluted Emperor of the *Britains*, which he so kindly

The Miseries of the Britains under the Romans.

resented,

^a *Caractatus*, or *Caradocus*; the valiant Champion for the *British* Liberties, was betray'd to the *Romans* by the treacherous Woman *Cartesmandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*.

^b *Viz.* Not much above Ten Thousand.

^c *Agricola's* good Temper and mild Government made their Subjection so tolerable, that by his Direction and Encouragement they were willing almost to turn *Romans*; learning their Oratory, Building, Gardening, and all other Arts of Peace and Quietness. But this was but a short Breathing from their Miseries; all their Comforts being remov'd with him by *Domitian*.

^d The *Caledonians*, from *Giliddion*, which signifies Borderers, were those People that dwell in the more Southern Part of *North-Britain*, now call'd *Scotland*; and so border'd upon the *Roman-Britain*, now call'd *England*.

^e The *Picts* seem to have been a ruder sort of *Britains*, that would never yield to the *Romans*, but still keep up their ancient Manners and Liberties; and were call'd *Picts* (about Three Hundred Years after Christ) by the *Romans*, because they continu'd the old *British* Custom of painting their Bodies. They dwell in the North Parts of *North-Britain*, and in probability are the Ancestors of the Highlanders in *Scotland*.

resented, that he ever after had a particular Esteem for them; and before he left them, put their Government into such a new Model, as was more easie and pleasant to them. After this we have no certain Information in what posture Affairs were among the *Britains*, till the Reign of *Valentinian* the Elder, who sent *Theodosius* (the Father of the Emperor of that Name) a Person eminent for his Heroick Exploits and good Fortune, into *Britain* to oppose the Incurfions of the *Picts*, *Saxons*, ^a *Scots*, and ^b *Attacotti*, who like a destroying Deluge over-run the Country; *Theodosius's* Army was compos'd chiefly of *Battavians* and *Herulians*, hardy and stout Soldiers, who by the prudent Conduct of their General, soon vanquish'd the rude Barbarians, and restor'd the miserable Inhabitants to their Properties and Ease: Which done, *Theodosius* left *Britain*, *Civilis* being sent to govern the Province, and *Dulcitius* the Army, Men both of great Name and Experience.

Maximus, General of the Roman Army in Britain, claims the Empire. In these Wars with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a Spaniard by Birth, but educated at Rome, by which he became so accomplish'd a Person, that he was made in the Time of *Valentinian* the Younger, the supreme Commander of the Army in Britain. This Man taking it ill, that *Gratian* had declar'd *Theodosius* Emperor, revolted from his Allegiance, and got himself proclaim'd *Cæsar*; and to establish himself in the Imperial Throne, transported the Flower of the *Britains* into *Gaul*, where by their Help he brought over *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Germany* to his Party; and at length grew so powerful, that he in a set Battel conquer'd *Gratian*, and after by Subtilty slew him, and forc'd *Valentinian*, his Brother and Co-partner, to fly to *Theodosius* Emperor of the East for Help, by whose Assistance *Valentinian* recover'd his Right; *Maximus*, and great part of his Forces, being destroy'd at *Aquileia*. This Rebellious Expedition much dispeopled *Britain*, their ablest Youth and strongest Garrisons being taken out of it, which were all either slain with *Maximus*, or, as some relate, seated themselves in *Armorica* (now call'd *Britain* in *France*) which retains the *British* Language to this Day.

Marcus set up for Emperor by the Britains, after him others. But this unfortunate Blow did not allay the factious Humour then got in among the *Britains*; for in the time of *Honorius* the Emperor, the Colony of *Veterans*, fearing the Invasion of the *Vandals*, revolted, and chose one *Marcus* Emperor, who not answering their Expectation, was slain by them, and one *Gratian* a *Britain* put in his Place; but neither had he the Luck to please them above four Months; wherefore, putting him to Death, they pitch'd upon *Constantine*, whose very Name seem'd to them to portend Good Fortune, though his Merit was not extraordinary. This *Constantine* following *Maximus's* Steps, and gathering together all the remaining Forces of *Britain*, invaded several Parts of the *Western Empire*, gave his Son *Constans* (a Monk) the Name of *Augustus*; and after many Re-encounters with *Honorius's* Forces, was at length

conquer'd; his whole Army brought out of *Britain*, being destroy'd; and himself executed at *Arles*. The *British* Nation being thus almost exhausted of its Strength, lay open to the Ravages of the Barbarians of the North, who observing this Advantage, came down upon them in great Numbers, and by their Incurfions reduc'd them to great Straights and Calamities; so that they were forc'd to implore the Aid of *Aetius*, then Præfect of the *Gauls* under *Valentinian III.* by all the Arts of moving Commiseration they could invent; sending their Ambassadors with torn Garments, and Dust on their Heads. *Aetius*, mov'd with their Petitions, did send them such Succours as soon routed their Enemy; and to secure them for the future, helped them to raise a Wall upon the Trench, which *Adrian* had cast up before from Sea to Sea; and so he left them. This Relief prov'd but of little worth; for the Barbarians no sooner heard of *Aetius's* Departure, but they again assaulted the *Britains* afresh, beat down their Walls, and harass'd the Country much worse than before. The *Britains* repeat their Suit to *Aetius*, but all in vain. The Emperors, and his own Safety requir'd of them a more vigorous Defence than before, the Empire it self being in as great Hazard, and under as great Distractions as their Island. Wherefore being left to themselves to fall into the Hands of the Barbarians, and so the Government of the Romans, being unable to support it self, expir'd wholly in *Britain*, after they had held it Four Hundred Seventy Six Years, from the Time that *Julius Cæsar* invaded it: In all which time we find only these seven *British* Kings to have reign'd, viz. *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Arviragus*, *Marius*, *Coel*; and lastly *Lucius*, who is highly celebrated by our Historians for bringing in the Christian Religion into this Nation. All the rest to *Vortigern* were Roman Governours.

Britain being thus first weaken'd, and at last deserted by the Romans, was left to provide for its own Defence against its Invaders. The Inhabitants were in miserable Distractions among themselves, what to do in this sad Juncture. Many Kings they chose, but soon deposed them. *Vortigern*, a Noble *Britain*, and Earl of *Cornwall*, was at last fix'd upon as their General against their Enemies; who either fearing^d his own Deposition from the Government he had newly gotten, and desir'd the continuance of, or finding the Nation unable to grapple with its fierce and cruel Enemies, the *Scots* and *Picts*, sent for the *Saxons* out of *Germany* to assist him.

The *Saxons* at this time possess'd the third Part of *Germany*, and held all the Country between the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elb*, having on the North the *Baltick-Sea* and Ocean, on the South the *Hyrcinian-Wood*; and divided into two Parts by the River *Weser*, viz. *Eastphalia* (as the Country on the East of the River *Weser* was anciently call'd) and *Westphalia*. They were govern'd by an Aristocracy of twelve Princes, who in times of War chose a General to lead and conduct

^a *Scots* were Inhabitants of *Ireland*, who came to assist the *Picts* against the Romans and *Britains*; their Subjects.

^b *Attacotti* are not certainly known by Antiquaries: Some think them a Parry of the *Scots*, who came out of *Ireland*; others, among whom is the Learned Bishop of *Worcester*, that they were the *Wild-Britains*, from *Jerome*, who says, they were a *British* People.

^c Some of these Kings are fabulous; the Bishop of *Worcester* proves *Arviragus*, and so his two Sons, *Marius* and *Coelus*, to be the Invention of *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, who tells very pleasant Stories of the former of them, and thinks that none are certainly reckon'd such, but *Prasutagus*, *Cogidunus*, *Caractacus*, *Togodumnus*, and *Galgacus*, who are mention'd in the Roman History; his Conjecture of *Lucius* is set down before, *Orig. Brit.* p. 32, 34.

^d By the Parry of *Aurelius Ambrosius*; for whom, the Romans left in the Province stood very zealously to have him their Governour, and not a *Britain*, as *Vortigern* was.

^e The *Saxons* were a very Warlike People, who dwelt on the nearest *German-Shoar*, had kept the Romans themselves always upon their Guard, and had sometimes attack'd them in this Isle, which made *Vortigern* think these People most fit for his Assistance against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

duct their Army. Their Country was large, very populous and rich, furnish'd with Shipping, (which at that time the Britains had not;) all which things, as they fitted them for any foreign Expedition, so they made them readily embrace *Vortigern's* Invitation; which they had no sooner receiv'd, but they dispatch'd away a considerable Body of Men into *Britain*, under the Command of *Hengist* and *Horfa*, two Brethren of the chiefest Blood and Nobility of the Saxons. The Saxons at first served the Britains as Stipendiaries, and did them so good Service, that within a little time *Britain* was wholly freed from their troublesome Enemies, and liv'd at peace: *Vortigern* allowing them the Isle of *Thanet* for their Residence, kept them still near him; which gave them an Opportunity of better understanding the Nature of the English Soil, and Strength of the British People. Some time these two Nations liv'd in Amity and Friendship, but at length the Saxons seeing their Country large, their Soil fruitful, and the Inhabitants weak and unable to make any considerable Resistance, first quarrel with *Vortigern* about their Pay, afterwards get the whole Country of *Kent* made over to them by Covenant; with which not content, *Hengist* marries his Sister to *Vortigern*, and under the Shews of Friendship desired all the Country beyond *Humber*, under this Pretence, That the Saxons being well seated in those Parts, would secure the Britains against the Invasions of the Scots and Picts. *Vortigern* easily granted this Petition, and *Hengist* immediately sent for his Brother *Otha* and Son *Absa*, with great Supplies, out of Saxony to People those Parts; who, glad to exchange their own Country for a much better, soon arriv'd; and so the Saxons became absolute Masters of all *Kent* and *Northumberland*, which then contain'd all the Country from *Humber* to *Stratford*.

War between the Britains and Saxons; who conquer.

And now the Saxons growing strong and potent, by continual Accesses of their Countrymen to those Parts where they were seated, began to concern their Masters and Entertainers, and commit many Insolencies upon them. The British Nobility, not able to bear their domineering Carriage, combined together against them; and first deposing *Vortigern*, who had been the Cause of their Admission, elected *Vortimer* his Son to be their King and Leader against them. This brave and valiant Prince maintain'd many Battels with them, and whilst he liv'd (which was not long) protected his Country much from them; and after his Death *Ambrosius* the last of the Romans, and *Arthur* the Noblest of Britains, (who is said in twelve set Battels to have encounter'd them, and either vanquish'd, or come off with an equal Loss in them all) kept them from their intended and desired Usurpation of the Britains Country and Estate. But at last, partly by the Politick Management of *Hengist*, who liv'd forty Years in Wars, and partly by Treachery, the Saxons prevail'd, and forc'd the Britains, almost consum'd with long Wars, to fly into the Mountains and remote Desarts of the Western part of the Isle, leaving the whole Nation almost in the Power and sole Disposal of their Conquerors.

The Division of Britain by the Saxons, after their Conquest of it.

The Saxons being thus become Masters of this Island, soon canton'd it out among themselves; and other their Countrymen, who having News of their Success, came over to possess themselves of the Britains Lands and Estates. *Hengist* retain'd his Kingdom of *Kent*, and *Otha* and *Ebusa* still held the Country between *Humber* and *Scotland*; *Ella* and his Sons conquer'd the South East

Parts, and began the Kingdom of the South-Saxons, containing *Sussex* and part of *Surrey*; *Cerdick*, and his Sons, landed at *Portsmouth*, and invaded the South and West Parts, and began the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, which after contain'd the Countries of *Hampshire*, *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*. Near the same time *Uffa* invaded the North-East Parts, and began the Kingdom of the East-Angles, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*; *Erkenwin* began the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, containing *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a Part of *Hertfordshire*. The Outparts of the Isle being thus distributed among the unjust Invaders, *Cridda* began the Kingdom of *Mercia*, or *Middle-Angles*, containing *Lincolnshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Darbyshire*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordshire*, with part of the Shires of *Hereford* and *Hertford*, *Warwickshire*, *Shropshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Glocestershire*. But these Settlements were made not without great Difficulty, and in no small Compass of Time. The Britains making such a vigorous Opposition to their Establishment, that tho' indeed they were vanquish'd wholly at last, yet they enjoy'd little of the Britains Estates, but naked Land. For in these bloody Contests between the Proprietors and Invaders, all the Noble Buildings, Baths, Aqueducts, High-ways, and other Ornaments of Convenience or Delight, which either the Romans, or the Britains in Imitation of them, had built and rais'd, were utterly demolish'd, so that not the least Mark or Footsteps of them is now left; but instead of them we find very frequent Entrenchments, Mounds, and Burroughs rais'd for Tombs and Defences upon all the wide Champions and high Hills almost of this Isle, the indelible Proofs of the many Hazards and bloody Conflicts the Saxons underwent to get a peaceable Possession of their Conquests in this Island; which at last they obtain'd, but with the Ruine and Destruction of the old Inhabitants.

Nor was it the peculiar Fate of *Britain* at this time to change its old Proprietors for new Lords; but this Nation only sympathiz'd with the rest of the World in the great Changes which Providence had then begun to make, and soon after compleated. For there was scarcely any one Country or Province in the World, which did not about this time change its Bounds, Inhabitants, Customs, Language and Name. The Empire being first divided into two Parts, and those broken into many Parties and Factions, which call'd in other Nations to their Assistance, made way to the innumerable Changes that soon after follow'd. For the French and Burgundians disposess'd the Gauls, and gave the Name of France, and Burgundy to their Province: The Gauls transplanted themselves to the Coasts of Spain, and fix'd their Habitation, not for Convenience but Necessity, in such Places as they could by Force obtain, which from them was after call'd *Gallia* and *Portugal*: The Huns and Avars seiz'd upon *Patagonia*, and gave it the Name of Hungary: The Longobards, a People of Germany, who border'd upon the Saxons, enter'd Italy, got the greatest part thereof, which after their own Name they call'd by the Name of *Lombardy*, as it remains to this Day: The Goths and Vandals miserably harass'd the rest of the Empire, sack'd Rome it self; and after subdu'd, peopl'd and possess'd Spain. So that *Britain* was not ruin'd alone, but suffer'd in the common Deluge.

The general Change of States at this time.

Britain being thus furnish'd with new Inhabitants,

^a In slaying the British Nobility at Salisbury-Plain.

^b *Wales* and *Cornwall*.

Saxons
alteration
of Things in
Britain.

tants; puts on a new Face of Things: With its new Lords, it had new Laws and Government. Nothing was retain'd of the *British* Customs or Usages, as tho' they were resolv'd to have no Marks left of so troublesome an Enemy as the *Britains* had been. Their Cities and Towns, Rivers, Hills and Mountains, because they could not demolish them, they gave them new Names. *Britain* it self was forbidden to be call'd by its ancient Name, but *New-Saxony*; and shortly after, either from the *Angles*, the greatest part of the Invaders, or from *Hengist*, their most eminent Commander call'd *Engist-land*, or *England*. The whole Nation at first they divided into Eight ^a Kingdoms, which continu'd till the *Britains* were quite expell'd their Country, under *Caretions* their King, who was driven over the *Severn* an Hundred Thirty Six Years after *Hengist* first came into *England*. But as soon as their common Enemy was remov'd, their Ambition stirring them up to enlarge their Dominions, they fell into Diffentions among themselves; and the strongest soon usurping the Dominions of the weaker, they were reduc'd to Seven Kingdoms, the *Northumbrians* enlarging themselves to the utmost Bounds of their next Neighbours, so made one Kingdom of two. Nor did this Settlement hold long: for the *West-Saxons* took the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons* to their Dominion, and so they became Six, as they continu'd about Two Hundred and Fifty Years.

Saxon Government.

At their first Settlement, the *Saxons*, for an Hundred and Fifty Years, were govern'd by their own Laws, without any Mixture of those of the *Britains*, or any other Nation. But when *Augustine* the Monk, commonly call'd the *English* *Apostle*, arriv'd here with forty others his Companions, sent hither by Pope *Gregory* the Great, and had converted *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and some other Persons of Note; they soon after embrac'd the Christian Faith unanimously, and suffer'd their Laws and Rites to be modell'd according to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions. Their Kings, laying aside their warlike and rough Tempers, became humble and pious, conformable to the Genius of that Religion they had submitted themselves to; and their only Ambition was, who should raise the noblest and most numerous Monuments of Piety, which soon became visible in all Parts of the Land: Divers of their Kings left their Temporal Dignities and worldly Grandeur, to embrace an holy Retirement, and live a Monastick Life; as *Ethelred* and *Kinrid*, Kings of *Mercia*; *Offa*, King of the *East-Saxons*; *Kadwallo* and *Ina*, King of the *West-Saxons*; *Eadbert*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and many others.

The Heptarchy reduc'd at last to two Kingdoms.

As to the Civil State of the Kingdom, tho' the Six Kingdoms held their own some Ages, yet at length the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *West-Saxons* so far over-power'd the rest, that it lay between them, who should govern all. For *Ina*, a martial, wise, and religious Prince, governing the *West-Saxons*, advanc'd that Kingdom, by his Conquest of *Kent* and the *South-Saxons*, to so great

an Eminency, that he was able to contend for a Supremacy with the King of *Mercia*, and that with doubtful Victory. But *Offa*, afterward King of *Mercia*, was in a fair way to have swallow'd up both the *West-Saxons*, and all the other Kingdoms: For while he liv'd, which was in the Time of *Charles* the Great, (with whom he was Confederate) he was accounted the most potent King of the Nation: But the many Injuries he did to others, especially that barbarous Cruelty and Perfidiousness, which he was guilty of, in murdering *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*, in his own House, when he came to him upon the publick Faith to court his Daughter, were so closely pursu'd by the Hand of Divine Justice, that tho' he dy'd in Peace, yet his Posterity never flourish'd, but every Day declin'd, till in the end they lost all. For *Egbert*, the Son of *Ivegild*, or *Ingils*, the Brother of *Ina*, having obtain'd the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, laid the Foundation of the Conquest of the rest; being a Prince, who from a private Station, wherein he had learned much Moderation, and inur'd himself to much Hardship, was rais'd to that Dignity by these means: *Ina*, his Great Uncle, having left the World and Kingdom, and dying without Issue, left the Succession involv'd in Troubles, and out of the direct Line, as he found it; and tho' we find a Succession of four Kings inheriting his Throne, viz. *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kenwulf*, and *Brithric*; yet they got it either by Election or Force, not by any Right of Descent. *Brithric*, the last of them, was sensible of the Weakness of his Title, and therefore seeing the promising and towardly Disposition of *Egbert*, who by Blood was nearly related to the former Kings, he us'd all the Arts he could to destroy him; but *Egbert* perceiving his bloody Design, he fled to *Offa* King of *Mercia*, where finding his Abode hazardous, because *Brithric* to strengthen himself had marry'd the Daughter of that King, he made his escape into *France*^b, and there remain'd till the Death of *Brithric*^c; and then returning, obtain'd the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and subdu'd *Cornwall*, then inhabited by the *Britains*; and after invades *Bernulph*, who was newly possess'd of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, a State at that time, through the Interruption of the Royal Line, in a wavering Condition. For *Egfrýde*, the Son of *Offa*, enjoy'd his Kingdom but four Months; the Hand of Providence cutting him off for his Father's Cruelty, and left his Kingdom to *Kenwulf*, a Kinsman in the sixth Descent, whose Son *Kenelm*, a Child of six Years old, was soon depriv'd of it by *Quindred* his Sister, who murder'd him to get into his Throne, but miss'd of her aim, the People electing *Ceolulph* her Uncle to it. *Ceolulph* enjoy'd not the Kingdom long, being expell'd out of it by *Bernulph*, who met with the same Fortune from *Egbert*, who seizing on it made his Kingdom tributary to that of the *West-Saxons*, as he did afterwards those of the *South* and *East-Saxons* with the Kingdom of *Northumberland*: So that *Egbert* in a manner became an absolute Monarch of the whole Country; tho' his Power was

Egbert
first Monarch of
England.

A. D.
800.

^a We generally account the first Settlement of the *Saxons* to be in an Heptarchy, or Seven Kingdoms, viz. The Kingdoms of *Kent*, *South-Saxons*, *East-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *West-Saxons*, *Mercia*, and *Northumberland*; but those that count Eight, divided this last into the Kingdom of *Deira*, which lies on this side *Humber*, and *Bernicia*, which lies beyond *Humber*, between that River and *Scotland*.

^b *Charles* the Great was then King of *France*, and finding *Egbert* dextrous and ingenious, he employ'd him in his Wars, and many other Affairs of his Government, where by he was made a very accomplish'd Prince.

^c *Brithric* was poison'd by *Ethelberg* his Wife; a Woman of that malicious Temper, that all she could not remove by Accusations, though false, she would poison; which designing to do to one of the King's Friends, the King himself drank of the Potion and dy'd.

^d But they are said to have held out so long against his Arms, viz. Fourteen Years, that he made a Law, that it should be Death for any *Britain* to pass over *Offa's* Ditch; thinking by this means to prevent any disturbance from them.

^e *Egbert* was thus far an absolute Monarch of *Britain*, that all the Seven Kingdoms were either subdu'd by him, or tributary to him. The *Danes* disquieted his Reign indeed, but had no part of *England* their own.

was never compleat, nor his Peace firm, because of the *Danes*, who having got footing in this Nation in the Reign of *Brithric*, could never be driven out again, but created continual Troubles in the Reigns of himself and Successors; till at length they ravish'd the Sovereignty from the *Saxons*, and took it into their own Hands.

An Account of the Original of the Danes.

The *Danes* were a People of *Germany*, near Neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of a Language and Manners not much differing from them, possessing besides the *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (now call'd *Denmark*) all the Isles adjoining, lying in the *Baltick* Sea, and some time the Kingdom of *Norway*: A strong, hardy and warlike Nation, having plenty of Shipping, and great Numbers of People. These Men perceiving the Success the *Saxons* had here, and how much better a Soil they inhabited than their own, were very desirous to put in for a share with them; to which Attempt they were encourag'd, not only from the Nakedness of the Coasts, which every where almost lay open to Invasion, but chiefly by the many Divisions and Quarrels between their several Princes and Nations, which they foresaw would much facilitate their Entrance. The *Saxons* therefore had scarcely ended their troublesome Wars with the *Britains*, and began to settle themselves under a Monarchy, when the *Danes*, as if they were sent to revenge the Cruelties they had done to the *Britains*, began to assault them with the same Disturbances. It would be both uneasy and tedious to the Reader, as well as difficult for me, to give a particular account of the many bloody Battels and Rencontres which happen'd between these two fierce Nations, while they scuffled for the absolute Mastery of this Kingdom, because they are so confusedly and disorderly deliver'd by Writers; and therefore I shall spare my self the Pains, and the Reader the trouble of reading of them.

Ethelwulf's Gifts to the Church and Rome.

After the Death of *Egbert*, *Ethelwulf* his Son succeeded him in his Kingdom, under the Title of King of the *West-Saxons* only. He was a Prince more addicted to Devotion than Action; as is evident by his ^c Donation of the Tenth part of his whole Kingdom to the Service of God, and an Exemption of all Lands belonging to the Church from all Tribute and regal Services: Besides, he gave an Annuity of ^d three hundred Marks to be expended in pious Uses at *Rome*, whither he went twice in Person, with his youngest Son *Alfred*, who was the chief Object of his Love, whom Pope *Leo IV.* anointed King at eleven Years old, as presaging his future Greatness and Fortune. In his last Journey, and whole Year's stay at *Rome*, *Ethelbald* his eldest Son conspir'd with the Nobility of the *West-Saxons* to keep him out of his Kingdom, and deprive him utterly of his Government; which he so craftily manag'd, that notwithstanding his People lov'd him extreamly well, yet he was brought to yield up the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* to *Ethelbald*, and retain only the Kingdom of the *East-Angles* (a small Principality of far less Dignity) to himself. After this he

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liv'd two Years, and left his whole Kingdom to *Ethelbald*, who to his eternal Infamy marry'd his Father's Wife ^e *Judith*, Daughter of *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*. He enjoy'd his ill-gotten Honour but two Years and a half; and then left it ^f to his Brother *Ethelred*, who held it indeed five Years, but in ^g continual War with the *Danes*, and dy'd of the Plague, and was bury'd at *Winburn*. After whom

ALFRED, or ELFRED ^h, a most incomparable Prince, who was made a King before he had a Kingdom, or any apparent Succession to it, began his troublesome Reign at two and twenty Years of Age, and in a Year wherein there were eight several Battels fought between the *Saxons* and *Danes*; which was ominous to him, for his Reign was but as it were one continu'd War, either with his Enemies, or his Peoples Vices. In the beginning of his Reign he was so powerfully assaulted by the ⁱ *Danes*, that he had almost lost all, and was forc'd to yield up a part of his Kingdom (*viz.* the Country of the *East-Angles* and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum* or *Gurmund*, the Commander of the *Danes*; whom, upon his Conversion to Christianity and Baptism, he made his Confederate, and by free Gift confirm'd to him the Possession of those Dominions, which before he only usurped.

A. D. 872. Alfred's Wars.

But notwithstanding his continual Engagements in War against his Enemies, yet he was not wanting to provide all things that were necessary for the well-being of his Nation; for he first of all collected the Laws of his Predecessors, and the other Kings of the *Saxons*, especially those of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, and *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of the *English*, into one Body; and by the advice and consent of his States then assembled, made choice of the best, abrogated the useless, and added others, according to the necessity of the time. Then he provided for the Security of his People against the Robberies and Riots, to which the War with Foreigners had expos'd them; (for certain Men combining together to plunder both sides, so infested the High-ways, that no Man could travel about his Business without a Convoy or Guard against them.) *Alfred* to remedy this great Disorder, made a Division of his Kingdom into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings, that every *Englishman* (for so the *Saxons* now generally call'd themselves) living orderly, might be of some Hundred or Tything, from which he was not to remove without Security; and out of which, if he were accused of any Crime, he was likewise to produce Sureties for his good Behaviour for the future; which if he could not find, he was forced to suffer the Penalty of the Law. If any Malefactor, before or after he had put in Sureties, escaped, all the Tything or Hundred were oblig'd to pay a Fine to the King, by which means he secured Travellers, and soon settled the Peace of the Country.

His Provisions for the Peace and good Government of the Kingdom.

The great Admiration and Love which he had for Learning, made him much lament the want of it in himself; accounting it one of his greatest

N

Misfor-

^a They landed three times in four Years, *viz.* at *Landisfern*, now *Holy-Island*, *Cornwall*, and the Isle of *Shepey* in *Kent*; were very hardly driven off by *Egbert* and the *English*.

^b *Ethelwulf* was bred a Monk, and had entred into Deacons Orders at *Winchester*, but by Pope *Leo's* Permission was made King. He marry'd his Cupbearer's Daughter, nam'd *Egburga*, by whom he had four Sons, *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert*, *Ethelred*, and *Alfred*, who reign'd successively; but rebell'd all against their Father, but *Alfred*.

^c The Original Instrument is in *Fuller's Church-History*, ad A. C. 817.

^d This Sum was afterwards charg'd by the Pope on the Bishopricks, in what Proportion Mr. *Fox* relates, *Acts and Mon.* p. 340.

^e It is said, that he put away his Mother upon the Admonition of *S. Swithun* Bishop of *Winchester*, and ever after rul'd his Kingdom in Peace and Justice, as a sign of his Repentance for that Crime. *Radb. Hist. Wint.* p. 204.

^f *Ethelbert* his Elder Brother reign'd five Years before the Kingdom came to *Ethelred*. He had Troubles by the *Danes*, but eas'd himself by giving them Money.

^g It is related, that this King in one Year fought nine Battels with the *Danes*, and in most came off Victor, slaying one of their Kings, and several of their Great Men.

^h He had his Education under the Tuition of *Swithun* Bishop of *Winchester*.

ⁱ *Rolls the Dane*, and first Duke of that *Norman* Race from which *William* the Conqueror was descended, landed with ten Ships; but being forc'd from Shoar, invaded *Neustria* in *France*, afterward from them call'd *Normandy*.

This King's
Provision
for Learn-
ing.

Misfortunes to be bred up in the Ignorance of it, and to have his Kingdom so utterly destitute^a of Learned Men, as it was, through the long continuance of the War with the Barbarians. To repair this defect, and raise the esteem of good Letters among his People^b, he sent into several Parts for such as were grown famous for their Learning; whom, upon their Arrival, he highly preferred, encourag'd them to teach others, and had them himself in great veneration: Rareness then setting a greater value upon lesser Attainments, than after Plenty did upon the greatest Perfections. *Grimbald* and *Scotus* were invited hither out of France, and *Afferius Menevensis* (who wrote his Life) out of Wales, and others came from other parts. All the time he could spare from the important Concerns of a confused State, he spent in his Studies; by which he made no small progress in Learning, and deservedly bears the Honour of the first Learned Prince we had in England.

His own illiterate Education made him the more careful of that of his Children, for whom he provided the best and most diligent Masters; and by their Example encourag'd almost all the Nobility of the Kingdom to train up their Children in the same way. For the compleating of which Rudiments, he either raised or revived^c publick Schools in several of the chief Cities of the Land. The Learning, which by his great Diligence he had gain'd in his riper Years, he employ'd not for shew or his own honour, but for the publick advantage, in translating the best Authors into the vulgar Language; which it seems he labour'd much to adorn, and especially affected the Saxon Verses, which he was so elegant a Composer of, that he gain'd the Name of a Poet to that of a King. The Natural Day, consisting of twenty four Hours, he divided into three Parts, whereof he allotted eight to Prayer, Study and Writing, eight to the Care of his Body, in Eating, Exercise and Sleep, and the other eight to the Affairs of State; which spaces of Time, because he had no better Instrument to measure them by, he mark'd out by the burning of a great Wax Taper, distinguish'd into so many parts, which as soon as they were each of them burned, he had a Person who attended it to give him notice. His Revenues also he proportion'd into as good an Order, making his Liberality equal to all his other Expences; in which, that he might not be over-lavish, he took an exact account of all his Income, caused a general Survey of his Kingdom to be made, and had all the Branches of his Revenue to be register'd in a Book, which he kept in his Treasury at Winchester. In this regular Course did he live, notwithstanding the various Changes of his Fortune, and the weak Habit of Body he lay under, and reign'd twenty seven Years; leaving his Son Edward, a noble and worthy Prince, his Successor.

His Compo-
sures, and
good Ma-
nagement
of his Time
and Expen-
ces.

EDWARD, ^f [Surnamed the Elder] tho' he was much interior to his Father in Learning, much excell'd him in Power, being a warlike, courageous and fortunate Prince: For he was absolute King of Mercia, and had the actual Possession of it, for which *Alfred* receiv'd only a certain Homage; and, as some Writers assures us, rul'd over the East-Angles and People of Northumberland; tho' we find by the Laws that he and *Guthrum* made by joint-consent, that they held the same Correspondence as his Father had. He conquer'd the Britains in Wales, and fortify'd and furnish'd with strong Garrisons divers Towns in England, whose Situation made them fit to prevent the Incurfions of the Danes, and was the whole twenty three Years that he reign'd in continual Wars, and in them very fortunate. And indeed his Father himself, and many of his Successors, during the Wars with the Danes, tho' they lost their Ease, yet made a much more valuable Purchase of Honour by it: For this National Calamity kept them in such continual Exercise, that they had no time to indulge themselves in Ease and Luxury; but were obliged thereby to be more^h pious, just and careful in their Government: For otherwise it had been impossible for them to have held out so long against the Danes as they did, being a People of that Vigour and undaunted Courage, as no adverse Fortune could deter them, so as to let go the hold that they had gotten upon this Nation, who, if they had met with an unactive Prince for their Enemy, would soon have wrought themselves into the whole. And this was the Reason that the Succession of the Saxon Monarchy is something broken, the People being forc'd to choose a more able Prince, where the direct Line impos'd a Minor, or unfit Person upon them; as in

Edward's
Success a-
gainst the
Danes.

ATHELSTAN, or ETHELSTAN, who tho' he was an Illegitimate Son of King Edward, was yet preferred before his Lawful Son Edmund, who was under Age, and so unfit for a Kingdom in those difficult times, because he was grown to Man's Estate, and promis'd no small Advantages to the Nation from his Courage and Prudence. He was therefore Crown'd with as great Solemnity and Joy as any of his Ancestors, and by an unanimous Election made their King. His Conduct in his Government answer'd the Expectation the People had of him. He prov'd Courageousⁱ against his Enemies, Just to his People, and Zealous for Religion, in which Noble Actions, having spent a Reign of sixteen Years, he dy'd as honourably as he liv'd, but without Issue.

A. D.
924.
Athel-
stan's Cou-
rage and
Virtues.

EDMUND his Brother succeeded him: A Prince equal to any of his Predecessors in his Valour and Virtues, had he liv'd to have given a full Proof of them. In the five Years he reign'd, so fortunate

940.

^a It is said, that on the South-side of the Thames, the People of England were so illiterate, that few or none could read.

^b He also made a Law, that all Freemen that had two Hides of Land should keep their Sons at School till fifteen Years old.

^c Viz. *Neoth*, John of St. Davids, and *Joannes Monachus*, whom he plac'd in his School at Oxford, now University-College, as he did *Scotus* and *Grimbald* in another, now part of Brazen-nose-College.

^d He founded the University of Oxford, a School at *Crikelade* in Wiltshire for Greek, and *Lechlade* in Gloucestershire for Latin.

He built three Monasteries, viz. *Etheling*, Winchester and *Shaftsbury*, in one of which he was bury'd, viz. Winchester.

^e Gregory's Pastoral, David's Psalms, Boethius, Bede's History, &c.

^f He was Crown'd at *Kingsstone* upon Thames, and is the first of our English Kings whom we read to have been Anointed at his Coronation, according to the Custom of the Jewish Kings.

^g He erected *Hereford Castle*, to curb the Rebellious Temper of the Welchmen, and *Chester*, *Hereford*, &c.

^h An Instance of his pious Care was in repairing the University of Cambridge, burnt by the Danes, and restoring it to its Lustre.

ⁱ He conquer'd the Scots, and by the Prayers of *John of Beverley*, is said to have obtain'd a Sign, that the Scots ought to be subject to the English, which was this: He struck a Rock with his Sword, and cut a Yard deep into it; which is to be seen near the Castle of *Dunbar* at this Day, *Radb. Hist. Wint.* p. 211. He among many other Victories over the Danes, in one more Signal slew five Kings, twelve Captains, and almost all their Army; and so brought them to yield him a quiet Reign over all England. At the Conclusion of which Agreement, the single Combat of the famous *Guy Earl of Warwick* and *Colbrand* the Danish Giant, is said to have decided all Differences, the Victory falling to the English Champion. Tho' this Story is suspected of Falshood.

^k He is said to have recover'd *Lincoln*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Leicester*, from the Danes, and converted them to the Christian Faith.

fortunate were his Arms, that none of his Enemies could stand before him; but tho' he escaped in the midst of Dangers, yet he met with his Death in his own Palace, being slain at a Feast in his own House, by the Hand of a base Assassin, in the midst of his Nobles and People, who admir'd and lov'd him. He left two Sons, but being both too young to enter upon a Kingdom so full of Troubles,

EDRED his Brother was prefer'd before them both, who inheriting the Virtues and Bravery of his Ancestors, maintain'd his Kingdom stoutly against the continual Inrodes of the *Danes* all his Reign, which lasted but ten Years; when dying, he left his Kingdom to

A. D. 955. **EDWIN**, or **EDWY**, his Nephew, the eldest Son of his Brother *Edmund*, (a vicious and extravagant Youth) who declining from the excellent Qualities of his Ancestors, was an Happiness to his People in nothing but his short Reign of four Years; after which dying, he left his Kingdom to

959. **EDGAR**, his Brother, a Prince of great Worth: He was indeed very Young when he came to his Throne, being but sixteen Years old; but being of a pliable Disposition, and willing to admit of Counsel, was by the grave Advice of his Bishops, (who in those Religious times had an absolute sway over the Hearts and Affections of most Men) so instructed in all the Methods and Rules of a good Government and Religion, that he became a most heroical Prince, and admirable Governor.

Among other his excellent Acts of Government, he provided a mighty Navy to secure his Coasts from Invasion, which as he gather'd from lamentable Examples (tho' late) would be the best way to keep the like Calamities out of this Nation for the future; which for some Ages past, and at that time did greatly disturb and afflict it, not being expert in Sea-affairs. For when the *Romans* first conquer'd it, the *Britains* had no Shipping, but a few small Boats made of Wicker, or Osiers, cover'd with Hides; with which they could make no Opposition to the *Romans*, nor after to the *Danes*, who had very strong Ships, as the Times then were, and therefore easily found a secure Place to land on so naked Coasts. *Egbert* indeed is said to have provided a strong Navy about the Year 840. and *Alfred* thirty or forty Years after is reported to have done the like: But their Ships being either consum'd by the Enemy, or decay'd and lost by disuse and neglect, *Edgar* builds a fresh Navy, and sets out a Fleet of sixteen hundred Sail, as some write, and others say * more; he divided it into four Parts, appointing them their several Points to cruize at, thereby to secure his Coasts from Pirates, and all foreign Enemies, himself every Year in part of his Navy, sailing round the Isle, of which he stil'd himself King.

And that he might compleatly reduce the Nation to one Monarchy and Name, he stil'd himself King of *Albion*, as appears from the Charter granted by him to the Abbey of *Malmsbury* in these Words, *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basileus, nec non Maritimum, seu Insularum Regum circum-habitantium, &c.*

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i. e. 'I *Edgar* King of all *Albion*, and of the Kings inhabiting the Isles, and Sea-coasts thereof, &c. For having first of all the *Saxon* Kings made Peace with the *Danes*, and granted them a quiet Settlement among his own People in all his Dominions, he had a Sovereign Rule over them: And *Kenneth* King of *Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, given to that Crown by King *Edmund* his Father, or for his whole Kingdom, I cannot affirm; and five Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Country, coming all to him at his Court at *Cardiffe*: So that he seems the first absolute Monarch of this Land.

^b The general Peace which he enjoy'd through his whole Reign, procur'd him the honourable Title of *Pacificus*, and made his Kingdom, always a Stranger before to so great a Blessing, very flourishing and prosperous during his Time, which was sixteen Years. But it lasted little longer than his Reign; and, as if it had been made for him, as it was by him, was almost bury'd in his Grave. He dy'd young, viz. in the 32^d Year of his Age, and left his Son *Edward*, a Child, to inherit his Throne; who, not being able to avoid the cruel Designs which his Mother-in-Law *Elfrida* had form'd to raise her Son *Ethelred* to his Dignity, fell a Sacrifice to her Ambition; and being so robb'd of his Earthly, was untimely translated to a Celestial Crown: He was murder'd by her own Hand in her House (*Corfe-Castle*) in the Isle of *Purbeck*, as he was hunting, having lost his Company, and coming thither to visit her, and refresh himself, tir'd with the Chase.

ETHELRED, the Son of King *Edgar*, by his second Wife *Elfrida*, having gotten the Crown by his Mother's Cruelty from his elder Brother, was put into the full possession of it by *St. Dunstan*; who^a against his Will crown'd him King of *England*. It is said, that the Holy Man preaching the Sermon before his Coronation, prophetically foretold the Miseries which should follow his unjust Acquisition, in these words; *Quoniam aspirasti ad regnum per mortem fratris tui, &c. i. e.* "Because thou hast aspired to the Crown by the Death of thy Brother, whom thy wicked Mother hath slain, Thus saith the Lord, The Sword shall never depart from thy House, raging against thee all the Days of thy Life; destroying thy Posterity, till thy Kingdom be translated to another Nation, whose Customs and Language thy People know not: Nor shall thy Sin, and that of thy cruel Mother, and her Accomplices in that bloody Fact, be expiated but by long Punishment." Whether this Speech were thus deliver'd or no, may perhaps be doubted by some: But 'tis certain, it was verified by the Event. For the new erected Monarchy thro' a Divine Curse upon the Governor, fell immediately in pieces, and two Conquests by foreign Nations, within the space of fifty Years, followed.

The *Danes*, in the first place, being multiplied among themselves, and having much strengthen'd their Interests by marrying with the *English* in the late Peace, which they enjoyed twenty Years together, found themselves in a better Condition to oppose them with good Success than they had ever been; especially observing that the *English* were unsatisfied with their King, distracted to his

He was styled Pacificus.

975. St. Edward.

978.

St. Dunstan's Re-proof of his Usurpations.

Danes fresh Assaults and Success against the English.

^a He hated the Monks, and is said to have banish'd *Dunstan* for reproving his Excesses: But we must beware how we believe Monkish Writers, when they write of their Enemies.

^b In all his Reign no foreign Army disquieted the Peace of this Nation.

^c But in this Peace the *English* are said to have learn'd such excessive Drinking, that *Edgar* was forc'd to make a severe Law against Drinking, That no Man should drink beyond certain Nicks or Marks made in their Pots for that end.

^d *S. Dunstan* would have had *Edgith*, the Sister of *Edward* the Martyr, crown'd Queen.

his Government, and divided among themselves, so that 'twas very improbable they could or would make any tolerable Resistance. Wherefore that they might effect an absolute Conquest of the Land, which they had so long attempted in vain, they invited their Country-men out of Denmark to come with all the Assistance they could possibly make for them; who thereupon came in such great Multitudes, that they assaulted most of the Coasts and Parts of the Nation at once: So that the State was at a loss how to suppress their Insolencies. *Ethelred* encountered them with small Forces once, and again, but to no purpose; and therefore was forced to buy his Peace at the Price of 10000 *l*. The *Danes* gladly accepted the Money, but never let the poor *English* enjoy their Purchase: For this Composition being too manifest a Proof of the *English* Weakness, and the *Danes* Strength, they every Year renewed their Invasion on purpose to sell their Peace; which they always did at a dearer Rate every Year than other. This produced the first Tax that was ever laid upon the *English*, then known by the Name of *Dane-gelt*; which tho' it was very grievous to the People, yet was continued for many Ages after the Occasion ceased: And in the end (tho' under other Names) became the usual way of Supply for Princes Wants in time of War and Danger.

The first Tax which the *English* bore called *Dane-gelt*.

Ethelred, by his Gifts, was so far from easing his People of their Troubles, that he rather procured greater Expences. The *Danes* desirous of Money growing greater by their Receipts, insomuch, that *Swain* King of Denmark, and *Aulase*, or *Anlase* King of Norway, thought it worth their while to go in Person upon an Expedition into England to return laden with Treasure, which accordingly they had: And *Aulase*, who was a Prince of a milder Disposition, was converted to Christianity and baptized. These heavy Burthens, and grievous Calamities, which the *English* suffer'd from Foreigners, were much increased by the Disloyalties and Unfaithfulness of *Ethelred's* own Subjects; his principal Men, who were intrusted in the Defence of the Nation, proving the Betrayers of it, as it usually happens to broken Fortunes, very few are faithful Friends to them. For when after the Example of *Edgar* his Father, he had provided a great Navy; *Elfrick*, the Admiral, is said to have given Intelligence of their Strength and Design to the *Danes*, and so disappointed the whole Intent of it. The Earls *Fran*, *Fritthigist*, *Godwin*, and *Turkettle*, the Chief Commanders of the Army by Land, being secret Friends to the *Danes*, discourag'd their Men by Flight from the Battel they had begun, and so caused their Defeat. *Edric*, Duke of *Mercia*, who after these was created General of all the King's Forces; was so much the more infamous for his Disloyalty, by how much the King reposed the greater Trust in him: For when he came to engage the Enemy, he feigned himself sick, and left his Army to shift for themselves; who fell into the *Danes* Hands, and left the Country to be their Prey, for which he bore the Name of *Falfe*.

The Unfaithfulness of his Officers.

Wolnod, or *Wilmot*, a Nobleman of *Sussex*; who was for his Misdemeanour out-lawed and banished by the King, infested the Coasts with continual Robberies, having twenty Ships mann'd with Thieves and Pirates. The King sent eighty Sail of his Ships to take him, which being first lamentably torn with a Tempest, were set upon by *Wilmot*, and being unable to resist were all by him set on Fire. This Perfidiousness of the Nobility, tho' it might proceed from their Discontents, Emulations, or disloyal Affections, yet is charg'd upon *Ethelred's* Pride and Vice, whom yet we find to have been more unfortunate than really weak; and had he had faithful Ministers of his Affairs, might have gone in the foremost Rank of our *English* Worthies: For he neglected no Occasion to make a brave Resistance against his Enemies, and to that end made great Preparations both by Land and Sea, brought his Affairs many times to a great Ripeness; but thro' an unlucky Fate, that lay upon him, he never proved Successful. So that tho' indeed he was a Prince of good Designs and Arms, yet being unfortunate in his Actions, he bears a Name of Ignominy and Reproach, which all the desperate Battels he fought, the good Constitutions of Government he made, and the great Provisions which he on all occasions made for his Kingdoms Safety, can never rescue him from.

Ethelred of himself no bad Prince.

To the former Calamities were joyned Famine, and a great Mortality, with unusual Inundations of the Rivers and Seas, as if God and Man had conspired together to make this Nation as miserable as the Sins of the Prince and People deserved; and nothing would satisfy, but their utter Destruction.

While the Nation was struggling with these heavy Judgments, *Swain* King of Denmark, to greaten the Load of their Afflictions, comes with a strong Navy to raise new Sums of Money upon the *English*, oppressing the poor distressed People till he had a Sum of 48000 *l*. granted in an Assembly of the States at London, paid to him; by which means a Peace, or rather a Bargain of Slavery, was made between the two Nations, That they should dwell quietly together, and enjoy their own Liberties and Properties without any Molestation, which was confirmed by solemn Oaths on both sides, and Hostages delivered by the *English*. The *Danes* in this Agreement laid aside open Hostilities indeed, but could not dissemble their Thoughts, that they were Masters; and therefore behaved themselves with great Insolency to the *English*, committed many close Outrages; offered many base Abuses to the Wives and Daughters, not only of the meaner Sort, but of the Nobility themselves; with many other intolerable Disorders. These things so exasperated the Spirits of the *English*, that they resolved upon a full Revenge. One *Hune*, a great Commander, and valiant Soldier of that time, being sensible of the Weakness of the Nation to right themselves of such Injuries, propounded a secret way of Revenge, by a sudden and universal Massacre of the *Danes* in all parts of the Land. *Ethelred* approves the Motion, and advanc'd the

The *Danes* come for *English* Money.

A Massacre of the *Danes*.

Design,

^a It is said, That *Edric*, the False Duke of *Mercia*, was the Cause and Adviser of this Tax. The Peers, and among them *Strictus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were the Promoters of the Composition with the *Danes*; but *Edric* to reimburse his Master, devised the Imposition upon the People, which tho' advantageous to himself, render'd him odious to the People, especially after it was redoubled, and yet extorted from them, as it was shortly after.

^b He was particularly careful of the due Execution of Justice, and made many good Laws for his Judges, injoyning them to do Justice, yet with Mercy; to accept no Man's Person, and take no Bribes: And was so strict in the Observation of them, that having found one *Walgentus*, a Judge, whom he particularly loved, to have broken his Laws, he deposed him from his Office.

^c The *Danes* every where treated the *English* no better than their Slaves: forcing them to Labour, while they sat at home with their Wives, and like Drones fed on the Honey, which by their indefatigable Industry the poor *English* had gathered. Nor were they herewith contented, but as an open Reproach of their Cowardice, the *Danes* required them to call them Lords; which for more Quietness sake they yielded to.

A. D. 1002. Design, by giving his Orders for the Execution of it [On the Feast of S. Brictus, Nov. 13. 1002. this bloody Tragedy was acted] with so much implacable Fury and Cruelty, as evidently shewed the Rancour and inveterate Anger the *English* had conceived against them. Neither Temples, nor Altars, Supplications, nor any Bands of Alliance could save them from Slaughter; but where-ever they found the *Danes*, they immediately destroyed them. *Gunhild*, the Sister of *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who had shewed her self a continual Friend to the *English*, and by her Mediation procured them a Peace; yet being a *Dane*, could not escape their Fury, but was slain with a her Husband and Son. She being a Woman of a Masculine Courage, met her Death not with Fears, but Threats; telling the Murtherers, that her Blood should cost their Nation dear, and that a severe Revenge should be taken of them for her Death, as it after happened.

Swain re-
venges the
Danes
Deaths.
The Newsof this sad and bloody Fact was soon carried over to *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who as he resented it not with more Grief than Fury, so he made the speediest Preparations he could to revenge it; having now a just occasion to deal with the *English* with the utmost Rigour and Severity, who had first shewn him an Example of unmerciful Cruelty. The next Summer therefore (for sooner such an Expedition was not safe to be attempted) he sets forth for *England* with a great Navy, enter'd the Country in the Western Parts, and after a most barbarous manner ravaged and spoiled it. The *English* not so couragious to maintain their Fact, as they had been to commit it, yielded up the Possession of their Country to him; chusing rather to submit, than stand the Hazard of a Victory. All the Nation became *Swain's*, except the City of *London*, which being strongly fortified, *Ethelred* held out against him, and made a noble Resistance; till he left them, and fled first into the Isle of *Wight* and after into *Normandy*, whether he had sent *Emma* his Queen with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfrid*, from the Rage of this Tempest. But within two Months after, he was again invited home by his own People upon the Death of *Swain*, who just when he was ready to have been crowned King of this Island, died; leaving his Son *Canutus* to succeed him in his Fortunes, and accomplish his intended Designs.

Ethelred
expels Can-
nutus, and
gets to
London.
Ethelred being returned home, was soon furnished with an Army; and setting upon *Canutus*, lying then at *Lindsey* with his Father's Ships, and *English* Hostages given his Father a little before, forced him to Sea: At which he being enraged, made about to *Sandwich*, where he first treated cruelly all such of *Ethelred's* Friends as he could get into his Power, and then grievously mangling the Hostages, he sent them home, himself returning into his own Country with the Spoils which he and his Father had gotten, to make greater Preparations for the Prosecution of his Purpose the next Year. *Ethelred* in the mean time did not desist from pursuing the Advantage he had got; and to weaken the *Danes* Power and Interest, he, in a General Assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danish* Nobility to be murther'd; among which was *Sigifrith* and *Morchar*, Earls of *Northumberland*, whom the false Earl *Edric* (who was never backward to be an Actor of Mischief on either side) having invited to a Banquet at his Lodgings, caused there to be kill'd,

and their Followers with them; who, having defended themselves and Master, as long as they could, fled into a Church, where they were consumed in the Flames with the Building.

Canutus having strengthen'd himself with all the Forces he could raise at home, or procure of his Neighbours, with whom he was in League, return'd again to *England* within the Year; and landing at *Sandwich*, had all the West parts surrender'd up to him without resistance, who gave him Pledges for their Obedience, and furnish'd him with Horse and Armour. *Ethelred* lay very dangerously sick, and not being able to oppose the fierce Invader himself, sent his Son *Edmund*, surnamed *Ironside*, with a good Army against him. *Edmund*, a Prince full of Youth and Courage, and every ways fitted to have deliver'd his Country, had he liv'd in better Times, and among faithful People, joyfully march'd against *Canute*, to try his fortune; but in the way being inform'd, that *Edric* the False had promised to betray his Father's Fleet to the Enemy, (which he soon after did, going over to them with forty Ships) and being deserted by *Ulred*, one of his chief Commanders, he was obliged to retreat to *London*, the only place which retain'd their Loyalty to their King in his Misfortunes. Hither also *Ethelred* himself, having a little recover'd his Sickness, came with such small Forces as kept their Fidelity to him; but relapsing into his Distemper soon after his arrival, and tired with Troubles, dy'd, having reign'd thirty seven Years, and was bury'd in *St. Paul's* Church at *London*, behind the Quire.

CANUTUS, after the Death of *Ethelred*, (whose long Reign shews, that the Unfortunate often have too long time allotted them, and the Fortunate too little) was by most of the Clergy and Nobility chosen King; only the City of *London*, with some of the Nobility thereabouts, elected *Edmund*, and furnish'd him with so good an Army, that through the couragious Briskness and Vigour of his Youth, (which is generally most fierce in the first Attempts) he had much the better in three successive Battels, fought within three Months after he was made King; and had certainly gain'd a fourth at *Ashdon* or *Essendon*, had not the Disloyal *Edric* forsaken his Sovereign, and carried over his Party to the Enemy, who in all Probability, had receiv'd a deadly Blow without that Assistance, and with it gain'd that fatal Victory, which prov'd the Conquest of *England*: For here *Edmund* lost the Flower of his Nobility, and best of his Soldiers, and among them *Ulchel* the Heroick Earl of *Essex*; who being a Man of great Worth and Courage, stood up boldly in defence of his Country in the time of *Swain*, and gave proof that there were both Hope and Possibility of keeping out the Enemy, had not there wanted Union and Loyalty among them.

From this Battel *Edmund* made his escape to *Glocester*, to gather new Forces; and was not so utterly forsaken by the *English* (tho' *London* by the late Victory fell into the Enemy's hand) but that in a small time he gather'd another powerful Army, and resolv'd to try his Fortune once more with *Canute*, who was swollen with the great Thoughts of this Victory. *Canutus*, on the other side as solicitous to keep the Advantage he had gotten, as he was lucky to get it, pursues after him, and overtakes him near the River *Severn*. Here, when both Armies were ready to joyn Battel,

A. D.

1016.

Edmund's
Success
against the
Danes.

Edmund's
single Com-
bat with
Canutus
for the
Kingdom,
and their
division of
it.

^a *Palingus*, a Noble *Dane*, of great Power and Wealth, being a Christian.

^b At *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, at *Shoreham* in *Worcestershire*, at *Brantford* near *Oxford* in *Kent*.

^c A little Town near *Walden* in *Essex*, where remain certain Hills cast up in Memory of this Victory; and where *Canutus* after built a Church, as a grateful Acknowledgment of God's Gift of the Kingdom to him.

Battel, a Motion of Peace was made; or, in case that could not be accepted, a single Combat between the two Kings, to save Expence of Blood; for 'twas most just, that they who were to wear the Honour should decide the Quarrel, which was not likely to be ended, but with the utter Extirpation of one of the Nations. A single Combat was consented to by both Kings, and in an Isle, surrounded by the *Severn* (now call'd *Alney*) in the sight of the Armies, did they fight for the Kingdom. The Combat was long and equal, but *Edmund* had the Advantage both in Strength and Fortune; for he gave *Canute* a dangerous Wound, and much overpower'd him; which the *Dane* craftily concealing, made a Proposition of Peace, and won *Edmund* to throw down his Arms; and come to this Agreement, That they would live in perfect Love and Friendship one with another, and enjoy an equal Division of the Kingdom: To confirm which Agreement, they not only mutually swore, but chang'd Cloaths and Arms, to shew the Unity of their Minds; as tho' *Edmund* were now become *Canutus*, and *Canutus* *Edmund*. A fatal and ignominious Exchange for so free and courageous a Prince, who not only made himself half a King by this Act, but expos'd himself to that Treachery of his Enemies which he need not have fear'd from their strongest Armies. For in a few Days after this League, he was treacherously slain at *Oxford*, some say by Duke *Edric*, others by his Son, an Evil Egg of an Evil Bird; and so the Kingdom was wholly translated to *Canutus*; who, tho' he liked not Treason, nor approved of the Act of the Traitor, yet embraced willingly the Purchase of both. He reign'd scarce one whole Year, and left two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and one Daughter, *Margaret*, marry'd to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*.

Edmund
Ironside
and Canu-
tus divide
the King-
dom.

A. D.
1018.
Canutus
the Dane
King of
England.

Canutus
putt Edric
to Death.

CANUTUS, the Son of *Swain* King of *Denmark*, having thus gotten the absolute Dominion of this Kingdom, govern'd it with greater Justice than he had obtain'd it; putting off his natural Roughness, and conforming to a more civil and smooth Conversation. And that the Nation might be sensible, that he resolv'd, now he was King of it, to study its advantage, he immediately sent away his Navy, and dismissed his hired Soldiers to their own home, and cast himself wholly upon his People; believing, that his Kindness to his People would be a surer way for his Establishment, than the use of Force; which so pleased the Nobles then assembled at *London*, that they consented to give him eighty three thousand Pounds in Silver to pay them off, and discharge them.

At his first Accession to the Crown, his Care was to rid himself as well of his false Friends, as of his avowed Enemies. *Edric*, who first came to salute him sole Monarch of *England* (as if he had told him, that he made him so) he order'd to be beheaded, and his Head to be set upon

the highest Pinnacle in the Tower of *London*; therein making good the Promise he gave him, when he brought him *Edmund's* Head, That he would advance his Head above all the Peers of the Kingdom. This just Punishment of Treason gave a wonderful Satisfaction to all the Nation, which rejoiced to see his Perfidiousness so well rewarded. After the same manner he, not long after, dealt with the two Earls, *Turkill* and *Erick*, who being by him banish'd the Nation, and sent into *Denmark*, he caused to be executed upon their arrival there.

But the Love of his People, and the good Opinion of Justice, which he had gotten by the former Actions, were again soon after lost by his Cruelty to the Royal Branches, *Edmund* and *Edward* the Sons, and *Edwin* the Brother of King *Edmund*; whom in his Opinion being such Impediments to his Dignity, that his Crown could never sit fast, so long as they were alive, he sent to his Brother in *Denmark* to be murder'd: By which Privacy, tho' he thought to have escaped the Infamy of so foul a Fact at home, yet Suspicion alone soon raised him a general Odium among the People. But these young Princes met with kinder usage abroad, than they could have hoped for at home, under *Canutus's* jealous Eye; for their tender and innocent Years moved their intended Executioner to such Compassion, that he not only spar'd them himself, but convey'd them out of danger, by sending them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, to be educated in his Court; where afterwards *Edward*, who survived his Brother, was marry'd to *Agatha*, the Sister of that Queen, and Daughter to the Emperor *Henry II.* by whom he had two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edgar*, and as many Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*. *Alfred* and *Edward*, the Sons of King *Ethelred* by *Emma*, were preserved by *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, their Uncle, and so were out of his Reach.

Canutus being thus rid of his Fears, tho', as he was sensible, with a little damage to his Reputation, yet himself to recover his Honour again, by becoming a most eminent Benefactor to the Publick; and to that end employ'd all his Thoughts and Revenues to repair the Damages, which the Nation had suffer'd by the Wars, both in its Buildings and Laws. He erected several Churches and Monasteries, and by his Patents endow'd them with plentiful Estates and Provisions, especially in or near those Places, where he had obtain'd any signal Victories; that at once he might testify his Devotion and Thankfulness to God. He made many Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws, which he publish'd in the Language of that Time: They are very full of pious Admonitions; which testify not only the Piety as well as Justice of the King himself, but also that the best way in his opinion to have Laws observed, was to have them first approved in their Consciences. Among other things he inflicted severe Punishment on all Intemperances of his People, and all Offences of ill influence

His Cruelty
to the Heirs
of the Eng-
lish Crown.

Canutus's
beneficial
Acts to the
Nation.

^a *Edmund* had for his part *Kent*, the Kingdoms of *West-Saxons*, *East-Saxons*, and *East-Angles*; and *Canutus* had *Mercia* and *Northumbria*.

^b He was stab'd in the Belly by Earl *Edric's* Son, as he was easing his Body at *Oxford*. *Radb. Hist. Wint.*

^c At the Persuasion of Queen *Emma*, the Widow of *Ethelred*, marry'd to *Canutus*.

^d Others say he was smother'd, and cast out of a Window into the *Thames*.

^e *Edwin* remain'd in *Canutus's* Court awhile, that King shewing him much Favour; but being a Man of Morose Temper, for which he was call'd the King of *Churl*, he was never lov'd in the Court, and therefore soon met with Death among his professed Enemies and false Friends; but by what Instruments, we have only Conjecture to inform us.

^f He, by the advice of *Emma* his Queen, repair'd the old Monastery at *Winchester*, and adorn'd it with so much Gold, and Silver, and Jewels, that it was admir'd for the Riches of it. Particularly he is said to have given a Cross worth Year's Revenue of the Crown. He built *Bennet*-Abbey in *Norfolk*, and *St Edmund's* in *Suffolk*.

^g These Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, were not so much compos'd by him, as *Edgar*; but only were more firmly established: They were the *Saxon* Laws, afterwards more fully enacted by *Edward* the Confessor, and from him call'd the *Confessor's* Laws; now for the most part extant in the *Magna Charta*.

^h He caus'd all Clergymen guilty of Murthers, Adulteries, or other foul Crimes, to be degraded; Adulteresses to have their Noses slit, &c.

Canutus's
Clemency.

influence upon good Manners. Just he was in the highest degree, but not Cruel; few of his Laws being Sanguinary, according to the Custom of those Times, which, tho' rough and warlike, yet had a Way of preserving good Order in his Kingdom without the Effusion of much Blood: For no Punishments were made capital, but treasonable Conspiracies; but all other Crimes were punish'd by Fines, Banishment, Slavery, or Imprisonment. One Example of his Clemency, among many, is worthy our notice. There was a Law then in force, That *whosoever had committed Theft, and the Goods were found in his House, all his Family were made Slaves even to the Child in the Cradle.* This Law he abrogated, as most unjust; and enacted, That *only the Malefactor, and such as assisted him, should suffer the Punishment; and that the Wife (unless the stolen Goods were found in her Custody under Lock) should not be guilty, or suffer for her Husband's Offence.* By these Laws, and other his good Actions, did this King so gain the Love and Affections of the People, that he made as absolute a Conquest of their Hearts, as had of their Country; and *England* thought it their Happiness to be his People and Subjects. Nor did he suffer their Affections to cool, but increased them daily by many popular Actions; for he not only paid a singular Reverence and Honour to the Memory of the late King *Edmund* his Confederate, but severely punish'd all those that had any share in murdering him. Then he marry'd the Wife of King *Ethelred*, *Emma*, (tho' his Bed was no great Honour to her, who had lost her former Husband by his Hands) by whose means he secured himself from any attempts of the Duke of *Normandy* for his Nephews, in regard that she might have Issue by him, who by contract of Marriage were to succeed.

Canutus
made King
of Nor-
way.

Scarce was this Monarch well establish'd in his Kingdom over the *English*, but another offer'd it self. The People of *Norway* contemning the weakness of their King, and conspiring to depose him, broke out into Factions, and revolted. *Canutus* fastens upon this Opportunity, and partly by his great Strength, which he carry'd out of *England*, and partly by his Money and great Reputation, he so much prevail'd with the People as to choose him their King. And so he became the most Puissant and Renowned Prince in all these Parts of the World, being entitled, *King of England, Denmark and Norway.* With his Power he enlarged his Magnificence, especially towards the Church, which he sought all Means to advance, either to appease his own Conscience, or ingratiate himself with his People; which at that time being addicted to Religion, were much pleased with such Acts of Devotion. And having enriched his Kingdom with many Acts of his pious Bounty, he undertakes a Journey to *Rome* to visit the Sepulchres of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*: All along the Way, he did many Works of Charity, by freeing all Streights and Passages from Toll, which had usually been exacted before of Travellers that passed that way. At *Rome* he gave many large Gifts to *St. Peter's* Church, and by his Mediation obtain'd, that the *Saxon* School, founded there by his Predecessors, Kings of *England*, should be freed from all Impositions and Tributes for ever. What Entertainment he met at *Rome* from the Pope,

Conradus the Emperor, and divers other Christian Princes, he gives an account of to his Bishops and Nobility, in a Letter written to them from thence; wherein he earnestly exhorts them to take care in his absence, that Justice be impartially administer'd to all his Subjects, without any regard to his advantage or profit; for he would by no means have his Revenue enlarg'd by the Injuries of others. He also straitly charges them, that the Dues which are owing either to the Church at home, or the See of *Rome*, be all paid, and discharg'd before his Return.

Thus did this great Prince, the mightiest and most absolute Monarch that ever yet had sat on the *English* Throne, the Original of a new Line of Kings, and of a new Government, strive to lay a good Foundation of a lasting Succession in these Kingdoms, and by his good Deeds bring the Divine Favour upon his Posterity. And who would have thought, but he might have been a Root of as long a Descent, as afterward the *Norman* was, having as numerous a Male-Issue, being better Belov'd, of greater Power and Virtues than he? But it was not in his Fate. He left several Sons, viz. *Swane*, *Harold*, *Hardicanute*; of which, tho' two enter'd the *English* Succession, yet they enjoy'd it but a little while: So that the Possession, which *Canutus* had purchas'd at so great Expence of Blood and Labour, was lost in a manner with him.

Canutus's
Greatness,
but want of
Succession.

HAROLD, the Son of *Canutus*, after his Father's Death, succeeded him in his Kingdom of *England*; being, as some say, made King by his Father's Appointment; but as others write, by the Election of the *Danish* Nobility in an Assembly at *Oxford*. *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, who was left Guardian (as he pretended) of the Queen and her Children, with most of the *English* Nobility, stood for *Hardicanute* the Son of *Emma*, or else *Alfrid* the Son of *Ethelred*, who is said to have come out of *Normandy* upon the Death of *Canutus* to claim the Crown: But *Harold*, who had gotten Possession of it, had so strengthened himself against all Pretenders, that notwithstanding this Opposition, he was proclaimed and crowned King. The first Act of his Reign was to seize the Treasure of his Step-mother Queen *Emma*, whom he banished out of his Realm; then he put out the Eyes of *Alfrid* her Son, who had been a Competitor with him for the Kingdom, and committed him to a loathsome Prison, where he died. Earl *Godwin* is reported to have betrayed the young Prince into the King's hand. The Queen *Emma* fled to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, her Kinsman, where she remained to the Death of *Harold*, who reigned but four Years; and then she returned into *England* with her Son *Hardicanute*, who accidentally came out of *Denmark* to visit her at *Bruges*. *Harold* died without Children.

A. D.
1036.
Harold
chosen King
by the
Danes.

HARDICANUTE, after the Death of *Harold*, his Half-Brother, was proclaimed King of *England*. The Nation promised themselves great Happiness under his Government, but they found themselves soon disappointed; for he no sooner was invested with the Royal Dignity, but he made himself odious to his People, by a Piece of unnatural

1041.
Hardica-
nute lost
the Love of
his People.

^a *Denmark* was given to *Hardicanute*, and he was crown'd King of it in his Father's Life, and *Norway* to *Swane*; but *Norway* revolted.

^b He paid so much for the *French* to their King, that he eased them of one half of the heavy Taxes they then lay under.

^c By *Ailnoth*, or *Elnoth*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho' against his Will, because he judg'd the Crown to belong to the Sons of *Emma*.

^d It is said, That *Harold's* Cruelty and bad Government over the *English*, begot such an Aversion to all the *Danish* Race, that it was enacted by the *English* Nobles, That no *Danes* should ever after Reign over them.

unnatural Revenge; in causing the Body of King *Harold* to be taken out of its Tomb, and having severed the Head from it; to be cast into the River *Thames*: Then he made a strict Enquiry after those who had been instrumental in the Death of *Alfrid*, his Brother by his Mother. *Earl Godwin*, and *Livingus* Bishop of *Worcester*, were accused of it. [*Alfricus* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*] The Bishop was deprived of his See, but the Earl by a rich Present of a Ship of Gold, made his Protestations of Innocency to be easily credited by the King and the Nobility, among whom he had great Interest. The Bishop finding the Strength of Gold, by a Sum obtain'd his Bishoprick, and so that bloody Act was wholly imputed to the late King.

Not long after this, by the Instigation of *Earl Godwin*, he imposed a general Grievance on the whole Kingdom by a prodigal Gift, which he bestowed on his Fleet of *Danes*; ordering every Mariner to be paid eight Marks, and every Captain ten, which he raised upon the State; a Tax so heavy in those Days, that it caused a Tumult at *Worcester*, wherein the Collectors were killed. Thus by his Vices and ill Actions, he was a Burthen to his Nation, and only an Ease by his short Reign; for he died in the second Year of his Reign at *Lambeth*, where he was celebrating a Marriage. He was thought to have been poison'd. With him ended the Government of the *Danes* in *England* (having continued twenty six Years only under the three last Kings) and so the Power, which no Force could withstand in *England*, expired of it self, and the Nation was left to chuse a King of their own, without Competition. There being one Son of *Ethelred* remaining alive, viz.

Edward
the Son of
Ethelred,
crowned
King of
England.

A. D.
1042.

EDWARD the CONFESSOR, the Son of *Ethelred*, by *Emma* his Queen, who by the provident Care of his Mother, was sent into *Normandy* to secure him from the *Danish* Force, was immediately sent for upon the Death of *Hardicanute*: And being^b elected King by the general Consent of the Nation, was crowned at *Winchester* by *Ed-sine* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, An. 1042. being then about forty Years of Age. *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, was a Principal Agent in this Preferment: But for his own Ends. The Kingdom (having dearly paid for the Admission of Strangers) made an Order, That he should not bring any *Normans* with him. The first publick Act he did, was, That he remitted the heavy Tribute called *Dane-gelt*, imposed by his Father, which amounted to 40000 *l.* a Year, and had been^c paid for forty Years past. He caused a Body of the best and most wholesome^d Laws, to be collected out of those of the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, and to be written in *Latin*. He was indeed a Man very exemplary for his^e Piety, but fit for no time, but those peaceable and quiet Times he lived in: For having been educated with the Nuns of *Jumièges* in *Normandy*, he scarce knew himself to be a Man, when he came into *England*, much less a King. And of this, some give us this notable Instance, That being very

angry with a Country Fellow for disturbing his Game when he was a hunting; he said, I would punish thee were I able. And as if he had vowed Continency with the Nuns, with whom he was bred, he was so far from knowing other Women, that tho' he lived many Years in a formal Shew of Marriage with his Wife, yet after his Death she protested her self a Virgin.

The Easiness and Simplicity of the King was made a means of raising himself and Family to the highest Pitch of Greatness by *Earl Godwin*; who first insinuating, that he was the chief Man that raised the King to his Crown, obtain'd that his Daughter should be accepted in Marriage by the King, by which the whole Nation in a manner came to be governed by the Earl. *Syward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrick*, Earl of *Hereford*, Men of Spirit and Greatness took notice of his aspiring Ambition, and seeing him so much for himself, stood up the more for the King. This Emulation proved advantageous to the Nation; for as *Godwin* sought to greaten himself by the Conquest of *Wales* for the King; which his Son *Harold*, Earl of the *West-Saxons*, effected, by vanquishing the two *Welch* Kings, *Ris* and *Griffith*; so *Syward* deprived *Macbeth*, the *Scottish* Usurper, of his Life and Crown; and restored *Melcolm* to his just Right. *Robert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, a *Norman*, much in Favour with the King, was also *Godwin's* Enemy: So that not only he missed of his present Designs, but through the Sagaciousness of his Enemies, his future Aims were discovered, which they made manifest to the King upon this Occasion.

Eustathius, Earl of *Bullogne*, who had married *Goda* the King's Sister, having been at Court to visit the King; and in his return again to *France*, his Harbinger, who was sent before to provide him and his Retinue Lodgings at *Dover*, behaving himself rudely and insultingly to a Citizen, was slain by him. The Earl after arriving with his Company, pursues the Person and slew him, with eighteen more. The City being alarm'd at this piece of Revenge, took Arms, and slew twenty two of the Earl's Servants: At this, the Earl hastens to the King, complains of the Citizens Rudeness, and so aggravates the Matter, that *Earl Godwin* was immediately commanded with a sufficient Force to go down to *Dover*, and chastise them for this Insolency. The Earl knowing, that this Sentence proceeded from the Information of one side only, advised the King first to send for some of the Chief of the Citizens to answer the Charge, and according to their Defence, to proceed. This wholesome Counsel was interpreted by his Enemies, as if the Earl favoured the King's Enemies, and designed to make himself popular: And they so far possess'd the King of it, that he began then to have a Suspicion of his Affection to him, and at length looked upon him as aiming at his Crown; wherefore not long after, the Earl was summoned to a Parliament at *Glocester*, but neither he, nor any of his Sons would appear: But suspecting, that his Enemies had some ill Designs against him, he raised some Forces, under

Godwin
marries his
Daughter
to the King.

A Disur-
bance at
Dover.

Godwin
refuses to
appear at
Glocester.

^a One Thousand and Fender.

^b There was a nearer Heir to the Crown alive, viz. *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironside*; But he having none in the Nation to solicit his Interest, lost his Inheritance, and this *Edward* was by Election placed in it.

^c By all the Subjects of *England*, except the Clergy, who thro' the Piety of those Times were exempted from all Taxes, which since have been doubled upon them.

^d These Laws are for the most part the common Laws of *England*, now in use; so called because they are such Usages and Practices, as by long Experience have been found for the common Good of this Nation: Among these Laws he enacted, That no Person should be molested or troubled with any Law-suit upon certain Festivals: And that Criminals flying to the Church for Safety, should be protected and apprehended by none but the Bishop and his Ministers. With many other excellent Laws.

^e His Piety was so acceptable to God, as well as remarkable among his Subjects, that God gave him a Power of healing Diseases miraculously; and from him it is, that the miraculous Gift of healing the Disease from thence called the King's Evil, is derived to the Christian Kings of *England*, tho' common to the Kings of *France* with them, and by as good a Title.

under a Pretence of suppressing the *Welsh*, who at that time made no Disturbance. Whereupon the Parliament removed to *London*, and there summoned him again to appear, and dismissing his Forces to come to them, with twelve Men only, he returned them this Answer, *That he should be content to dismiss his Forces, do any thing the King would command him, provided it were with Safety of his Life and Honour; but to attend upon them without a sufficient Guard, he was satisfied was for neither.* The Parliament having received this Answer, knew no other way to rid themselves of him, but to command him to depart the Realm within five Days, which he did; and with his Sons, *Swain*, *Tost*, and *Girh*, sailed into *Flanders*, where *Tost* married the Daughter of *Earl Baldwin V.* *Harold* his eldest Son fled into *Ireland*. The King puts away his Queen, that she might share in the Disgrace of her Family, and Misfortunes of her Kindred; tho' according to the Description which is given by the Writers of those Times of her, she was most undeserving of that Punishment: For they say, she was a Lady of great Worth and rare Parts; very learned and beautiful, and of as fair a Mind as Body. *Earl Godwin*, in his Exile (while the *Normans* and his Enemies had the King's Favour) fell to Piracy; disturbed and plundered the Coasts, and ventured up to *London* by the River: Where being so popular, that no Forces would oppose him, he was admitted to such a Peace as he would make; which being such, as if not directly, yet in the end would tend to the Ruine of the *French* and his other Enemies, they thought it their best Course to forsake the Court and Kingdom, but carried with them such a true Notion of the Kingdom's Weakness, thro' the Distractions of the People, and Factions of great Men, as a little after gave them Encouragement to attempt the Conquest of it.

Earl Godwin banished.

Earl Godwin's Revenge upon the Normans.

Earl Godwin being again restored to his Country, and in great Credit with the King, made use of his Interest and Authority to gratifie his own revengeful Temper, and injure others. *Robert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and his *Normans*, he caused to be banished, and did many Acts of Injustice to the People; which did so blacken those peaceable Times, and disaffect the People to the King, that they accounted him among the worst of Governours, who tho' he did no ill himself, yet suffered his Authority to be abused by those that did. The Queen *Emma* had her share of Trouble in this Reign, suffering much, both in her Estate and good Name, thro' *Godwin's* Hatred to her. Her grand Accusation was, That she had kept Company too familiarly with *Alwyne*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and by her scandalous Behaviour disgraced the Royal Line; for which she was deprived of her Riches and Estates, and imprisoned. The Queen, to vindicate her Innocency, was contented to undergo the severe Tryal of *Fire-Ordeal* (which was to pass blindfold with her bare Feet over nine Plow-shares, made red hot, and laid at even distance one by

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another) which she safely performed, and by it, recovered her Fame and Honour with the King and Nobles of the Land, who were all Spectators of this miraculous Act: But *Earl Godwin's* Death put an end to farther Trouble by his Means.

Edward having now reigned near twenty Years, and being pretty well advanced in Age, and being without Issue, began to think upon his Succession, and to secure that in his own Line, sent for his Nephew, *Edward* called the Out-law, out of *Hungary*, with his Children. They liv'd some time in his Court; but *Edward* died before him, leaving only one Son. *Edgar*, surnamed *Atheling*, whom he had by his Wife *Agatha*, Daughter to the Emperor *Henry II.* who being very young and bred a Stranger, which are really no just Bar to Right, was neglected at the Death of his Uncle, the pious King *Edward*, which happened *An. 1065.* when he had reigned twenty four Years. His Body was interred in the Church of *Westminster*, which he had newly founded, and his Throne disposed out of his Line to *Harold*.

HAROLD, the Son of *Earl Godwin*, the next Day after *Edward's* Death, was raised to the Regal Dignity, and made King; whether by any Title he derived from the *Danish* Kings, by his Mother, (who was the Sister of *Swain*, King of *Denmark*) or by mere Election of the Nobility, it is not easy to determine: But it seems, that the Circumstances of the Times were such, as necessarily required, that the Scepter should be put into the hands of such a Person as was best able to undergo the Burthen of War, and the other great Troubles the Nation was likely to fall into, thro' the various Claims, then put in both by the *Dane* and *Norman* for the *English* Crown, and none could be fitter for it in such a Juncture than *Harold*, who was judged on all hands the most eminent Man of the Kingdom, both for his Deserts and great Alliance with the Nobility of this Kingdom, both by his own Pedigree and his Wife's; who was *Algith*, the Sister of *Edwin* and *Morchar*, the Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*. Neither did he deceive the Expectations of the Nation in electing him; for he took the best Methods to govern the Kingdom well, and made such Provisions for the Safety of the Nation, as the most active and politick Prince could do: And had he had but a favourable Fortune, and faithful and courageous Subjects, to second his brave Actions, the Attempts of the Enemies of the Kingdom had been in vain; but the approaching Danger so terrified the Nation, that the Terror robbed them at once of their Courage and Diligence.

A. D. 1065.

Haroldson of Earl Godwin made King of England.

The first that gave his Reign any Disturbance was his own Brother *Tost*; who in the time of King *Edward*, being entrusted with the Government of *Northumberland*, behaved himself with such Pride and Cruelty to the People, that he was banished the Kingdom. Being in *Normandy*, when his Brother obtain'd the Crown of *England*, with *William* Duke of that Country, whose Wife's

Harold's Conquest of his Brother Tost, and Harold King of Norway.

O

Sister

^a It is said, that *Edward* as soon as he came to the Throne, depriv'd *Emma* of all her Estate; only ordering her a necessary Maintenance, for her Cruelty to him in his Adversity, in denying him whatever he asked of her.

^b The Sentence in such Cases was, That the Person guilty was to walk with the whole Weight of her Body and bare Feet upon the nine Plow-shares red hot, and if she were not burnt she was judged innocent; if she were, she suffer'd farther Punishment: And this was the Sentence pronounc'd upon the Queen, and Tryal she went through, though this Historian seems to understand it otherwise.

^c It is said, That *Earl Godwin's* Death was thus: Being at a Banquet with the King, he suspected by some Reflection the King made on him, that he thought him guilty of the Death of his Brother *Alfred*; and to clear himself of it, he wished that the next Morsel might choak him if he was any Cause of it. The King, we are told, blessed the Morsel, and he eating, was choaked.

^d This makes the Story, that *Edward* gave the Crown to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, very improbable.

^e Of *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who claimed by *Edward's* Will; and *Harold* *Harfager* King of *Norway*, who claimed it by descent from *Canutus* the *Dane*.

Sister he had marry'd, he was easily instigated through Hatred to his Brother, to invade *England*; and being furnished with a Fleet and Men, he first assaults the Isle of *Wight*, and then fell upon the Coasts of *Kent*, where he plunder'd some of the Inhabitants, but was soon driven off by the King's Navy: Whereupon he withdrew from thence into the North parts, and attempting to land, was so warmly received by *Morcar* and *Edwin*, the Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*, that they forced him to fly, tho' with loss to themselves. *Tostig* seeing all his endeavours in vain, and being unwilling to return to *Normandy* with nothing but ill News, repairs to the King of *Scots*, to beg his Assistance, but received a Denial; by which he was reduced almost to despair. In his return he met with *Harold*, surnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, who having conquer'd the *Orcades*, was coming with three hundred Ships to invade *England*, to whom *Tostig* joyn'd himself, and encourag'd the Attempt. They landed at *Tinmouth*, and breaking through the faint Opposition they met with in those parts, which were unprovided to encounter an Enemy, march'd into the heart of the Country without any loss^b. Near *Stamford*, *Harold* met them with a strong Army, and after a long and eager Battel obtain'd remarkable Victory; slaying, besides the two Captains, *Harfager* and *Tostig*, the greatest part and worthiest Men of their Army.

The Duke of Normandy invades England, and conquers it.

William, Duke of *Normandy*, not discourag'd by the Misfortune of *Tostig*, was resolv'd not to give over his Claim of the Crown of *England*, which he pretended was given him by the last Will of King *Edward* his Kinsman; and therefore, notwithstanding this ill success, provided a great Navy, and strong Army, to make a second Attempt. He landed at *Pemsey*, not far from *Hastings*, in *Sussex*. *Harold* remained yet in the North; but upon the News of *William's* arrival, hasten'd with all the Forces he had into the South. At *London* he met with a Messenger from *William*, who came to demand his Kingdom. *Harold* could scarcely hear the Message with patience; but checking his Passion, he charg'd him to depart out of his Country: And immediately mustering his Army near *London*, he march'd against the Invader. About seven Miles from *Hastings* was the Controversie, decided between *Harold* and his Competitor, *William* Duke of *Normandy*; upon whom, tho' Fortune cast the Victory, yet never Battel was more bravely fought on the part of the *English*; who, rather than fall under the Sla-

very of the *Normans*, dy'd 69074 upon the Spot, few or none escaping. Strange it is indeed, that so great a Kingdom, as *England* was at that time, should at one Blow, by so small a Nation as the *Normans* were, be quite subdu'd, so that it could never make any considerable Resistance against the Conqueror. But the Causes and Reasons are very apparent to any that consider the Circumstances of Things, and Nature of the People: For besides the Divisions that were among the Nobility at that very instant, when Danger was so near them, that nothing but the closest Union could save them, the People of the Nation in general, by living long secure from any Enemy in peaceable Times, were grown unexperienced and negligent in Arms, and generally render'd weak and effeminate by Luxury and Idleness; the Clergy grown Licentious and Illiterate; the Nobility given to Gluttony, Whoredom and Oppression; the Commonalty addicted to Drunkenness and Disorder. And 'tis said, that in the last Action of *Harold* at *Stamford*, he lost his bravest Men; and the rest were discontented, because *Harold* retained the Spoil to himself: So that he came to this Battel with many raw undisciplin'd Soldiers, and a discontented Army, which was an occasion of this lamentable Loss. Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar way of Fighting with long Bows, with which the *English* being wholly unacquainted, were chiefly overthrown. And yet their own Writers report, how that the main Body of the *English* Army (consisting of Bills, their chief and ancient Weapon) held so close together in one Body, that no Force could dissolve them, till the *Normans* (making a shew of Flight) drew them into Disorder, and so got the Day.

The Body of *Harold* being obtain'd of the Conqueror, by the Request of his Mother, who sent two Monks of *Waltham-Abby* to beg it of him^c, was after much search found among the Heaps of dead Bodies, and bury'd in the same Abby which he had himself built. He was a very unfortunate Prince; his Reign was full of Miseries and Troubles; he Ruled but little, but lost all. He left four Sons, *Godwin*, *Edmund*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*. The two Eldest fled away after this Battel into *Ireland*, and from thence made some Attempts upon the Western Coast of *England*, but to little purpose. With this King ended the *Saxon* Line, after it had been in *England* five hundred Years, from the first coming of *Hengist*, and his Settlement here. And from the Commencement of the *Norman* Race do I intend to begin my History.

Causes of the Norman Conquest.

Harold slain, and his Burial

^a *Harold Harfager* claim'd the Crown of *England* as his Right by *Canutus*. He is said to have been slain by *Harold's* own hand.

^b *Harold's* Army being to pass over a Bridge, to encounter his Enemies, one *Norwegian* kept the Bridge a considerable while against his whole Army, and slew forty Men before they could get free passage over it.

^c That it was but a meer Pretence, appears from the most serious words which he spake upon his Death-Bed, concerning his Right to the *English* Crown: 'Twas not an Hereditary Right that put me in Possession of this Honour; but by a desperate Engagement, and much Bloodshed, I wrested it from the Perjur'd King, *Harold*; and having slain, or put to flight all his Abbettors, made myself Master of it.

^d It seems, it was the Custom of the *English* in their Wars to give the most considerable and valuable part of their Booty to their Captains, and leave the rest to their Soldiers; which *Harold*, through Covetousness, or perhaps Necessity, at that time seizing upon, gave a Discontent to his Soldiers, when he had most use of them.

^e They are said to be *Osgeod* and *Ailricke*.

^f She offer'd him its weight in Gold for the Body, which Duke *William* refus'd.



THE LIFE and REIGN OF WILLIAM I.

A. D.
1066.

The State
of Eng-
land by the
Norman
Conquest.

† of Gaul.

The Nor-
man Man-
ners and
Fashions
imitated by
the Eng-
lish.

BY the Conquest of *England* by *William Duke of Normandy*, there was so great a Change made of the ancient Laws, Customs, Language, Writing, Forms of Battels, Buildings, yea every thing but Religion; that there cannot be a fitter Period of History, than to begin with his Entrance upon the Government: For with a new Race of Kings, *England* put on a new Face of Affairs, and was so much changed, as if it had been metamorphiz'd into another Kingdom. It grew more Victorious Abroad, and refin'd at Home. The *Danes* indeed united it under one Form of Government, and made it the most terrible of all the Kingdoms of the North: For whereas before, for five Hundred Years, it was busied at home in civil Wars and Factions. *Canutus*, by his Mildness, brought it to submit to him as their Head; and employing their victorious Arms abroad, brought the Kingdom of *Norway* into Subjection to him: But the *Normans* coming upon them, enlarged their Dominions beyond the Seas, and added the goodly Provinces of the South † to their Command. Nor did they less improve things at home; for they brought in greater Civility into common Converse, antiquated their old Custom of intemperate drinking, and instead of their Roughness and Excesses, implanted Temperance and a generous Desire of Reputation and Honour. Now the *English* began to despise their little homely Cottages, and to build themselves stately Houses, magnificent Churches and Monasteries, to provide neat and good Furniture, and to erect Castles and Towers after the *Norman* Fashion. They no longer hunt in common, as they did before, but they inclosed Parks for their private Pleasures: And in fine, they took up all the *Norman* Fashions and Habits; and tho' there was a greater Mixture of many Nations, than ever before, yet they all so eagerly complied with the *Norman* way of Living, either thro' Fear, or Novelty, that they immediately seemed but one. The *Saxon* Language in the general still remained; but was soon mixed so much with the *French* (all the Terms of Building, Hunting, Handicrafts, Cloathing, and War, with the Names of all such Instruments and Weapons as were used in them, being wholly in that Lan-

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guage, and the Character of the Letters altered to the *Roman* and *French*) that the Tongue seemed quite changed, and exactly conformed to the new Scheme of things, and is now hardly to be known. But that we may know both the Man and the Nation which subdued us, I will look back a little upon the Original of both, and give you this Account of them.

The *Normans* were a People which came out of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and consequently of the same Manners and Fashions with those Northern Countries: Which thro' their promiscuous Use of Veneries, without any ties of lawful Marriage, produced such great Abundance of People, that they were forced frequently to arm out great Numbers of them to seek themselves such Habitations as they could by War and Violence obtain. Such a Colony was sent out in the Time of King *Alfred*, under the Command of one *Rollo*, or *Roul*, a great Captain among them. These Adventurers having left their own Country, first landed in *England* (which always lay open to Invaders) and hoped to have found good Entertainment there: But contrary to their Expectation, meeting with fierce Opposition, they were content to leave them with a small Booty of Cattel, which they had got from them, and use their Forces another way. From hence *Rollo* sailed against *Rambalt* Duke of *Friesland*, and *Reignier*, Duke of *Chaumont* and *Hainalt*, with whom he had many sharp Contests, and did much Mischief in their Country; but not being able to gain a Place of Settlement, he passed along the Coast of *France*, and entering the Mouth of the River *Seine*, ravaged the Country up as high as *Roven*; where the People having not long before been miserably afflicted by *Hasting*, or *Hading* (another of these *Danish* Invaders) were extremely affrighted at the Approach of a new Army: In-
somuch, that the Arch-bishop of *Roven*, by the Instigation of the People, offered him the Obedience of that City, and the adjoining Country thereabout, upon condition that he would defend them, and administer Justice according to the Laws of Christ, and Customs of the Country: For *Charles* the Simple, who was then King of *France*, not being able to protect them against this Invasion, because his Forces were employed

An Account
of the Ori-
ginal of the
Normans.

O 2

against

^a Yet our Historians say, That some Novelities in Religion came into the *English* Church by this Conquest; for the *English* before, had the Scriptures read in their Churches in a known Tongue, prefer'd the Original *Hebrew* before the *Latin* Version; had no Prayers for the dead, or for the Pardon of Sins, or the Relaxation of the Pains of such as were thought to be in Purgatory, which they believ'd not; worshipp'd not Saints, tho' they had an honourable Memory of them; had the Communion in both Kinds; the contrary to which Doctrines crept in by the *Norman* Conquest.

^b North-men, being the Flower of the *Swedes*, *Danes* and *Norwegians*, Northern Nations. These People infested the Coasts of *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, and *Holland*, with Piracies so much in the Times of *Charles* the Great, that it was made a Petition in the Publick Litanies to deliver them from the *Normans*. From the Rage of the *Normans*, Good Lord deliver us.

The Nor-
man Dukes
in their
Succession.

against the Enemies of his Crown, was obliged to suffer them to settle in that Place; and in a short time, he grew so Powerful, that he attempted the Conquest of *Paris* it self, and notably foil'd the *French* Captains in several Skirmishes: So that *Charles* was forced to come to an Agreement with him, and yield up the whole Country of *Neustria* to him, which from the *Normans* was called *Normandy*. *Rollo* being thus gotten into the peaceable Possession of a Dukedom for himself, and a convenient Habitation for his *Normans*; began to establish Laws, and settle so well a formed Government, that he made his Name ever after in great Honour and Reverence among his People, and laid a Foundation of a firm Succession for his Posterity. Not long after he had thus set things in Order, he was converted to Christianity; and being baptized, received the Name of *Robert* from his God-father *Robert*, Brother of *Eudes*, late King of *France*, who then was a Competitor with *Charles* for the Crown; who is said to have assisted *Rollo* under-hand in his Attempts upon *France*, tho' afterward he alledged it as a Crime against *Charles*, that he had given away his Country, and favoured Strangers. From *Rollo* descended six Dukes of *Normandy* in a direct Line, who reigned an hundred and twenty Years, viz. *William I.* *Richard I.* *Richard II.* who had two Sons *Richard* and *Robert*, who ruled successively.

William
made Duke
of Nor-
mandy.

Robert, the last of them, having ruled eight Years, either out of Devotion, or to expiate some secret Sin, which lay heavy upon his Conscience, took up a Resolution to visit the Holy Sepulchre: And that he might set all things in order for his Departure, assembled all his Nobility to acquaint them with it. They dissuaded him much from it, not only because he had no Children; but because *Alain*, Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Burgundy*, were already in Contest about the Succession to his Dutchy: So that upon his Death or Departure, their Country was like to become a Seat of War, and a Prey to Ambition, which they thought he was bound in Conscience by all means he could to prevent. The Duke not at all removed from his Intention, desired them to rest contented; telling them, 'That he had a Son, which tho' not begot in lawful Marriage, he did not doubt but he was his own Child, and that he would invest him in his Dutchy, as his Heir before he left them; and desired, that they would acknowledge him such, and submit to him as their Prince. The Earl of *Britain*, (saith he) notwithstanding his Competition for my Throne, yet such is my Confidence in him, I will make him his Governor, and President of *Normandy*, and the King of *France* his Guardian; and so I will leave him to God and your Loyalty. Soon after the Bishops and Barons did their Homage to the young Prince, named *William*, who was the sixth Duke of *Normandy* after *Rollo*, being begotten by Duke *Robert* on *Arlet*, a beautiful Virgin, but of mean Degree, in the City of *Falaise*. After this, the Duke delivering the Child to *Henry* the First, King of *France*, with his own hand, and causing him to do him Homage for his Dutchy, committed him to his Royal Faith, and so enter'd upon his intended Journey; at the end of which, as soon almost as he came, he died. *William*, his Son and Successor, being thus left at nine Years old, became subject to all the Afflictions and Calamities of Minors, the Nobles of

Normandy fell into great Factions and Quarrels; which while the chief Officers thought to allay by his Presence (having obtain'd him by much Entreaty from the King of *France*) they increased. For presently upon his coming among them, there followed the murdering and poisoning of their Governors, Intrusions into Offices, supplanting and surprizing his Person, by the Nobility, who were proud and haughty, not able to endure the Precedency and Greatness one of another.

Several
Competi-
tors with
William,
for the
Dukedom
of Nor-
mandy.

But these Troubles about his Person, were far less than several others, which he was forced to encounter in the Defence of his Right to the Succession; which being stained with his illegitimate Blood and Birth, render'd him obnoxious to the Contests which better Claims might commence. And of these, the first that appeared against him was *Roger de Fresney*, a Person of great Worth and much Experience in Military Affairs, having been a Captain in the Wars against the *Saracens* in *Spain*: He brought a fair Pedigree from *Rollo*, to justify his Claim to the Dutchy, and by feasting the Nobility of the *Normans*, got a great Interest among them. Hereupon he begins to urge it to them; That it was a great Wrong and Injury to the Posterity of *Rollo*, who had gotten the Dukedom by his Valour and Courage, to have a Bastard to be preferred before him, who was a Legitimate Descendant from him; and no less Disgrace to so brave a People as the *Normans* were, to suffer themselves to be so govern'd; especially since they had others, who in a direct Line were come from their former Dukes, *Rollo*, *William*, and *Richard*, and no less worthy of that Dignity, than their present Prince. By these means he had got a considerable Party, and being impatient of delay, brought his Claim soon to be decided in a Field Battel. *Roger de Beaumont* headed the young Prince's Forces against this Competitor, and by his Conduct gained so compleat a Victory, that all Fear from him was utterly extinguished; himself, two Brethren, and the greatest part of his Army being slain. This Action so advanced the Reputation of the Duke, that the King of *France* began to be jealous of his rising Power; and therefore (contrary to his Trust reposed in him by *Robert*) he first takes from him the Castle of *Thouilliers* and demolished it; pretending some Wrongs and Injuries to be done by the Garrison that lay there to his Subjects, and then openly assisted his Base-born Uncle, *William* Earl of *Arques*, against him; lending him a powerful Army to vindicate his Claim to the Dukedom, tho' he came off in it with as great a Loss as Dishonour. For Count *Guiffard*, the Duke's General, drew the *French* into such an Ambush by a Stratagem, that he destroyed the whole Army, and left but few to relate their Misfortune at *Paris*, to the great Grief of that King; and *Arques* being conquer'd by the young Duke, not yet seventeen Years old, fled to seek his Fortune with *Eustace* Earl of *Bullogne*, where he found but cold Entertainment, Favour generally changing with Mens Fortune, and few regarding Men overthrown. These Enemies being subdued, a greater Danger succeeds by a private Conspiracy. There lived with Duke *William* a young Lord of his own Age, named *Guy* Son of *Regnault* Earl of *Burgogne*, and *Alix* Daughter to *Richard II.* Duke of *Normandy*; who being sensible of his Title to the Dukedom, was persuaded by some stirring Spirits to endeavour to obtain it,

A Conspi-
racy a-
gainst
William
strangely
discovered.

^a He is said to have poison'd his Brother *Richard*, and tho' he had a Natural Affection for his illegitimate Son *William*, yet 'tis not improbable; but that his Sin, which he committed in begetting him on *Arlet* the Daughter of a Skinner of *Falaise*, might trouble his Conscience; and to expiate for these Sins, he resolv'd upon this Pilgrimage, a thing much us'd his time.

^b At *Nice* in *Bythinia*, Anno 1035. Du Chesne.

it, which they told him was by Right his, and usurped by the Bastard. These Admonitions kindled the young Man's Ambition, which to gratifie he had now a lucky Opportunity; for having lately composed a Quarrel between two of the greatest Lords of *Normandy*, Viscount *Neel* and the Earl of *Bessin*, with much Prudence and Caution he had gain'd the Love and Friendship of both Parties, with some Disgust to Duke *William*, who seemed to disdain them by not taking notice of it. These he easily brought to joyn with him in a Conspiracy to murder the Duke suddenly, and by Surprise; which probably they had done, had they not been discovered by a Fool, who not being excluded their Consultations, because he was thought not to have Wit enough to take notice of it, went at Midnight to discover the Plot to Duke *William*; who observing the Fright the Fool was in, and considering what Prudence it was to avoid Dangers in the least suspected, immediately took Horse and fled to *Falaise*. The Conspirators not discouraged, tho' they were a little disappointed, pursue him; and tho' they could not overtake him, yet they raised so strong a Faction of all sorts of People, that he was forced to leave his own Dominions, and to fly to the King of *France* to beg his Aid and Assistance against them. His Request was not easily obtained, because that King was afraid of his growing Greatness; but the Duke putting him in mind of the faithful Services his Father had done him; That he himself was his Homager, and held his Crown under him, and could fly to none so properly as him for help against his mutinous Nobility; That this Rebellion, if not repressed, would be of dangerous Consequence to his own Kingdom, with many other Arguments to shew the Importance and Necessity of a Relief, so prevailed with the King, that he was contented to go in person with a powerful Army against the Conspirators, whom they found in the Valley of *Dunes*, ready to encounter them; and so there began a Battel with equal Resolution on both sides. In this Fight one *Guileson*, Uncle to Viscount *Neel* by his Mother, forced his Horse into the Battalion of *French* and struck the King from his Horse with his Lance; and tho' he himself was dismounted by Count *St. Paul*, and his Horse slain by *Castillon*, who came to rescue the King from the Danger he was in; yet he made his Escape out of the Press, and fled into *Apulia*, with divers others. The King being incensed with this Blow, spared not to avenge himself on his Enemies, and Duke *William* was not inferiour to him in any daring Attempt. The Victory was a long time wavering; till *Ralf de Tesson*, to gain the Duke's Favour, betrayed the Army of the Conspirators, and so they were conquer'd. Divers of them, whose Hearts were too great to yield, fled over the Mountains into *Italy* to *Robert Guiscard*, their Country-man, who of a private Gentleman, became Supreme Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*; and had he lived, was in a fair way to have been Emperor of *Constantinople*; but dying left his Dominion in *Italy* to *Roger* his second Son, *Beaumont* his eldest being then engaged in the Holy Wars, where he became Prince of *Antioch*. To this *Guiscard* these rebellious *Normans* were very welcome, and none more than *Guileson*, for the late desperate Attempt he made upon the *French* King; because as he sought to increase his Army by entertaining them, so he was most plea-

fed with the bravest Men. *Guy de Bourgoigne* having escaped the Fight, fortified his Castles of *Briorn* and *Vernouille*, but in the end was forced to surrender them and himself to the Duke's Mercy; who dealt so favourably with him in sparing his Life, and allowing him a Pension, that many others submitted themselves to him, and thereby secured their Lordships and Estates, but he demolished their Castles to secure their Obedience.

William having thus settled his own Dominions in Peace, had but little Enjoyment of it before a foreign Enemy gave him a Disquiet. *Jeoffrey Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, making War upon the People of *Poitou*, encroached upon the Neighbouring States; and among others seized upon *Alençon*, *Dampfront*, and *Paiffais*, Cities belonging to the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *William*, who was always for getting and never for losing, immediately levies an Army, and first recovers *Alençon*, where (because the besieged scornfully reproached him for his Mother and Place of Nativity; crying out, when they saw him, *La Pel, La Pel*, i. e. a Skin, a Skin, in reference to the Skinners of *Falaise*, of whom his Mother's Father was one) he used them with great Cruelty. Then he laid Siege to *Dampfront*, and hearing that Count *Martel* was coming with great Forces to relieve it, he sent *Roger de Montgomery*, with two other Knights, with this Message to the Earl; That if he came to *viñtual* *Dampfront*, he should find him Porter to keep him out. Whereunto the Duke returned this Answer; Tell the Duke, to morrow by break of Day, he shall have me there on a White Horse ready to give him Battel, and will enter *Dampfront*, if I can; and that he may know me, I shall have a Shield of Or, without any Device. *Roger* replies, Sir, You may spare the Pains; the Duke will be here ready to meet you on a Bay Horse, with a Streamer of Taffata on the top of his Lance to wipe your Face: And then they parted. The Earl made all the Preparations for next day he could; and in the Morning, as he was ordering his Army for Battel, News was brought him that *Dampfront* was taken: Upon which he immediately departs, and in his Passage homeward, was in a narrow Streight set upon by Viscount *Neel*, and great part of his Army cut off; by which good Service that Earl regained the Duke's Favour, and kept it ever after. *Dampfront* being taken, the Duke with his Engines and Forces removed to *Hambriers*, a Frontier Town of Count *Martel's*, and by the way (had he not discovered it himself) had been utterly destroyed by an Ambush, which cost him a great many brave Men to get himself free of; at which he was so enraged, that he rushed himself into the midst of his Enemies, and making at Count *Martel*, beat him down with a Blow of his Sword, clave his Helmet in sunder, and cut off one of his Ears, and yet escaped out of the Press; and in the issue utterly defeated the *Anjevins*. While he was thus busied against his Enemies abroad, another Conspiracy was formed against him at home, by *William Guelan* Earl of *Mortaigne*, who was descended from *Richard* the Second, and *William* Earl of *Eu* and *Montreuil*, a Branch from the Family of *William*, Brother of the said *Richard*, and *Esselin*, Countess of *Montreuil*. The first was only vehemently suspected, the other was proved guilty; and being banished, his Estate was seized, his Earldom of *Mortaigne* was given to *Robert*, and that of *Eu* to *Odo* (after Bishop of *Bayeux*) both his Brethren

William annoy'd by foreign Enemies.

Another Conspiracy against *William*.

William begs the King of *France's* Assistance against them.

Robert Guiscard Lord of *Apulia*.

^a *Arlet*, Duke *William's* Mother, married one *Herlain*, a *Norman* Gentleman, with Duke *Robert's* Consent; and had these two Sons by him, whom Duke *William* own'd, and preferr'd as his Brethren.

Duke William's Marriage.

thren by his Mother. These Assaults from abroad these Scorns and Conspiracies at home, he pass'd through before he was two and twenty Years of Age; and thus his Enemies made him, whom they sought to undo. And now, having dispers'd all outward and visible signs of Enmity both at home and abroad, he dare not promise himself Safety; but to secure himself, and strengthen his Kingdom against all ill Practices for the future, he summon'd a Parliament of Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, and caused them to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, and raze their Castles; which done, he marry'd *Mathilda*, Daughter of *Baldwin V.* Earl of *Flanders*; yet not without some ensuing trouble. For his Uncle *Mauger* Archbishop of *Roan*, excommunicated him for marrying within the degrees of Consanguinity, which were forbidden by the Church, *Mathilda* being the Daughter of *Eleanor*, his Father's Sister: To expiate for which Offence, by a Dispensation from Pope *Victor*, he was enjoyn'd to build an Hospital for blind People, and two Abbies, one for Men, and the other for Women; which he did at *Caen* in *Normandy*.

The King of France's Wars against Duke William.

The Success which *William* had against his Enemies on all sides, made him so formidable to the neighbouring Princes, that *France* it self began to be very jealous of his growing Power; and having naturally no Love for the *Normans* (whom in scorn they call'd *Treuwans*) incited their King, who himself was forward enough to repress a Person grown so much more powerful than the other Princes of his Dominions, to find out some pretence of Quarrel with him. This was an easie matter to do, where their Dominions had so near Confines; and therefore in the first place he accuses him of having done many Wrongs and Injuries to his Subjects bordering on his Dukedom; and particularly, he resented his late oppressing of Count *Martel*: And that his Cause might look the more plausible, he alledged, "That it concerned him in Honour and Justice to have that Province, which held of his Crown, to be govern'd by a Prince of lawful Blood, according to the Christian Doctrine, and Laws Ecclesiastical; and therefore resolved to depose Duke *William*, and settle a Legitimate Prince. Hereupon he raised two powerful Armies, gather'd from all Parts of his Kingdom, and sent them against him; the one by the River *Sein*, and the other by the Country of *Bessin*; that his Dukedom being encompassed on all sides, he might not possibly escape. The Duke in the mean time was not unmindful of his own Defence against so potent an Enemy, and having gather'd a good Army, divided it into two parts; with the one he sent out his Brother *Odo* Earl of *Eu*, *Walter Guifford* Earl of *Longueville*, and others into the Country of *Caux*; and with the other part he went himself towards *Eureux*, intending to oppose the King of *France*, who was at *Mante*. The Cattel, and all other portable Provisions, he caused to be removed out of the flat Country into the Cities and Castles, not only to furnish themselves, but incommode the Enemy. The *French* Army march'd on towards them from *Beauvais* to *Mortimer*, where finding the Country stor'd with all manner of Provisions, they staid that Night, and feasted themselves with Plenty of Good Cheer; thinking that the *Norman* Army was with their Duke at *Eureux*. *Otho*, who commanded the Army in *Caux*, having Intelligence of the *French* Army's Dissoluteness and Security, made use of that opportunity to oppress them; and marching all the Night, fell upon them about break of Day with that Suddenness and Fury, that they slew near three parts of them, being in all forty thousand,

The French Army defeated.

took many Prisoners, and among them several Persons of Note, and put the rest to flight, leaving their Horses and Baggage to the *Normans*. This Defeat caused the King to return home in Anger and Rage; upon cooler Thoughts he desisted from Revenge: And upon the Delivery of the captiv'd *French*, agreed to a Peace with the Duke, and restor'd to him the Castle of *Thouilliers*, which in his Minority he had taken from him. Count *Martel*, tho' very much disheartened by the Loss of the *French* Army, yet did not desist from making some Attempts to recover the Towns the Duke had taken from him; but found that it was to no purpose without a greater Army than he had, or could raise, the *Normans* being so powerful. Wherefore the next Spring, he went to importune the King of *France* to assist him against the Duke, telling him, That the *Normans* were grown so insolent by the Victory they had stollen, not gotten fairly of the *French*, that there was no living by them; that they made the *French* ever since, the Subject of their Sports and Songs, as if the King of *France*, through the Loss of a few Men, was quite retired, and had rather stick to a dishonourable Peace, than appear again in the Field against them. These Importunities, and the Relation of the Abuses and Reproaches of the *Normans*, so prevailed with the *French* King, that he raised another Army, much bigger than the former, in which were three Dukes, and twelve Earls; and notwithstanding he had so lately made a solemn Peace with the Duke and confirm'd it with an Oath, yet he enter'd *Normandy* in Harvest-time, over-ran and ravag'd all the Country along the Coast to *Bessin*; from whence he march'd to *Bayeux* and *Caen*, designing to pass the River *Dive* at *Vernerville*, and destroy the Countries of *Auge*, *Lysieux*, and *Raumois*, as far as *Rouen*. Coming to the River, he found the Causeway leading to it long, and the Bridge narrow; and therefore, that he might get over safely, he sent over his Van-guard first, and to secure his Rear-guard, commanded by the Duke of *Berry*, he himself staid behind at *Caen*, till his People and their Carriages were pass'd over. Duke *William* all this while was employ'd in fortifying and victualling his Towns, and particularly of *Falaise*, where he himself intended to reside. He had no Army in the Field, but a running Camp, which he kept ready to take all Advantages. He was sensible of the Calamities of his People by the *French*, but had not Strength to oppose them, till he had some advantageous Offer, which he was resolv'd not to neglect. And long it was not before he had one: Being inform'd of the Passage of the *French* Army over the Bridge on the *Dive*, wherefore marching all Night with ten thousand Men, in the Morning early he set upon the Rear-guard with so sudden a cry and fury, that they who were on the Causeway hearing the Noise behind, thrust their Fellows forward to get over the Bridge, with so great a crowd and noise, that they broke it, and many were drowned in the River. They who were gotten over could not return to help the rest; nor the King, by reason of the Marshes on both sides, yield any Succours to his People, but was forced with Grief to behold the miserable Slaughter and Captivity of his People; among whom six Earls were taken, of which the banish'd Earl of *Eu* was one, who having gotten into the King's Favour, was created by him Count de *Soissons*. This ill Success stuck so close to the *French* King's Heart, that he dy'd not long after with Grief; which render'd Duke *William* so formidable, that tho' many had Will, yet none had Courage to disturb his Peace for a long time after; which brought great Prosperity to *Normandy*.

The King of France raises another Army against Duke William.

Duke William routs the French Army.

Duke

Duke William's Actions in Peace. Duke William enjoying Peace was not less active than he was in War, tho' in Works of a better nature: For now he employ'd his time in ordering his State and Government, and adorning his Country with sumptuous and beautiful Buildings, erecting Churches and Monasteries, and endowing them with large Estates. He had before built two Monasteries at Caen, and now in these peaceable times he gather'd Reliques from all parts to furnish them with, and built himself and Wife a Tomb in them. He also frequently feasted his Nobility, and those of them that he observed to be Men of Worth, and able to serve the State well, he prefer'd and rewarded; by which means he gained the Love and Affections of his Nobility, and People so generally, that they were all entirely his, and ready to do any thing he could command or desire. In this serene part of his Life and Reign he made a Journey into England, to visit his Kinsman, King Edward, who in Consideration of his Preservation and Education in Normandy by Richard the Second (Grandfather to them both) gave him most Noble and Royal Entertainment. At this Interview he shewed himself to the English, and without doubt took himself a sharp aspect of the State and Affairs of England: To be sure so much was done by the King, or Harold in his Name, at this meeting, as gave the Duke ground to claim the Kingdom by the Donation of Edward, after his Death: What it was, could not be found out exactly. It is certain, that Harold going into Normandy did make some Promises to the Duke, and confirm'd them with an Oath upon the Evangelists and the sacred Reliques at Roven; and thereupon Adeliza, the Duke's Daughter, was affianced or betrothed to him, and Welnot his Brother left as a Pledge for the Performance: Which shews the matter was of great Importance, and perhaps might be concerning the Kingdom; but it was never pretended otherwise to be made over to him but by Will; and therefore these Promises of Harold's are thought only to assure him of his assistance in gaining the Kingdom. But, however this be, it is against the Law and Custom of the Nation to dispose of the Kingly Power by Will; and therefore, if any such thing were, it was of no Validity. For the Crown of England is held not by a Paternal Right, but by the Law of the Realm, which allows no power of disposing the Throne to its Kings, but admits the next lineal Heir to the Possession of it: For every Successor is not said properly to be Heir of the King, but of the Kingdom which makes him so, and can't be depriv'd by any Act of his Predecessor. Nor indeed did William afterward establish his Right upon King Edward's Will, but set up that Pretence only to make way for his Arms, by which he intended to compass his desires. As soon therefore as he heard of the Death of King Edward, and that Harold was chosen and crowned King, "he call'd together the States of Normandy, and acquaints them with the Right he had to the Crown of England; and solicited them to contribute their utmost assistance for the recovery of it, and the Deposition of Harold, the perjur'd Usurper of it. And to en-

courage them in the Attempt, he represented to them how great probability there was of success; he had a numerous Party in the Nation for him already; the People were under great Distractions and Divisions, which made them weak and easie to be overcome, as he was inform'd by sure Intelligence: And what Honour, Wealth, and Greatness would it add to their Nation, to be Masters of such a rich Kingdom as England was, which they had now an opportunity put into their hands to be, if they had but that Wisdom to make use of it." These fair Speeches, tho' very plausible and encouraging, yet induced very few to like the Undertaking; and those only such as had been long Soldiers, and had no Estates to uphold them in Peace, so that they would run any hazard to better their Fortunes: All the rest were of different Opinions; some were for Peace, and thought it sufficient for them to hold and defend their own Country, without running an hazard to conquer others, and these were generally the Richest sort; others were willing to contribute toward the Charge, but yet so sparingly as would little advance his Design; others were so tired with Wars, that they were loth to begin the same Troubles afresh. The Duke was a little discouraged at this opposition and faintness among his Subjects, but resolv'd to try another method before he gave it over. Having found several of his Friends very forward in the Enterprize, and seemingly willing to venture all with him, he begins with them, and asks them what they would contribute towards this Expedition? William Fitz-Auber made the first offer, promising him to furnish out forty Ships with Men and Ammunition, the Bishop of Bayeux forty, the Bishop of Mans thirty; and so several others, according to, or rather beyond their Abilities. By these Persons Examples he drew in the rest of the Bishops and Nobles, with whom he treated about it severally, to joyn in the Design, and caused all the Sums contributed to be register'd; by which means he at length rais'd such an Emulation among his Subjects, as that they, who a little before would do nothing, grew now ambitious who should do most. Nor was he so prevalent with his own Subjects only, but by his winning Persuasions and large Promises, he engaged most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of France to venture not only their Persons but Estates with him, viz. Robert Fitz-Harveys Duke of Orleans, the Earls of Britain, Poitou, Ponthieu, Bologne, Mayne, Nevers, Hesms, and Aumal, Seigneur de Tours, and even his mortal Enemy, Martel Earl of Anjou, was as forward as any. The King of France, whose Interest it had been to have crush'd this Design, was a Minor, and under the care of Baldwin Earl of Flanders, whose Daughter the Duke had marry'd, and who would not hinder his design, if he could not farther it; yet to blind the young Prince and French Court, he promised to hold England, if he conquer'd it, in dependence upon the French King, as he did Normandy. The Pope, who was Alexander the II^d at that Time, he brought to applaud his Enterprize, by promising him to hold it of the

Duke William's Preparations for the Crown of England.

The Rights of the Kings of England to their Crown.

The King of France and Pope encourage him.

^a King Edward and William were Kinsmen, but not in the degree which Mr. Daniel writes: For Emma, the Mother of King Edward, was not the Daughter of Richard the II^d Duke of Normandy, but the Sister; and so Richard the Second was not his Grandfather, but Uncle, which our Author expressly mentions in the Life of Canutus.

^b Some relate, that Edward, while he lived in Banishment in Normandy, made William a Promise of the next Reversion of the Crown of England; others think he did it at this Visit, being not likely to have Issue, and adopted him for his Heir. This William declared himself, as he march'd through Wallingford to London, That the Bounteous King Edward had by Adoption made him Heir to the Crown of England, and now God had by his Providence given it him. But in his Dying Speech he says, That the Royal Diadem, which none of his Predecessors wore, he got not by Right of Inheritance, but by Heavenly Grace.

^c Harold, being a Prisoner in Normandy, had promis'd William upon Oath, that he might gain his Liberty, to secure him the Kingdom of England, if Edward dy'd without Heirs; and hereupon was affianced to Duke William's Daughter, which Promise he not performing, was accounted Perjur'd.

^d That this was a meer Pretence, to procure the Concurrence of the Pope, appears from the Letter he wrote to Gregory the VIIth this Pope's Successor; wherein he disowns, that he had ever any such Intention to submit his Kingdom to the Pope.

the Apostolick See; if he was successful; whereupon the Pope sent him a Consecrated Banner, a Golden *Agnus Dei*, and one of St. Peter's Hairs. The Emperor *Henry IV.* also sent him a considerable Body of Men, under the Command of a German Prince. And thus in eight Months time having collected a very numerous Army, not out of *Normandy* only, but out of *France*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, sufficient to proceed in his intended Expedition; he summon'd them to their Rendezvous at *St. Velery* in *Normandy*, from whence he transported them into *England* in 896 Ships, as some write; Providence ordering such a strange Concurrence of Dispositions to effect the wonderful Change it had decreed to be now made in *England*.

A. D.
1066.

Duke William conquers, and is made King of England.

Duke William having had a victorious landing, and conquer'd *Harold's* Army at *Hastings* October 14. 1066. as is before spoken of in the Life of *Harold*, march'd directly without any opposition to *London*; where *Edwin* and *Morcar*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, (two Brothers of great Honour and Dignity in the Kingdom) had done their utmost to excite the People to stand up in defence of their Liberties, and make *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royal Issue, who had Right to the Crown, King, to preserve the Kingdom from Servitude and Conquest. Many of the Nobility had consented to this Proposition; but the Bishops being averse to it, and wavering, because they had heard a good Character of the Duke's Piety and Bounty to the Church, and so doubted not of his Favour to their Function, so disheartned the Nobility, and damped their Resolutions, fearing lest their backwardness should make them fare the worse, if through their Divisions the Duke should at last subdue them, that they also yielded to Necessity, and gave over all thoughts of Opposition; by which means the Commons being destitute of an Head, could not move but irregularly. So that all degrees of Men being either corrupted with Hopes, or transported with Fear, their poor Country was left naked to the Will of a Stranger. Wherefore at his approach to *London* the Gates were set open, and the Archbishop *Stigand*, with the Bishops his Brethren, the Nobility, Magistrates and People, joyfully received him with all outward Demonstrations of Subjection, and Promises of Obedience: He at the same time returning all Assurances of a mild and good Government over them, and protesting that he would rule with Justice and Equity. On *Christmas* Day next following he was crowned King of *England* at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, because *Stigand* was not thought^b Canonically invested in his See, altho' he was a great Promoter of this Alteration. At his Coronation, according to Custom, the Bishops and Barons of the Realm took their Oaths of Allegiance to him, obliging themselves to be his true and loyal Subjects; and after, he also (being required to do it by the Archbishop of *York*) swore solemnly, standing before the Altar of St. Peter, That he would govern all his People in his Dominion with Justice; That he would enact just Laws, and see that they be duly executed. Nor did he ever violate this his Oath by any arbitrary Actions, as an Absolute Conqueror,

His Coronation and Carriage in his Government.

but as a Regular Prince, conformed to the ancient Orders of the Realm, and was content to derive his Title to the Kingdom rather from King *Edward's* Will (tho' a weak and fictitious one) than from his Sword. And tho' he was in after-times stiled the Conqueror, yet it was rather done thro' flattery, than by his own desire, as was evident from the whole course of Government; for he introduced none of the Alterations, which followed after, by violence, but mildly and gently, by way of Reformation, as tho' the Changes arose from Necessity, not his own Will or Design; and he would abolish or innovate nothing that might be preserved with advantage to his People.

A. D.
1066.

In the Spring after his Coronation and Settlement, he found it necessary for him to go into *Normandy*, to settle Affairs there, and put the Government of that Country into such a frame, as might not require his Presence, or take him off from the management of his Kingdom of *England*, which would require all his Care. And for the better security of the Peace and Order of his new-gotten Kingdom, which he had reason to believe would not hold steady in their Subjection long, he took Hostages of the *English* for their Obedience, committed the Government of the Kingdom to his most trusty Friend, *Odo* his Brother Bishop of *Bayeux*, and his Cousin *Fitz-Auber*, whom he had lately created Earl of *Hereford*, and took with him into *Normandy* all the chief Men of *England*, who were the most likely to head any Revolt, viz. *Edgar Etheling*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the two great Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, with many others Bishops and Noblemen. And to lighten his Charge, and empty his Court, he took along with him all the *French* Princes who had been Partners with him in the Adventure, and others of the *Normans*, who were grown now unnecessary to him, rewarding them for their Labour and Assistance, as far as his Treasure would reach, and made up the rest with fair Promises. During his absence all that Summer, nothing was attempted against the Government, only *Edric*, surnamed the Forrester, having obtained the help of the *Welsh* Kings, plunder'd and spoil'd the remote parts of the Country of *Hereford*. All the other parts of the Kingdom were quiet; hoping, that since by their change of Governours they had found little or no alteration in their ancient Constitutions, their Laws and Liberties remaining the same as they were before, this Change wou'd prove rather for the Advantage than Inconvenience of *England*, by the addition of a new Province. and enlarging its Dominions beyond the Seas, especially since the *Normans* were but a small People, and liv'd in a plentiful and fruitful Country, large enough for themselves; so that *England* was not, in all probability, likely much to be pester'd with them.

1067.
His Voyage into Normandy.

Having settled Affairs in *Normandy*, he return'd again into *England* towards Winter, where he met with a harder task to compose things well, than what he had finished. The *Normans* and others who had assisted him in the hazardous adventure of getting the *English* Crown, were very big with Expectations of Rewards and Preferments, which he knew must be satisfy'd in some measure; and yet

His return into England, and his Rewards of the Normans.

^a Yet *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, is said by *Brompton* to have refus'd to Crown him, because he had no Title; and *Frederick* the Stout Abbot of *St. Albans*, a Saxon of the Royal Blood, fortify'd his Abby with Trees to resist him, as though he would have fought against so great a Conqueror alone, saying, That if others had done their duty, the Duke of *Normandy* had not been here.

^b *Stigand* had obtain'd the Arch-bishoprick through Simony, and held it with the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, contrary to the Canons: For which, as *Simon* of *Durham* and *Florence* of *Worcester* affirm, he then lay under the Pope's Displeasure; and by the Pope's Legates, with the King's consent, he was soon after deposed.

^c *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, by his severe Government, forced the *English* to rebel, and to invite over *Eustace* Earl of *Bologne* to assist them. *Eustace* prov'd unsuccessful, and *Edric* the Forrester rose against the *Normans* in *Wales*; but on the King's Return the *Welsh* submitted.

A. D. 1067. yet he thought it would be very prejudicial to him to wrong his new Subjects whom he desired to keep as easie as he could) to do it; for it was impossible for him to defend what he had got without them. This was a greater trouble to him than his Battel of *Hastings*, knowing what he gave the *Normans* must be either with the loss of the *English* Estates or Preferments. Wherefore he took this prudent Method to satisfy all Parties: He resolv'd to put no Man out of their Places, nor deprive any Man of his Estate, unless any had forfeited them by revolting from their Obedience; which he made good, as appears by the Controversie between one *Warren* a *Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn-Castle* in *Norfolk*; whose Castle the King had given to *Warren*, upon an Accusation of Treason brought against *Sherburn*: Yet when *Sherburn* made it evident to the King, That he never bore Arms against him; and pleaded, That he was his Subject as well as *Warren*, and held his Lands by that Law which he had establish'd among all his Subjects; The King gave his Judgment against *Warren*, and order'd, that *Sherburn* should peaceably enjoy his Lands: So that he contented himself with what Vacancies had happen'd, either by the Death of such as were kill'd in the Battel, or by the Flight of such as had left the Kingdom in discontent, or were with the Sons of *Harold*. These Men's Estates and Places he disposed to the *Normans*. And as for such Gentlemen as he design'd to prefer, but had no opportunity at present to do it, he settled them in the Abbies till he could provide for them; whereby he not only lessen'd his Charge at Court, and remov'd the Grievance of the People by a Multitude of greedy Expectants; but he had a Guard upon the Clergy, who being of great Interest with the People, were most likely to create Disturbances.

marry'd his Sister *Margaret*^a, by which the Blood of the *Saxon* Kings was preserved, and at length united in the *Norman* Line in *Henry II.* and so became again *English*. To *Edgar*, now being in *Scotland*, came the Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Hereford*, *Gospatrick*, *Siward*, with several others^b, and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Arch-bishops, with many of the Clergy. These Malecontents having gather'd an Army by the help of *Malcolm* enter'd those parts of *England* which lie on the North of *Humber* in the third Year of this King's Reign, and made a strong Essay towards the Recovery of their lost Country; but not being done before the Government was settled, they were so far from doing any good by their weak attempts, that they really gave him but a better occasion to settle himself firmly, and become at last, what at first he really was not, a Conqueror of *England*. For while all the Southern Parts remain'd in Peace under him, and he was in Possession of their Estates, which he immediately dispos'd to the *Normans*, they did but force their Brethren to become their Enemies, and enable the *Normans* to ruine them. For the Earldom and Estate of *Edwin* in *Yorkshire* was given to *Alain* Earl of *Britain*, Kinsman to the Conqueror, the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was conferr'd on *Lanfranc*^c Abbot of *Caen*, and that of *York* on *Thomas* his Chaplain; and all the rest, both of the Clergy and others, which were out of the Nation, had their Places in it supplied by the *Normans*.

Many Insurrections happen'd about this Time. Two^d of *Harold*'s Sons landing with Forces in the West^e, made great Havock among the People; and *Githa*, King *Harold*'s Mother being at *Exeter*, which he caused that City to rebel. At *Oxford* also there was a Commotion, but they were not able to stand long against the King's Power. The most prosperous and successful Invasion was by *Edgar Atheling* with his Lords out of *Scotland*, who enter'd *England* with a good Army, and encountering *Robert* Earl of *Mortaigne*, who was sent by the King to oppose their Progress into the Nation, slew him with seven hundred Men at *York*. The King hearing of this Defeat, took his Journey Northward with all Expedition; but before he could arrive there, the Invaders had received a large Addition to their Army from *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who had sent three hundred Ships to their Assistance, under the Command of *Harold* and *Canutus* his two Sons; *William* first sets upon the *Danes*, and either by force or corrupting their Commanders, made them useless; afterwards he fell upon the Lords Army, much weaken'd by the loss of their Confederates, and puts them to flight; and that the Country might not for the future harbour his Enemies, he laid it waste all along between *York* and *Durham*, which are distant about sixty Miles. And the same methods he used on all the Coasts, where any fit Places for Invaders to land were, and then return'd to *London*. After this Victory most of the Lords came in, and submitted themselves to the King upon the publick Faith before given them, and were conducted by *Fredericke*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, to *Barnsted*.

The Nobility of *England* discontented. But the *English* Nobility could not be contented with a bare Possession of their Estates and Honours, so long as they found so great an Eclipse of the Royal Favour towards them, by the Imposition of *Norman* Favourites, who growing more numerous every day, they concluded would in time turn them out of all. These Surmises and Fears produced a Conspiracy among them to fly, some into *Scotland*, others into *Denmark*, to try whether by the Assistance of those Princes they could recover their lost Fortunes at home, and resettle themselves in their ancient Greatness; of these the chief was *Edgar Atheling* (call'd *England*'s Darling, for the Love the People had generally for him) who with his Mother *Agatha*, and two Sisters, *Margaret* and *Christiana*, intending to retire into *Hungary*, their Native Country, were driven by contrary Winds, into *Scotland*, where he was kindly received by *Malcolm*, then King of the *Scots*, partly because *Malcolm* had formerly known the Miseries of an Exile Condition, (in which he had been kindly entertain'd in the *English* Court) and partly because he fear'd the Power of the Conqueror of *England* might be dangerous to him: Whereupon he enter'd into a League with *Edgar* for the publick Safety, and

^a He did not marry her till two Years afterwards, Anno 1070. *Sim. Dun. R. Horvodon. Sir J. H. Life of William I.*

^b From these Refugees the best Families in *Scotland* are descended, as those of *Lindsey*, *Vau*, *Ramsay*, *Towell*, *Towbriss*, *Sandlands*, *Bissart*, *Fowls*, *Wardlaw*, *Maxwell*, and others.

^c Archbishop *Stigand* was depriv'd by *Agelwin* Bishop of the *East-Angles*, and other Bishops and Abbots commission'd by Pope *Alexander II.* For, 1. Intruding on the Archbishoprick while *Robert* his Predecessor was living. 2. For receiving his Pall from *Benedict V.* a Simonaical Pope. 3. For keeping the See of *Winchester* after his Investiture in the See of *Canterbury*. *Sir John Hayward.*

^d *Edmund* and *Magnus*.

^e *Somersetshire.*

^f In this furious Devastation, the King shew'd such a Respect to *John* of *Beverley*, that all his Lands were spar'd: The rest of the Country was so wasted, that the People were forc'd to eat Cars and Dogs to support Life.

^g *Fredericke* himself was a leading Man in this Revolt, having had all the Lands between *Barnet* and *London-stone*, which belonged to his Abby, seiz'd by the King; but it seems after this Victory, he came in with the first, and was made use of to bring others to the King's Favour.

Barkamsted, where having retaken the Oath of Allegiance, they were pardoned by the King, and promised a Restitution of his Favour; and the King himself to pacifie their unquiet Minds, took his Personal Oath again before Archbishop *Lanfranc* and the Lords; That he would observe the ancient Laws of the Realm established by his Royal Predecessors, the Kings of England, and especially those of *Edward the Confessor*. By which means these turbulent Dispositions were calmed for a while, but did not long continue so: For whether out of some new Hopes given them by Prince

A. D. 1071. Edgar (who was still in Scotland) or grown desperate at the Non-performance of the King's Reg. 5. Promise and Breach of Oath, or some other Reasons, they brake out again. Earl *Edwin* going toward Scotland, was murdered by his own Men. The Lords *Morcar* and *Hereward*, got into the Isle of *Ely*, intending to fortifie it for their Winter Quarters; and to them Earl *Syward*, and the Bishop of *Durham* out of Scotland, joyned them: But the King, who never gave Time in growing Dangers, immediately beset the Isle; and having made a Bridge two Miles long to carry his Army over, surprized them so soon, that they all yielded themselves to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, who marching with his People desperately through the Fens, escaped and got into Scotland. The rest were sent into several Prisons, where they died, or remained Prisoners during the King's Life. The Lords, who persisted Loyal upon this last Submission, were received into Favour, and had honourable Employments bestowed on them. *Edric* the Forester (who first rebelled in his Reign) was admitted into the greatest Trust about the King's Person. *Gospatric* he made Earl of *Northumberland*, and sent him General of his Army against the King of *Scots*, who plunder'd and had subdu'd *Tisdale*, *Cleveland*, and *Cumberland*. *Waltheof*, Son of Earl *Syward*, was so highly esteemed by him, as that he married him to his Neice *Judith*; tho' in the Northern Commotion he had been a Principal Actor, and in defending the City of *York* had cut off the Head of several Normans as they enter'd in at the Breach, to the Admiration of all. So great a Friend was he to Virtue, even in an Enemy.

King William went against Scotland. A. D. 1072. Things being thus a little compos'd at home, the King observing that Scotland had been a continual Retreat for his Enemies, and in many of the Disturbances he had in his Realm, afforded the Malecontents Assistance; and that *Edgar Atheling* resided in that Court to observe all Advantages to dispossess him of his Throne, he en-

ter'd that Kingdom with a powerful Army, resolving either to rid himself of those his Enemies, or lose his Life. *Malcolm* seeing the Danger he was in, and the Miseries his Subjects were likely to endure in other Mens Quarrels, for which he was not like to receive any Satisfaction, made Overtures of Peace, which King *William* was willing to accept, having met with such Difficulties in passing the Marshes, as made his farther Enterprizes very discouraging. Wherefore entering into Articles with *Malcolm*, That he should enjoy the same Dominions, and in the same Bounds as formerly, that all Delinquents on both sides should be pardoned, they returned home.

Shortly after this Peace so lately made, Prince A. D. 1073. *Edgar* (whose long abode in the Scottish Court had made it become English almost; for by reason of the great Resort of the English thither, who were prefer'd there and intermarried with the Nobles of that Nation, the Language and Customs of England became much in Fashion: And here 'tis said the Titles of Duke, Earl, Baron, and Knight, were first began) came voluntarily in, and submitted himself to the King, who was then in Normandy, and was restored to his Grace and Favour; insomuch, that he allowed him an Estate suitable to his Greatness, which *Edgar* was so grateful, as to recompence with a peaceable Behaviour ever after. This Submission, tho' fortunate enough for the King, was thought very unseasonable and foolish in *Edgar*: For in the Absence of the King, *Roger Fitz-Auber* the young Earl of *Hereford*, contrary to the King's Command, married his Sister to *Ralph Waher*, Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; and at the solemnizing of it, the two Earls conspired with *Eustace* Earl of *Bologne* (who privately came over to the Nuptials) Earl *Waltheof*, and other English Lords, to call in the Danes, and by Force keep out the King from his Kingdom. This Conspiracy was the more like to have taken Effect, because the King did not suspect any such Treachery, especially from those whom he had so greatly advanced. But *Odo's* watchful Eye, which observed every Motion of the English, as became his Place of the King's Vicegerent, soon spy'd the Design; and by the Help of the Bishop of *Worcester*, and others, kept so strict a Guard upon them, that they could never unite to perfect it, but perceiving themselves discover'd, were forced to fly. *Roger Fitz-Auber* was taken, and some say executed, and so was Earl *Waltheof*; though 'twas thought, he was the principal Means of the Discovery: But such was the

Edgar Atheling submits to King William.

A. D. 1074.

Odo suppresses a Conspiracy against the King. 1075.

^a *Roger Howden* says, the English Nobility petition'd to be govern'd by their own Laws, beseeching him by the Soul of King *Edward*, who bequeathed him the Kingdom, and whose Laws they were, to grant their Petition; to which he consented, by the Advice of his Barons. He chang'd the Laws afterwards, and brought in the Norman; commanding them to be made use of almost through the whole Kingdom. The Danish Laws had prevail'd in the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridge*, and he permitted them to be still current there, because they had more relation to his own than those of the Saxons.

^b The Monks of *Ely* invited the Lords into their Isle, that they might be a Guard to their Possessions against the King; but he having conquer'd them, was the more severe to them, and requir'd of them 700 Marks to confirm them to them: Which Sum, when they came pay it, wanting only a Groat-weight, he made them pay 1000 more. The Abbot of *St. Albans* fled to the English Lords in the Isle of *Ely*, and died there, Anno 1077.

^c The Saxon Annals, and most of our Authentick Historians, place the Reduction of *Ely* in the Year 1071.

^d *Malcolm* also did the King Homage for some part of his Kingdom.

^e *Holinshed*, from *Hen. Huntingdon*, writes Vol. III. p. 10. That 'twas agreed by the Treaty of *Aburneth*, That King *Malcolm* should do Homage to King *William* for the Realm of Scotland.

^f Our Historians say, His Allowance was a Pound of Silver a Day, *Sir John Hayward* calls it twenty Shillings. He made his Submission, as *Florence of Worcester* and *Holinshed* after him write, in the Year 1073. and, says the above-mention'd *Hayward*, having large Livings in the Country. he there mellow'd to Old Age in Pleasure and Vacancy of Affairs. He was after that concern'd in several Wars in Normandy and England, and according to the Saxon Annals, was taken Prisoner at the Battel of *Tenchebrai*, with *Robert Duke of Normandy*, Eldest Brother to *William the Second* and *Henry the First*. *William of Malmesbury* says of him, that he was contemned at Court for his Easiness or Simplicity, and remitted his Pension of twenty Shillings a Day for a Horse; about the middle of King *Henry the First's* Reign, he retir'd from Court, and pass'd his old Age privately in the Country.

^g *Sir John Hayward* calls him *Ralph Fitz-Auber*; and says, 'twas the same who furnish'd forty Ships for the King's first Voyage to England: If so, it must be the Father who married the Daughter, and not the Brother, the Sister to the Earl of *Norfolk*. *Florence of Worcester* and *William of Malmesbury* call him *Roger de Bretevil*.

^h At *Tenningham* near *New-Market* in *Cambridgeshire*.

ⁱ Earl *Waltheof* was beheaded at *Winchester* in the Year 1075. He was buried at *Croyland* in *Lincolnshire*, and was cry'd up for a Saint by the Monks of that Abbey.

A. D. 1075. the ill Disposition of the Times, that nothing could be thought a fit Remedy for the Disease, but such a desperate Cure^a. The suppressing of the Plot at home did not free the King from the Inconveniencies of the Confederates Power abroad, who were joyned with them to expel the King, as most of the neighbouring Princes by their Actions did after shew. For the King of France defended *Dole* in *Britain* (a Castle of *Ralph Warber's*) against the King of *England*, and employed the Earl of *Bologn* to encourage the Conspirators. The King of *Denmark* sent a Navy of two hundred Sail under the Command of his Son *Canutus*, and others. *Drone*, King of *Ireland*, furnished *Harold's* Sons with sixty five Ships: And *Malcolm*, and the Kings of *Wales*, were ready to lend their Assistance had there been Occasion. And though they were disappointed, yet it put the State to very great Charge, the King being obliged for his own Defence, to maintain (besides his *Normans*) many Companies of *French* Soldiers, under the Command of *Hugh* the *French* King's Brother.

A. D. 1077. These were all the Wars which King *William* had within his Kingdom, saving that in the eleventh Year of his Reign he subdued *Wales*, and made the Kings thereof to do him Homage. The Wars he was engaged in abroad arose from his Son *Robert*, with whom he was forced to contend for his Dominions in *France*: For *Robert*, who was by his Father appointed his Deputy to govern the Dukedom of *Normandy* and County of *Main* in his absence, was so much affected with the Glory of a Command, that he assumed to himself the supreme Government of the Province, causing the Barons to do him Homage as Duke and not as Deputy; and enter'd into a League with the King of *France*, who glad of this Opportunity to disunite a People, grown too great for him, so fed the Ambition of the young Prince, and engaged him upon such Profuseness and Expence, that he was obliged to impose heavy Exactions upon his Subjects to supply his Extravagances; which though they got him the Name of *Curtois*, yet it raised such Discontents among the *Normans*, that they preferred their Complaints of his ill Government and violent Exactions to his Father. The King hearing this, hastes with his Forces into *Normandy*, designing to surprize his Son; but *Robert* having Intelligence of his coming, and being furnished with two thousand Men by the King of *France*, lay in Ambush in the Way^b through which he was to pass, sets upon him, put his Army to Flight, and in the Pursuit happens to encounter with his Father, whom he unhors'd and wounded in the Arm with his Lance, before he knew who he was: But when by his Voice he discover'd 'twas his Father, he made haste to remount him, humbly begging Pardon for his Offence. The King readily granted it, and upon his Submission for his Misgovernment, took him to *Rouen* with him, and having settled him in his Charge again, he returned with his Son *William* (as soon as they were both cured of their Hurts receiv'd in the Fight) into *England*.

The King had not been long at Home, but fresh Information was brought him, that *Robert*

was fallen into his former Courses, usurping the absolute Government of his Dukedom, and exacting great Taxes of the People; and to justify his Actions pleaded, that his Father had promised him before the King of *France*, to make him their Duke, when he had conquered *England*. At which News the King being moved, thought not fit to give his Designs time to ripen, but made all the Preparations he could to return into *Normandy*. In his Passage, he was driven upon the Coasts of *Spain*; but at length recovering *Burdeaux*, and landing with great Preparations, his Son *Robert* came immediately and submitted the second time. But the King thought it not safe to trust him with the Government of *Normandy* again for the present, till he had taught him to obey better; and therefore taking him along with him Home, employed him in his Wars^c against *Scotland*, which began to annoy his Dominions, and then sent him after some time again into *Normandy* to govern it; but joyning his youngest Son *Henry*^d with him in the Charge and Power, and reposing greatest Trust and Confidence in him. These two Princes being a little settled in their Government, went to visit the King of *France* at *Constance*, where they tarried some Days. On a certain Day after Dinner, *Lewis* the *French* King's eldest Son, and Prince *Henry* to recreate themselves, play'd a Game at Chess, and *Henry* won so much of him, that *Lewis* in Anger call'd him the Son of a Bastard, and threw the Chess-board in his Face: *Henry* hereby provok'd, snatch'd up the Chess-board, and struck *Lewis* with that Force as drew Blood, and had killed him, had not *Robert* timely interposed between them. This petty Brangle between two hot Youths, not only enraged the People so much against the *Norman* Princes, that they hardly escaped their Fury by their swift Riding; but it kindled a Quarrel between the two Kings, the Fathers, and was a Cause of the first War between the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, joyning with *Robert*, who was as impatient of a Partner, as an Head, enter'd *Normandy*, and takes the City of *Vernon*. Whereupon the King of *England*, with his usual Expedition invades *France*, and subdues the Countries of *Zaintongue* and *Poitou*, and so returned to *Rouen*. *Robert* made rebellious, as much or more by Instigation as Inclination, could not stand out against his Father, but goes the third time, and submitting is reconciled to him. This was a great Disappointment and Trouble to the King of *France*; nevertheless, being asham'd to lay down his Arms dishonourably, he summons King *William* to do him Homage for his Kingdom of *England*; but he replied; That he was ready to do it for his Dutchy of *Normandy*, but for *England* he would not, because he had it of none but God and his Sword. But this would not satisfy the King of *France*, who sought an Occasion to quarrel, and therefore he invades *Normandy* again, and the King's other Territories; but with such Loss, as made him willing to conclude a Peace, which proved but short. For the King of *England* being fallen into a Sickness through Labour, Age, and Corpulency, of which he lay some time at *Rouen*, the *French* King being young and lusty, sporting

A. D. 1080. Reg. 14. Robert revolts from his Father again.

A. D. 1081. Reg. 15.

A. D. 1082. Reg. 16.

A. D. 1086. Reg. 20. The King of France stirs up Robert to rebel, and makes War against King William.

P 2

^a This Conspiracy so exasperated King *William*, that ever after he carried himself cruelly towards the *English*, of whom, says *William* of *Malsbury*, he had scarce found any faithful. He adds, from this time *England* became the Habitation and Dominion of Strangers, and the Foreigners engross'd all Honours and Riches so much, that about seventy Years afterward there was no Original *Englishman* an Earl, Bishop or Abbot.

^b Near *Gerborer* Castle, which he held out against his Father.

^c In the Time of this War King *William* built a new Castle upon *Tine*, to be a Bar against the Inroads of the *Scotts*; and from it the whole Town after took its Name, being before call'd *Monkehester*, or rather *Mount Caster*. Hol.

^d The Abbot *Ingalph*, who liv'd at that time, says he made his Queen *Maud* Regent of *Normandy*.

A. D. 1087. with his Sickness, and reflecting upon his Belly, said; *That the King of England lay in at Rouen.* Reg. 21. This Sarcastm so enraged the King, that as soon as he was recover'd, he got all his best Forces together, enters France in the chiefeft time of their Fruits, spoiling all the Country as far as Paris, where the King of France then was: To whom he sent word, *That he was come to give him notice of his up-rising.* From thence he march'd to Mantz, which he utterly rased and destroyed; but got his fatal Wound by a Strain of his Horse among the Breaches, of which he fell sick, and being conveyed to Rouen, ended his Wars and Days together.

His Government in Peace.

The Laws of England.

Having given an Account of the Wars of this King, together with his Conduct and Success in them, I shall shew what Course he took in settling the Kingdom, and establishing a Government after he had suppressed the several Invasions and Conspiracies made against him in the North and other Parts of the Realm. It is certain he was so fond of the Laws and Customs of his own Nation, that he began his Reign with them, and would certainly have abolished all the *English* Laws and introduced the *Norman*, had not the Nobility and Commons looked upon it as a great Grievance; and by Petition besought him in most humble manner, by the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, and by the Soul of S. Edward, from whom he had the Crown and Kingdom, and under whose Laws they were born and bred, *That he would not make them so miserable, nor be so severe to them, as to judge them by a Law they understood not.* This earnest Address had so great an Effect upon the King, that he was pleased to confirm his former Promises by his Charter, and gave Commandment to his Judges, to see that the Laws of S. Edward be inviolably observed throughout his Kingdom. But notwithstanding all this Compliance, and a seeming Confirmation of the old Laws, which was also after done by the Charters of Henry I. and II. and King John; yet there followed so great an Innovation in the Laws and Government of England, that the People really had nothing of them but fair Promises. For the Body of the Common Law, with the whole Practice of it, came out of Normandy, notwithstanding all Objections that can be made to the contrary. And whereas before the Conquest, the Laws by which the *English* were govern'd were written in their own Tongue, and so easie to be understood by all; now they were translated into *Latin* and *French*, and practis'd wholly in the *Norman* Form and Language, on purpose to make the People to learn that Speech for their Defence, which otherwise they would not do. And tho' indeed the King labour'd all he could by other means, as well as that, to make the Nation use the *French* Language, viz. enjoin- ing Children to be train'd up in no other Language, Grammars in Schools to be made in *French*, all Petitions and Business at Court in *French*, no Man regarded but he that spoke *French*; yet soon after his Death the whole Nation return'd to their old *English*, and nothing remain'd of *French* but in the Law, which is at this Day the only remaining Badge of the *Norman* Conquest. New Terms, new Constitutions, new Forms of Pleading, new Offices and Courts were introduced by the *Normans*; a People of more impatient and litigious Spirits than the *English*, who being much engag'd in War, judg'd it much better to spend their Peace in Devotion and good Fellowship, than by intricate and tedious Forms of Law make Peace it self a Trouble, and a Con-

troverfie about Popery, as pernicious as the bloodiest Battels. For the Laws of the *English* before this were plain, brief and simple, without Intricacies and Perplexities; commanding, not disputing; deciding, not confounding: Their Grants short, but full, shewing them a clear meaning People, and of honest and good Intentions. As for their Tryals in Cases Criminal, where manifest Proof fail'd, they continu'd their ancient Custom used among them before their Conversion, to decide them by their Ordeal, i. e. a Right Doom, (for Or signifies Right, and deal a Part or Portion) "Of this sort of Judgment they had two Kinds; Ordeal by Fire for the better sort of People, and Ordeal by Water for the meaner sort: That of Fire was to go blindfold over certain Plowshares, made red hot, and laid at un- even distances one from another; that of Water was either hot or cold, in the one to put their naked Arms to the Elbow, and into the other to be cast headlong: According to their Escape or Hurt they were judg'd; such as were cast into Rivers, if they sunk, they were judg'd innocent; if not, Guilty, as ejected by the Element. These Tryals they call'd the Judgment of God, and they were perform'd with solemn Prayers. In some Cases the Person accused was admitted to clear himself by receiving the Eucharist, by his own Oath, or the Oaths of two or three credible Men; but this was allow'd only to Persons of Note and Ability. The usual Opinion among them being this: That Men of Ability had a greater regard of Honesty. Besides these, they had a Tryal of a Camp-fight, or Duel, (which the *Lombards*, a German Nation, introduced also into Italy) permitted by the Law in Cases of Safety, Fame or Possessions. All these Tryals shew the *English* to be ignorant of any Forms of Law, and to have no Imperial or Pontifical Constitutions to determine Affairs by. But these sorts of Judgments and Tryals had their Period soon after the Conquest. Those of Fire and Water were at first disused, and at last abrogated by the Pope, as a Pagan Invention, and an Impious Law; that of Combat out-liv'd the other, but very rarely suffer'd to be used. All Actions, both Criminal and Real, began to be wholly determin'd by the Verdict of twelve Men, according to the Custom of Normandy, call'd an *Enquest*, where the same Custom is used with the same Cautions to the Jurors, as among us at this Day. Some indeed hold, that this manner of Tryal was in use in this Kingdom long before; and to prove their Opinion, alledge a Law of King *Ethelred's*, Father of the Confessor, wherein he requires his Subjects in their Gemotes or Conventions, monthly held in every Hundred, that twelve grave Men of free Condition, should, with the Greve, or chief Officer among them, swear upon the Evangelists to judge every Man's Cause aright. But these Men were to be Assessors with the Judge, and no Jurors, as the manner of the *Normans* was. And indeed had there been any such Form, we should have heard of it more in their Laws and Practice.

But whatever Alterations he made in other Matters, yet in those Laws which had been made by the Saxons for the Preservation of the Peace, and for the good Order and Security of the Kingdom (which are of the greatest Importance to Kings) he made no Change, because he found such excellent Constitutions made by the wary Care of former Kings, that he had none so good, and better could hardly be invented by Man, especially the Burrough-Law, whereby every Freeman of the Commonalty was surety for the Behaviour of each

A. D. 1087.

The Judgment of Ordeal.

The English Tryals.

Saxon Laws for the Peace continu'd.

A. D. 1087. Reg. 21. each other, after this manner: The whole Kingdom was divided into Shires or Shares; and every Shire subdivided into Hundreds, every Hundred consisting of a considerable number of Burroughs, Villages or Tithings, each containing ten Householders; of which, if any one committed any unlawful Actions, the other nine were to attach him, and bring him to Punishment; if he fled, he was injoynd to appear within thirty one Days; if in the mean time he were apprehended; he was to restore what he had taken away; otherwise the Head-Burrough or Tithing-Man was to take with him two of the same Village, and as many of the three next Villages adjoining, (*viz.* the Tithing-Man, or Head, and two other principal Men) and before the Officers of their Hundred clear himself and the Village of the Fact, making good the Damage done by the Goods of the Malefactor; and if they were not sufficient, the Burrough or Tithing must make up the rest; and besides take an Oath, that they have not been accessory to the Fact, and to bring the Offender to Justice, if they knew where he was, or could get him. Besides, every Master of a Family was to be surety for all his Family; and if any Servant was call'd in Question, his Master was to make him answer it in the Hundred where he was accused; if he fled, the Master was to deliver up what Goods were left in his Custody to the King: If he himself were accused of aiding his Servant, or to be privy to his Flight, he was to clear himself by five Men, otherwise to forfeit all his Goods to the King, and his Man to be out-law'd. By these Tyes was the State so firmly joyn'd together, and the Order and Peace of the Kingdom so well secur'd, that no Society of Men in the World liv'd in greater Order and Peace. For after this Establishment, not only all Thefts and Robberies, which were common before, were wholly suppress'd, but we never read of any popular Insurrections; which doubtless was a great Cause that the Normans had so speedy a Settlement in England, more than the Romans or Saxons. By these Laws there was such a strict Guard put upon every Man's Behaviour, that no Man dare be guilty of any Treasonable or Criminal Action, and so they could not make any considerable Resistance against the Invader: Otherwise, 'tis probable, the Conquest of England had cost the Normans as dear as it did the Romans, Saxons, or Danes. But King William executing the English Laws severely, and withal depriving the Commonalty of all Weapons of War, forbidding all Night-meetings under grievous Penalties; injoyning every Man at eight of the Clock in the Evening to put out his Fire, and go to his rest; raising divers Fortifications in several Parts of the Kingdom to suppress all Commotions, and putting such Persons into all Places of Command and Judicature as he knew faithful to his Interests, made his Kingdom such as he would have it.

Alterations made by King William in the English Government. As to the Judicial part of Government, he new modell'd it; and whereas the Bishop and Aldermen were absolute Judges in every Shire, and the Bishop in many Cases had a Share of the Fines imposed for the King, the King stripp'd the Bishops wholly of their Judicial Power, and confin'd them within their Province to their own

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care of Souls. The Aldermen's Right he took quite away; and where-as all Causes were to be determin'd before in their Gemotes, or monthly Conventions in every Hundred, he order'd, That four times in the Year on certain Days all Business should be determin'd in such Places as he should appoint, by Judges constituted by him for that purpose; from whom, as from the Bosom of their Prince, all Persons should have Justice. What difference of Tenures he made in Men's Estate, is visible from the Knowledge of the old English Customs. The Saxons had only two kinds of Tenures, Boke-Land and Folk-Land; the one a Possession by Writing, the other without: That by Writing was as Freehold, and by Charter, Hereditary with all Immunities, and this was chiefly for the nobler Sort; that without Writing was to hold at the Will of the Lord, obliged to pay certain Rents and Services, and this was for the common People. Inheritances descended not to one Heir, but after the German Fashion, was equally divided among all the Children, which they call'd *Land-skiften*, *i. e.* Part-Land; a Custom still retain'd in some part of Kent, by the Name of *Gavelkin*, or *Gifeal-kin*, which it is said the People of that County gain'd from the Conqueror by this Stratagem. As the King was passing through their Country to Dover, the People (by the Advice of Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, and Abbot Egelsin, who told them they would lose all their ancient Laws and Liberties, and be involv'd in perpetual Slavery by the Conqueror) encompassed him on all sides with Boughs in their Hands, to the great Surprize as well as Fear of the King, who expected no such hostile Attempts. Out of the midst of them came Stigand and Egelsin, and presenting themselves before the King, told him, That the Multitude surrounding him was the whole People of the Country gather'd together with Boughs in their Hands, as Olive-Branches, to procure Peace and Liberty, or else to entangle him in his Passage; resolving to lose their Lives, rather than their Freedom, which if he would secure to them they would submit as good Subjects. The Conqueror seeing his Danger granted their Desires, and promised them the continuance of their Customs and Liberties; which, if at first permitted, are now not better secured than to the rest of the Kingdom. Those Tenants, which were at the Will of their Lords, he multiplied, and made their Case more miserable than before, till by their clamorous Petitions he was forced to relieve them. Their Case was this: All Persons that were engag'd in any Rebellion, and were pardon'd with the Enjoyment of Life, yet having their Estates taken from them, became Vassals unto those Lords to whom their Estates were given; and if by their Labour they attain'd any Portion of Ground, they held it only so long as it pleased their Lords, who often took it from them by Violence, and contrary to all Right. This the King redress'd, and commanded, that whatsoever such Persons had attain'd to by their Labours, or gotten of their Lords by their good Services, or agreed for by any lawful Compact, they should hold inviolably during their whole Lives.

This King having thus settled Laws for the Government, of his People, his next Care was for

A. D. 1087. Reg. 21.

The Customs of Kent preserved, and by what means.

* And for this end he caused in every City, Town and Village, a Bell be rung at that Hour, which was call'd by the French, *Couvre-feu*; and after by Abbreviation by the English, the *Curfew-Bell*; in Latin, *Ignitulum*.

^b The Chief of them were the Tower of London, and the Castles of Hastings, Nottingham and York. He assign'd the Bishops a separate Jurisdiction, to try all Causes relating to Religion by the Canon-Law in Courts proper to themselves. The Grant is in Mr. Fox's *Acts and Mon.* p. 154. and in Mr. Selden's *Notes on Eadmer*. It was not a new Jurisdiction, but a separate manner, for the Exercise of it.

^c Abbot of St. Austin's in Canterbury. Sir John Hayward affirms, the Kentish-Men met him at Swansecomb, two Miles from Gravesend.

A. D. 1087. for himself, to raise a sufficient Revenue for the Maintenance of his Crown and Dignity, which he judged could not well be done, but by an exact Knowledge of his Estate, and a general Survey of the Kingdom. King *Alfred* had given him a Precedent, but his Survey recorded in the Doom-book at *Winchester* was defective and imperfect; wherefore he having gotten a sufficient number of very skilful Men, and furnished them with a large Commission, sent them out into the Kingdom to take a particular Account of his own Possessions, and every Man's Estate else in the Kingdom, the Nature and Quality of their Lands, their Estates and Abilities, with the Descriptions, Bounds and Divisions of all the Shires and Hundreds; and this was drawn up into one Book, and brought into his Treasury, then newly called the *Exchequer* (as the supreme Court of *Normandy* was) whereas before it was termed *Také*, and had the Name of *Dome-book*^a (*Liber Judicarius*) given it, a Record ready upon all Occasions for Taxes, or other Uses. All the Forests and Chases of the Kingdom he seized into his own Hands, and exempted them from all Laws, but his own Pleasure; making them Retreats for Kings, to recreate himself in, and his Successors, and inflicting most severe Punishments upon any that should presume to destroy his Game: And that his Command might be the greater, he increased the Number of them in all Parts, and on the South-Coasts dispeopled the Country for thirty Miles together, and of old Habitations and ancient Estates; to the great Damage of his People, made^b a New Forest, as it is called to this Day; an Act which got him much Hatred among his People, yet used by his Successors (who chose to imitate his Tyranny rather than his Virtues) till it was remedied by the Charter of Forests, granted by *Henry the Third*. Soon after the general Survey of the Kingdom, he levied a Tax of 6s. upon every Hide of Land throughout the Nation; and after some times exacted the old Tax, commonly called *Dane-gelt*, which was an Imposition of two Shillings upon every Hide or Plough-land, raised at first to bribe the *Danes*, and after continued for the ordinary Supply of the King's Occasions in War or Peace. He imposed also upon some of his Subjects a Tax then first called *Escuage*, which was a Sum of Money taken for every Knight's Fee for Stipends and Donatives for Soldiers. But all these Taxes he levied but seldom; knowing, that Subjects never heartily love, however, they may fear those Princes which are burthensome and chargeable to them. He had no Revenues by Fines and pecuniary Mulcts, unless such as arose by the Breach of his Forest Laws and for Murther, which he laid upon the People upon this Occasion. In the beginning of his Reign, the Hatred and Malice of the *English* towards the *Normans* was such, that if they found them alone in Woods or any remote Places they murdered them; and notwithstanding all the severe Courses the King could use, the Malefactors could not be discovered. Whereupon the King ordered, That the Hundred where any *Norman* was found dead, and the Murtherer not discover'd, should pay to

the King 28 or 30*l.* according to the Extent of it, that by this general Punishment he might deter particular Men, or halt the Discovery of the Guilty, by whom so many must suffer Damage. The Revenues which were paid by the Tenants of the Crown for the Provision of the King's Household, not in Money, but some in Wheat, Malt, Beefs; others in Mutton, Hay and Oats, &c. was duly and exactly taken according to the Quality and Quantity of every Man's Lands throughout the whole Kingdom. Other Incomes than these there was none belonging to the Crown but what was raised by extraordinary Fines, and of those Cities and Castles where Husbandry was not used.

From the Church he gat considerable Sums, but by Extortion rather than Justice, the Kingly Power never before extending so far, and therefore no Law or Precedent enabling him to do it. And the first thing he did in that kind was, he seized the Plate, Jewels and Treasure of all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending that the Rebels and their Assistants had conveyed their Riches into them as privileged Places, to defraud him of them. He made all the Bishopricks, and Monasteries also, that held Baronies (which before had been exempted from all secular Services) to contribute to his Wars, and other Necessities of State, which may be the Reason that in all the Histories of those Times, which were written by Church-men interested in them, he bears the Name of an Oppressor and cruel Exactor, with other Marks of Infamy; tho' if things were rightly weighed, the Nature and Necessity of his Affairs may be an Advocate for him, and in many things excuse him. He was indeed an excellent Prince, but the Name of Conqueror blasted the Appearance of all his Perfections; and though he had the Advantage of a long Reign, to blot out the Severities of his Entrance to the Crown out of Mens Memories, yet he could never gain the Affections of his People so heartily to him as his Sons did, who were much inferiour to him in real Worth.

How he was furnished with Ministers of State for the Management of the important Affairs of his Reign, though Time hath deprived us of a very exact Knowledge; yet 'tis not to be doubted, but that being a Man of good Judgment himself, he had able Persons employed under him: For weak Princes make bad Choices usually, but understanding Kings are always stored with able Ministers. The principal Persons entrusted by him were *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux* and Earl of *Kent*, *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz-Auber* Earl of *Hereford*. *Odo* was his Vicegerent in his absence, and had the Management of his Treasury. He was a Man of great Reach, and of an active Spirit; high indeed in the Favour of his Prince, and by his Place; but yet very ambitious, and aiming at greater things: For having gather'd a vast Treasure of Money by his Avarice, and so profitable an Office, he design'd to buy either the Popedom, or the Kingdom of *England*, after the Death of the King his Brother. The Popedom came first in his way, and to it he had strew'd his Path with Gold at *Rome*; but when

^a There are several different Opinions why it was call'd *Doomsday-Book*; its first Name was the *Rolls of Winton*, because it was kept in the City of *Winchester*, and afterwards *Doomsday-Book*, i. e. *Liber Judicarius*, or *The Book of Judgment*. The Author of the *Black Book* in the *Exchequer* supposes, That the Name of *Doomsday* was first given to this Book, because 'twas no more lawful to depart from what is in it, than from the *Day of Doom*; but *Sir John Hayward* thinks 'twas so call'd from *Domus Dei*, a Place in the Cathedral of *Winchester*, in which this Roll was kept.

^b This Fact, which was done meerly to promote his Pleasure, was look'd upon by the Nation as one of the most intolerable and inexcusable Pieces of Cruelty, that not only he himself, but ever any Prince did; for he destroyed thirty six Parish Churches, with the Houses and Possessions of so many Townships, to make them Habitations for wild Beasts.

^c Knights Fee was Lands given by a Prince to such as had well deserved of him in his Wars. These Donations were first used by the *Romans*, who at first gave them only for Term of Life, and after to them and their Heirs, and from the *Romans* they came in use in *France* and *Britain*. See *Sir Henry Spelman's* Remains publish'd by *Dr. Gibson*.

A. D. 1087. he was going, as he imagin'd, to take Possession of it, the King stopp'd his Journey, and taking him from the midst of a great Confluence of Noblemen and Gentry, who were to attend him thither, imprison'd him; excusing the Action to the Churchmen, by telling them, that he imprison'd him not as Bishop of *Bayeux*, but as Earl of *Kent*, an Officer accountable to him; but soon after released him, because being on his Death-Bed he would leave his Kingdom at Peace to his Son. But the Bishop disappointed his Intention, and became the Instrument of many Dissentions among his Children, partly in Revenge for what he had suffer'd from their Father, and partly out of Envy to *Lanfranc*, whose Counsel in his greatest Affairs the King chiefly used; and therefore meerly to oppose him, he took the contrary Courses to him, and sided with Duke *Robert* his Nephew; with whom (after having pass'd many Changes of Fortune with him) he went to the Holy War, and dy'd at the Siege of *Antioch*. *Lanfranc* was a Man of as universal Goodness as Learning, born in *Lombardy*, but brought hither by a kind Providence to do *England* good; for tho' his Preferment by the King might seem to lay some Restraints upon him, and require a greater Observance, yet by his Gravity and Piety, he gat himself so great Reverence with the King, that he feared not to oppose *Odo* the King's Brother in his Encroachments upon the Church; yea, in all he could, so intervened between the Kingdom and the King, that he saved the Nation from many rigorous Exactions and severe Impositions. For^a he that conquer'd all others was a Captive to *Lanfranc*'s Goodness. He reform'd^b the Irregularities of the Clergy, and introduc'd Gravity and Piety among them, according to the Usage of his Country, in this joyn'g in Alterations with his Master, tho' more for the best. And to raise Devotion among all sorts, he did what possible he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite Ornaments he could procure; he caus'd Religious Houses to be built with greater Conveniency and State, and began the founding of Hospitals. Having long labour'd by indefatigable diligence to keep things in an even Course, during the Reign of the Conqueror; and after his Death, seeing his Successor (who was establish'd in his Throne by his means chiefly) to fail his Expectation, and foreseeing, by his long Experience, the ill Tendency of the present Management, he began (with his Friends) much to lament the tediousness of Life, which he shortly after was remov'd out of by a gentle Sicknes, which neither hinder'd his Speech nor Memory; a thing which he often desir'd of God. *William Fitz-Auber*, who (as is abovemention'd) was a principal Counsellor and Instrument in the Invasion of *England*, and for that end furnish'd the King with forty Ships at his own Charge, was a Man of a great Estate, but of an Heart larger than any Riches could suffice. He was so liberal to Soldiers, that the King himself often check'd his

Profuseness; and so kind, that he made a Law, (for that Power the Noblemen of those times had in their Provinces) that in the County of *Hereford* no Man of War or Soldier should be fined for any Offence whatsoever above seven Shillings; whereas in other Countries, upon the least Offence given their Lord, they were forced to pay twenty or twenty five Shillings. He was a most eminent Earl, a chief Counsellor in all State Affairs, both of *England* and *Normandy*, and always in highest Favour with the King; yet was not contented with these Honours, but through hopes of greater Riches and Command, went over into *Flanders*, where, by marrying *Richeld* the Widow of *Baldwin VI.* Duke of *Flanders*, he design'd to get into that Government in the Minority of *Arnulph* her Son: But *Robert de Frison* his Uncle, who was call'd to govern by the People, because of the Exactions of *Richeld*, kept so strong Possession of that Dukedom, that *Fitz-Auber* was forc'd to recover it by the Sword, which before he had done he was by surprize slain. And indeed it was the Fate of the Conqueror to see most of those Men, who had been the principal Actors in all his Fortunes, dead before him, as *Beaumont*, *Montfort*, *Harcourt*, *Hugh de Gourney*, Viscount *Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, Count de *Vannes*, &c. Himself last of all, having lain sick a little time at *Rouen*, and dispos'd of his Estate, dy'd in the seventy fourth Year of his Age, and one and twentieth Year of his Reign^c. His Corps, tho' of so great a Monarch, is said to have lain three Days quite neglected, his Servants minding more to provide for themselves, than to attend upon him: At last his youngest Son *Henry* caus'd it to be convey'd to his Abby at *Caen*^d. He was well attended to the Gates of the City; but there happening a Fire just at their entering into the Town, the Corps was again wholly deserted, the Company all running to quench the Flames. After that was done, and the Body was carry'd to the Monastery, and ready to be bury'd, a Gentleman of Note^e stands up, and with angry Countenance forbids his Burial in that place, claiming the Ground for his Inheritance, descended to him from his Ancestors, but taken from him at the building of that Abby; appealing to *Row* their first Founder, for Justice; whereupon *Henry* was forced to compound with him for an Annual Rent. So hard was it for him^f, who had so large Dominions in his Life, to find a small place for his Burial, which he could not get but by Purchase: Men esteeming a living Dog more than a Dead Lyon, and most ready to trample upon those dead, which they fear'd most when they were alive.

He had a numerous Issue by *Maud* his Wife, viz. four Sons and six Daughters. To *Robert* his eldest Son he left the Dutchy of *Normandy*, to *William* his third Son the Kingdom of *England*, and to *Henry* his youngest all his Treasure, with an Annual Pension to be paid him by his Brothers. *Richard*, who was his second Son and his Darling, a Prince

^a Yet was not this King so blindly devoted either to *Lanfranc*'s Wisdom or Piety; for when *Lanfranc* labour'd much with him to swear Fealty to the Pope, as holding the Crown of *England* from him, tho' he look'd upon it as rather a piece of his Piety than Policy, yet he would never be induc'd to do it, because, as he alledg'd, none of his Predecessors the Kings of *England* had ever done it. The Letter he wrote to the Pope on this occasion is to be seen in *Mr. Selden's* Notes on *Eadmerus*. He was so jealous of his Power both in Spirituals as well as Temporals, that he would not suffer the Archbishop to call a Synod without his Leave.

^b And for this Reason 'tis very probable it was, that when *Gregory* the VIIth impos'd Celibacy upon the Clergy of *England*, and commanded that none should hear the Masses of any that were marry'd; *Lanfranc* was very moderate in putting the Injunction in practise, and would part none of the Clergy from their Wives, tho' he would ordain none that were marry'd; as judging, perhaps, that true Piety could hardly thrive, nor the Clergy ever become regularly good, if Marriage were strictly forbidden.

^c This Account of his Age is taken from *Polydore Virgil*, and is not true. *William* of *Malmesbury* says, 'twas in the 59th Year of his Age; *Ordericus Vitalis*, in his sixty first Year; and *Sir John Hayward*, in his sixty fourth.

^d His Corps was abandon'd as soon as the Breath was out of his Body by all his Servants; and 'twas not his Son *Henry* that caus'd him to be convey'd to *Caen*, but *William* Archbishop of *Roan*; the Corps being first embalm'd at the Charge of one *Herlwyn* a Country Knight.

^e *Anselm Fitz-Arthur*.

Henry his youngest Son paid *Fitz-Arthur* one Hundred Pounds for the Ground.

^f In his Dying Speech he said, He would constitute no Heir to the Realm of *England*, but would commend it to God, because he possess'd not that Honour by Right of Inheritance, but by the Instinct of God, Effusion of Blood, and Perjury of *Harold*. Yet he wish'd that his Son *William*, who had been ever obedient to him, might flourish in it; and to that end, he sent him with a Letter to *Lanfranc*. He left *Henry* five thousand Marks only. *Ord. Vital.*

A. D. 1087. **Reg. 21.** a Prince of great Hope, was slain by a Stag as he was hunting in the New Forest in *Hampshire*; the first Instance how fatal that Place would prove to the Royal Family, which had been made out of the Estates, and by the Wrongs of so many: For not long after *William Rufus* was slain there also by an Arrow, and *Richard* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* brake his Neck by a Fall there, very sad Allays to those Pleasures, which we take by other Mens Injuries, yet the deserved Rewards of Injustice and Oppression. His eldest Daughter *Cicilia* was made a Nun, *Constance*, the second, was married to *Allayn* Earl of *Britain*, *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by whom, among other Issue, she had King *Stephen*. In her Age she became a Nun, according to the Devotion of those Times, in which the Persons of greatest Quality did not refuse a Retirement for Religion sake. *Gundred* the fourth Daughter was married to *William de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, the other two, *Ela* and *Margaret*, died before Marriage.

His Person. He was of a proportionable Stature, comely Personage¹, and good Presence either riding, sitting, or standing, till by Age he grew corpulent and unweildy; of so healthy and strong a Constitution, that he never had any Sickness till a few Months before his Death. He had so great a Strength of Body, that very few could bend his Bow; and tho' he was above fifty Years old when he enter'd *England*, yet his Age had not in the least impaired him, as his Activity and indefatigable Labour in the Expedition proved. He was of an undaunted Courage, sagacious Wit and ripe Judgment, as his many Encounters with the *French* and *Danes* do evidently shew, who were a People more powerful both in Men and Shipping than himself; yet by his Policy and Bravery he was able to match, if not overmatch them both. His Devotion was very exemplary and admirable, as the Clergy of that time, who never loved him, do acknowledge. His great Mercy appeared in often pardoning and re-

ceiving into Favour those who had rebelled against him; and tho' he was troubled with so many Rebellions by the *English* Nobles, yet he never executed but one of them, and that was *Waltheof*, who had notoriously broke his Faith with him twice before; and those whom he kept Prisoners in *Normandy* as the Earls *Morchar* and *Siward*, with *Wolfnoth*, the Brother of *Harold*, and others, he (out of Compassion to them) released a little before his Death. He was so far from Suspicion (a great Sign of Magnanimity) that he allowed *Edgar* his Competitor for his Crown the Freedom of his Court, at his Desire furnished him out for the Holy War, where he behaved himself bravely, and got great Reputation by his Actions, from the Emperors of *Greece* and *Germany*, which might have been accounted dangerous, because of his relation to the latter. He was a Benefactor to nine Abbies of Monks, and one of Nuns, founded by his Ancestors in *Normandy*; and during his Reign were founded either by his Encouragement, or Charge, seven Monasteries and six Nunneries in the same Province. With those Forts (as he said) he furnished *Normandy*, that they might fight against the World and Flesh. In *England* he founded one great Abby near the Place where he got the Victory over *Harold*, and in Memory of it call'd it *Battel-Abby*; and two Nunneries, one at *Hinchinbroke* in *Huntingdonshire*, and the other at *Armthwayt* in *Cumberland*, besides many other publick Works. He was very magnificent in his Festival Entertainments, which he observed with great Solemnity and Ceremony, which naturally beget Reverence; keeping his *Christmas* at *Glocester*, his *Easter* at *Winchester*, and his *Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*, whither he then summoned all his Nobility, that Ambassadors and Strangers might see his State and liberal Expences, and was always at those times very mild and obliging. These Ceremonies *William Rufus* kept up, but *Henry* laid them aside.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of William I.

IN the eleventh Year of his Reign, on the 27th of *March*, there was a general Earthquake in *England*, and in the Winter following a Frost, which continued from the 1st of *November* to the middle of *April*. On the 16th of the same Month a Comet appear'd about six in the Morning, in fine Weather.

In his 15th Year another Earthquake happen'd, the more terrible because it came with a hideous Noise; and in his 20th Year there fell such abundance of Rain, that the Floods were universal thro' the Kingdom; and the Springs rising in several Hills, so soften'd and decay'd the Foundations of them that they fell down, and some Villages were overwhelmed in their Fall. *Sir J. Hayward*.

In the last Year of his Reign *Holinshed* reports, there was a burning Fever among the People, a Murrain among the Cattel, and at the same time Fowl, as Cocks, Hens, Geese, and Peacocks, fled from their Owners Yards to the Woods, and became wild. On the 7th of *July*, *St. Paul's Church* in *London* was burnt.

In his Reign *William* Bishop of *Durham* founded the University College in *Oxford*. The Use of the Long-Bow, which render'd the *English* Nation so famous afterwards, was brought first into *England* by this Prince.

The most illustrious Persons in the Reign of William the Norman, were

Waltheof Son of *Siward*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Edrick Sylvaticus*; or the Forester; *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and Earl *Morchar*, brave *Englishmen*, and zealous Assertors of their Liberty against the *Normans*; of whom the most famous were *Roger de Breteuil* Earl of *Hereford*; *Ralph de Wayn* Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Roger Mowbray* the *Norman* Earl of *Northumberland*.

Of Men of Learning: The most Eminent in his Time were

William of Poitiers the King's Chaplain; *Hirman* the Arch-deacon; *Ingulph* Abbot of *Croy-*

land in *Lincolnshire*; *Osborn* a Monk of *Dover*, who wrote the Life of *Dunstan*; *Robert* Bishop of *Hereford*; *Folcard* a Benedictine Monk, he wrote the Life of *Sir John* of *Beverly*, Archbishop *Lanfranc*, who, tho' a *Lombard* by Birth, was an *Englishman* by Affection, he wrote this King's Life. In his time also flourish'd *Marianus Scotus*, born in *Ireland* in the Year 1028. He wrote an *English* History and a general History of *Europe* interwoven with it, which he brought down to the Year 1083. He left *Ireland* Anno 1056. and went to *Germany*, where he became a Monk of *St. Martin's* Convent at *Mentz*, and died there, Anno 1086.

Sir James Ware, Irish Writers.

¹ In the Year of our Lord 1542. the Bishop of *Bayeux*, Abbot of *St. Stephens* in *Caen*, order'd King *William* the First's Tomb to be open'd, wherein his Body was found whole, fair and perfect, his Limbs large and big, and his Stature taller, and Bulk bigger than that of ordinary Men.



THE LIFE and REIGN OF WILLIAM II.

A. D.
1087.
Reg. 1.

William
Rufus
made King
of Eng-
land.

WILLIAM the II^d, Son to the Conqueror, being with his Father at *Rouen* at his Death, had his Desires so fix'd upon the Crown of *England*, that neglecting his Father's Funeral, he hasten'd with all speed thither, and^a by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*, and his own large Bounty and Promises, obtain'd it^b, according to his Father's Will, whom by his dutiful Behaviour he had much endear'd to himself, especially after the Abdication of his eldest Son *Robert*. He was a Prince more Gallant than Good; and having been bred up to Warlike Actions, in which he was generally on the fortunate Side, was rough and proud by Nature, and grew much more so by the Addition of Sovereignty, which enabled him through the Heat of Youth to do several irregular Acts, to his own eternal Dishonour, as well as the loss of his Subjects Love: Coming to the Crown not by Succession, and Right of Primogeniture, but by his Father's Will only, (for his elder Brother *Robert* wa alive, and the Kingdom by Inheritance belong'd to him) he found it absolutely necessary to hold the Possession of it by the Good-will of his Subjects, which he knew no better way to purchase than by large Promises of Favours and Kindness, and large Gifts to those that were more likely to be wrought upon to disturb it. His Subjects consisted of two sorts of People, *Normans* and *English*: The *Normans* were to be engag'd to him chiefly by Money; and therefore to gain them he went presently after his Coronation to *Winchester*, where his Father's Treasure^c lay, and emptied it out all to them; by which profuse Liberality, tho' he gain'd the Love of many, yet he lost more than he won, his Fund being not large enough to content all, and made himself so poor ever after, that through meer Necessity he was forc'd to be burthensome to his Subjects, and made use of many dishonourable ways of extorting Money from them. The *English* were to be secured by nothing so much as the Grant of their ancient Liberties; wherefore he gave them larger Promises than was suitable to his State and Dignity, which afterward failing in the Performance of, he got himself more Hatred than otherwise he would have had; yet he settled himself for the present, till Time discover'd that.

Robert Duke of *Normandy* being settled in his

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Dutchy^d, which was the Height of his Ambition in his Father's Life-time, was not contented with that only after his Death, but grudg'd to see himself a small Prince, and his younger Brother a potent King: Whereupon he contriv'd the speediest ways he could to recover his Inheritance, and ruine his Brother's Fortune in the beginning of it. He knew he had a strong Party for him in *England*, and his Uncle *Odo*, *Roger de Montgomery* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and some others of the Nobility, were at hand to encourage him to it: But he wanted Money for so great an Enterprize, which he had no other ways to raise so speedily, as by taking it of his younger Brother *Henry*, to whom his Father and Mother had left a great Treasure. Of him therefore by engaging the Country of *Constantine*, a Province in *Normandy*, he borrow'd such large Sums, as enabled him to levy a good Army for *England*. But *William* newly invested in his Crown, tho' well enough prepar'd for any Invasion, yet chose rather to purchase a present Peace (by the Mediation of the Nobility on both sides) till Time has better settled him in his Government, than to raise such Heats on both sides by a War as could not be easily allay'd; and so an Agreement was made, That *William* should hold the Kingdom of *England* during his Life, paying *Robert* three thousand Marks per Annum. *Robert* having thus compounded the Difference with his Brother *William*, turn'd his Forces upon his Brother *Henry*, by whose Help he had rais'd them, and took the Country of *Constantine* from him, without paying the Money for which it was engag'd. This Injustice from *Robert* was very pleasing to *William*, who hearing of it upbraided *Henry* with the Gain of the Usury of that Money which he had lent to deprive him of his Crown. *Henry* being thus deserted by both his Brothers, and having no Place to live in free from Danger from them, he surprized the Castle of *Mount St. Michael*, and fortify'd it; getting Assistance from *Hugh* Earl of *Britain*, who for his Money, supply him with Plenty of Soldiers out of *Britain*, who spoil'd and ravag'd the Countries of *Constantine* and *Bessin*.

Odo, Bishop of *Bayeux*, being return'd into *England* from his Imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restor'd to his Earldom of *Kent*, was not yet contented in so much an inferiour Station to what he had

A. D.
1087.
Reg. 1.

Robert
attempts
to get the
Crown of
England.

A. D.
1088.
Reg. 2.

^a The Nobility were more inclin'd to *Robert* than *William*, but by *Lanfranc*'s Piety and Persuasions were gain'd to fix at last upon *William*, and so he was crown'd by *Lanfranc*, Sep. 6. 1087.

^b *William* the Second, surnam'd *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from his yellow Hair, was declar'd King on the 9th of September, and Crown'd the 11th of October Sir John Hayward.

^c Tis said, the Treasure consisted of sixty thousand Pounds in Money, (a prodigious Sum in those Days) besides Jewels, Gold and Plate.

^d Duke *Robert* was in *Germany* when his Father dy'd, and by his Absence gave his Brother *William* time to settle himself in the Throne of *England*.

A. D. 1088. Reg. 2. *Odo* had formerly been in, but envy'd *Lanfranc* the Honour he had spoil'd him of, to be the only Man at the Helm, by whose Counsels all things were manag'd; and to recover it again, thought 'twould be the speediest course to change the King. To this end he enter'd into a Plot with as many *Norman* Lords as he found inclinable to a Change, to set up *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, and sent for him to come over with speed with all the Power he could bring out of *Normandy*. In the mean time these Conspirators, to distract the King's Forces, and so leave *Robert* an easie entrance into the Kingdom, began in divers parts of the Nation to revolt from their Allegiance. *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, with his Nephew *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, fortify'd *Bristol*, and took in the Country round about; *Robert de Bigod* made a strong Party in *Norfolk*; *Hugh de Grandemont* gather'd Forces about *Leicester*; *Robert de Montgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, had a considerable Body of *Welshmen*, and others thereabouts, with whom he set forward; and being accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacy* and *Ralph Mortimer*, took *Worcester*, and secured themselves in it. *Odo* himself fortify'd the Castle of *Rocheſter*, and made good all the Coasts of *Kent*. So that had *Robert* come with his Army out of *Normandy*, as they expected, and in the midst of these Distractions pursu'd his Claim, he had infallibly got the Crown; but he staying too long, gave the King time to confirm his Friends, undermine his Enemies, and strengthen himself by the assistance of the *English*, to whom having granted a release from their former Tribute, eas'd them of their Grievances, and restored them to their ancient Freedom, in hunting in all his Woods and Forests; he made them so entirely his, and so ready to serve him, that he soon became powerful enough to vanquish all the Conspirators; by which the *Normans* were convinc'd, that the *English* could easily have conquer'd them, had they had an Head to lead them against them. *Montgomery* came over to the King, and the rest were soon repress'd. *Odo's* Faction in *Kent* was the strongest, and the last conquer'd. The King coming with his Army against them, first attack'd the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and took it; then *Pemsey*, where *Odo* was, who was forc'd to yield it to the King, and promised that the like should be done at *Rocheſter*, by *Eustace* Earl of *Bologne*, and the Earl of *Mortaigne*, who held it out against him. But when he was brought thither to effect it, the Besieged taking him in, detain'd him, and held out stoutly against the King's Forces, upon a false Information, that Duke *Robert* was landed at *Southampton*; but at last were forced to resign, and retire into *France*, and *Odo* was compelled to abjure the Kingdom. The danger being thus blown over in *England*, *William*, to keep his Brother employ'd at home, and discourage him from all future attempts upon the Kingdom of *England*, transports an Army into *Normandy* to waste and disturb his Brother's Dominions. At his first Entrance he obtain'd *S. Valery* and after *Albemarle*, with the whole Countries of *Eu*, *Fescamp*, the Abbacy of *Mount S. Michael*, *Cherburge*, and other places. *Robert* in this distress seeks for aid from *Philip* King of *France*, and was promis'd it; but as he was marching towards *Normandy* with his Army, King *Wil-*

liam by Money so prevail'd with him to stand Neuter in the Quarrel, that he return'd without doing *Robert* any good; by which means he was forced to clap up a dishonourable Peace upon these Articles, concluded between them at *Cane in Normandy*, viz. (1.) That King *William* should hold the Country of *Eu*, *Fescamp* and other places, which he had bought, and were diliver'd unto him, by *William* Earl of *Eu*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Aumerl*, Sister's Son to *William* the First. (2.) That he should assist *Robert* to recover all those Places which belong'd to his Father, and were taken away from his Dutchy. (3.) That such *Normans* as had forfeited their Estates in *England*, by joyning with *Robert*, should be restor'd to them. (4.) That the Survivor of either of them should succeed to the Dominions both of *England* and *Normandy*.

After the Conclusion of this Peace by the Mediation of the King of *France*, and while King *William's* Army remain'd in the Field, *Robert* defired his assistance against his Brother *Henry*, who still kept the Fort of *Mount S. Michael*, and defended himself in it. The two Brothers besieg'd it forty Days, with little damage to either side. But King *William* himself, who walking one day on the Shore by the Castle, was so violently assaulted by three Persons, who among others sallied out of it, that his Horse was kill'd, his Breastplate broken, and himself cast on the Ground, being hardly able to defend himself, till his Men could come to his rescue. In the end *Henry* was reduced to extream want of Drink and water, altho' he had sufficient quantities of other Provision in the Fort, and sends to Duke *Robert*, whom he knew to be of the more mild and compassionate Temper, to permit him liberty to supply himself with them. *Robert* immediately sends him a Tun of Wine, and grants him a Truce for one Day to furnish himself with Water; which, when *William* understood, he was displeased. But *Robert* reply'd, That it was very Inhumane to deny a Brother Meat and Drink, who crav'd it; for if he perissh'd they had no other Brother: Which words wrought so upon *William*, that not long after they sent for *Henry*, and came to an agreement, That he should hold the Country of *Constantine* in Mortgage till *Robert* had paid his Money^b; for which a Day was appointed, when he was to receive it at *Rouen*. This Agreement King *William* farther'd, that he might draw as much Treasure from *Robert* as he could, whom by this Voyage he had not only impoverish'd, but possess'd himself of a safe and continual Landing-place in part of his Dutchy, and caused him to banish out of *Normandy* *Edgar Atheling*, whom *Robert* kept in his Court to awe his Brother. Besides, he so prevail'd with *Robert*, either by Promises of Money, or otherways, that he brought him with him into *England*, and carry'd him along with him in his Expedition against *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, who had invaded his Dominions in his absence; but the Difference being adjust'd without Arms^c, they soon return'd. And *Robert* not long after went into *Normandy* again, much dissatisfy'd at his Disappointment by his Brother; and because he had not Money to discharge his Brother's Debt, according to his Promise, he was resolv'd to get a Discharge from it without; and meeting *Henry* at *Rouen* upon the day appointed, committed him to Prison; and to get a Release, forced him to renounce his Claim to the

A. D. 1089. Reg. 3. The Peace between the Brothers.

1091. Reg. 4. Wars with Henry.

1092. Reg. 5.

The three Brothers conclude a Peace together.

A. D. 1089. Reg. 3.

William carries an Army into Normandy.

^a Duke *Robert*, on his arrival in *Normandy*, made him Governor of that Province.

^b *William* of *Malmſbury* says, *Henry* was forc'd to surrender the Castle for want of Water, on condition he might go where he pleas'd; after which he retir'd into *Bretagne*, and thence into the *French Vexin*, shifting from place to place, with only a Knight, a Chaplain, and three Gentleman attending him.

^c The Peace was made by the Mediation of *Edgar*, which restor'd him to the King's Favour; one Article of the Treaty was, That King *Malcolm* should do Homage to King *William*. Sir *J. H. Or*, as *Florence of Worcester* writes, That *Malcolm* should yield the King the same Obedience as he had done to his Father, King *William*.

A. D. 1093. Reg. 6. Henry flies to the King of France. the Country of *Constantine*, and swear to pretend no Title to any thing in *Normandy*. Henry having by this means got his Freedom, fled to *Philip* King of *France*, and complain'd of this gross Injustice done him by his Brother; *Philip* gave him kind Entertainment, but he remain'd there not long, before a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Hachard*, undertaking to put him into the strong Fort of *Dampfront* without the knowledge of his Brother *Robert*, convey'd him in disguise out of that Court, and caused the Town and Castle to be resign'd up to him; by which soon after he made himself Master of the Country of *Passays*, which lay about it, and a good part of *Constantine*, having the private assistance of his Brother *William*, *Richard de Rivières*, and *Roger de Manneville*. Duke *Robert* seeing *Henry* again set up against him, levies an Army to recover *Dampfront*; but finding that he was supported by his Brother the King of *England*, he enveighs against him, as false and perfidious to him, and they became more bitter Enemies than they had ever been before. *William* being incens'd at this, pass'd over into *Normandy* with a great Army, but rather to terrify than fight his Brother, (for *William*, tho' he desir'd to be great with the Sword, yet car'd not how little he made use of it, if he could obtain his ends by any other means.) Many small Skirmishes pass'd between them; but in the Conclusion, a Peace was propounded, to which *William* seem'd very averse, that he might obtain what Conditions he pleased, and sent for greater Forces into *England*, as if he resolv'd to continue the War; but *Robert* being deserted by the King of *France*, was forced to accept of a Peace at home upon any Terms; which being made up, *William* order'd that his Army which he had sent for out of *England*, and was come to the Sea-side ready to embark, should be disbanded, and upon the Payment of ten Shillings a Man dismissed to their homes; which he in gladly comply'd with, he was enabled to discharge his Expences in *Normandy*, and see the French King.

1094. Reg. 7. William Wars against the Welch and Scots.

King *William* having by this arbitrary Peace with his Brother secur'd himself from all Troubles in *Normandy*, resolv'd to turn his Arms upon two Enemies at home, the *Scots* and *Welch*; intending to restrain the former from hurting him, and subdue the other. *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, had several times in the King's absence in *Normandy* much depopulated and wasted the Northern Parts of *England*, and was again enter'd into the *English* Marches as far as *Chester*, destroying the Country all along. *William* hasten'd to oppose him, and after many Rencontres they were brought to an Interview; both Kings being more willing to have a Peace than seek it. The two Kings met at *Glocester*, but *William* carrying himself at a great distance, and expecting to have his Demands granted in every Particular, made *Malcolm* not only less yielding, who before was content to have the Confines of both Kingdoms determined by the Primates of them; but being incens'd at the Disdain which *William* had shew'd to him, tho' a Sovereign Prince, as well now as before, went home; and raising a great Army, enter'd *Northumberland*, resolving to destroy that Country and go farther. *Robert de Mowbray*, Earl of that County, seeing his Territories so miserably harass'd and depopulated,

and being a stout and valiant Soldier, raised what Force he could to oppose him without the King's Order; but not being strong enough to enter a pitch Battel with him, lay in Ambush for him where he was to pass, and fell upon him so fiercely and boldly, that he slew *Malcolm* himself, and his eldest Son *Edward*, the Grief of whose Deaths soon after brought the good Queen *Margaret* to her End. After the Death of *Malcolm*, the *Scots* chose *Dufnald* his Brother, King, and drove all the *English* out of their Nation, which were come thither either to attend the Queen, or secure themselves from the Conqueror, and were preferred by *Malcolm*. But King *William*, to bring the Kingdom into their Legal Succession, and have a King which might be beholding to his Power, assisted *Edgar* the second Son to *Malcolm* (who had served him in his Wars) to obtain the Crown due to him as Heir by Succession to it, and at length expelled *Dufnald*; and the Nation received *Edgar*, but destroyed all the Men which he brought with him out of *England*, capitulating with him, that he should never more entertain *English* or *Normans* in his Service.

A. D. 1094. Reg. 7.

Malcolm King of Scots slain and his Brother chosen King.

The State of *Scotland* being settled according to his Mind, he next turned his Arms upon *Wales*; for which he could not want a just Occasion, the *Welch* being ever struggling for their Liberty, and attempting a faint Revenge upon the *English* and *Normans*. He went himself in Person upon this Expedition, with a Purpose of depopulating that Country, which was so troublesome to him; but the *Welch* flying some into Mountains, and others into the Isle of *Anglesey*, avoided his Fury. The King sent *Hugh* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* against the latter, who got the Isle into their Power by Surprise, but used their Victory with horrid Cruelty and Barbarity; putting out the Eyes, and cutting off the Noses, Hands and Arms of their poor Captives without Mercy, or Distinction of Age or Sex. But this Inhumanity was by a just Providence revenged upon *Shrewsbury* almost in the very Fact: For *Magnus*, Son of *Olanus* Son of *Harold Harfager*, who had lately taken the Isles of *Orkney*, and was coming to land at *Anglesey* in his Passage that way on the Sea, being opposed by these Earls with that small Force they had, wounded the Earl of *Shrewsbury* in the Eye with a Shot, and beat him into the Sea; so that he suffer'd a double Death for the unspeakable Cruelties he had been guilty of to others. This War being hardly finish'd, a Conspiracy broke out in the Heart of the Kingdom, contriv'd by *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William D'Ou*, and many others, whose Design was to have destroy'd the King, and raised *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle*, his Aunt's Son, to the Crown. This Plot was greater Trouble than Danger to the King; for by his speedy advance against them, and onset upon them with the greatest Strength of the Kingdom, which joyned with him to suppress them, he quash'd their Design, and got most of the Conspirators into his Power, which he punished with a Severity equal, if not beyond the Crime. The Earl he committed to the Castle of *Windsor*; *William D'Ou*, at a Council at *Salisbury*, being overcome in a Duel (the Trial then used in such Cases) had his Eyes put out, and

A. D. 1095. Reg. 8.

William's Wars with the Welch.

A Conspiracy to depose him.

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Q. 2

* King *William* the Second did not want more Forces than he had; but to raise Money, he levy'd twenty thousand *Englishmen*, and commanded them to march to the Sea-side to be shipp'd for *Normandy*. When they came there, he caus'd *Ralph* his Treasurer to offer them, that to save the Nation so many Men, and themselves the Perils they were to run, as many of them as would pay ten Shillings should be discharg'd; upon which, they all paid down their Money and went home. *Mat. Paris.*

b This Fight was near *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*. Sir *John Hayward* says the *Scots* were so encumber'd with Plunder that the *English* had no difficult Task to defeat them.

c Dr. *Romell's* Chronicle places the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Invasion of *Wales*, Anno 1098. *Roger Hoveden* does the same.

A. D. 1095. Reg. 8. and his privy Members cut off; *William de Alveric*, his Sewer, a Man of goodly Personage and allied to him, was condemned to be hanged; tho' both in his Confession to *Osmund* the Bishop^a, who was present, and to all the People as he pass'd along to his Execution, he gave such Proofs of his Innocency, that he was thought to have suffer'd wrongfully from the King, who was so anger'd by this Revolt, that he not only punished the Actors with too much Severity, but retained an implacable Temper of Mind ever after.

1096. Reg. 9. And certainly this ill Humour would have created him continual Disturbances at home, had there not happen'd a very fortunate Juncture of Affairs, which not only eas'd him, but most of the Kingdoms of *Europe*, which were broken in Pieces with Factions and Schisms, of their most troublesome Members. Pope *Urban* being sensible of the lamentable Distraction of *Christendom*, thought it the best Expedient to end them, to draw their Thoughts and Designs another way; and to that end called a Council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*^b; where having propounded to the Princes and Bishops assembled, the miserable Condition of the Christians at *Jerusalem* under the *Turks*, he earnestly exhorted them to joyn their Forces to recover the Holy Land out of the Hands of the Infidels, telling them, 'That it was an Action not only just, but such as would get them an indelible Honour in this World, as well as eternal Glory in a future.' This Motion being seconded with the earnest Persuasions, and active Zeal of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*; and meeting with a general Inclination to Religion, and such Acts of Goodness, prevailed so much with all Sorts of the People, that none were accounted to be of any real Worth or Piety, which desired to be excused from the Expedition: Infomuch, that many great Princes passed away their whole Estates, and left their Kingdoms to engage in this noble Action; and all sorts of People flocked so fast to this Service, that in a little time they made up an Army of three hundred thousand, or, as some say, seven hundred thousand Men. *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, Nephew and Heir to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a generous Prince, bred in the Wars of the Emperor *Henry IV.* was the first that offer'd himself to undertake this famous Voyage, whom his Brothers *Eustace* and *Baldwin* were resolved to accompany. Their Example invited *Hugh le Grand*, Count de *Vermandois*, Brother to *Philip* King of *France*, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert Frison* Earl of *Flanders*, *Stephen* Earl of *Blois* and *Chartres*, *Aimar* Bishop of *Puy*, *William* Bishop of *Orange*, *Raimund* Earl of *Tholouse*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Hainault*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Rethel*, and *Garnier* Earl of *Gretz*, *Harpin* Earl of *Bourges*, *Isaard* Earl of *Dy*, *Rambald* Earl of *Orange*, *Guillaum* Count de *Forests*, *Stephen* Earl of *Aumaul*, *Hugh* Earl of *S. Poll*, *Rotron* Earl of *Perche*, and some others, out of *France*, *Germany*, and the Countries adjoining. *Italy* sent *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Beauchampe*, with many others, whose Names are now lost. *Spain* could afford none, because they were greatly afflicted at that time with the Inroads of the *Saracens*. Most of these Princes and noble Persons sold or engaged their Dominions and Possessions to furnish themselves out for this brave Attempt. *Godfrey* sold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Bishop of *Liege*,

and *Metz* to the Citizens. *Baldwin* his Brother sold the Earldom of *Verdon* to *Richard* Bishop of that Province, and *Eustace* sold all his Estate to the Church, *Harpin* Earl of *Bourges* sold his Earldom to *Philip* King of *France*, and *Robert* mortgaged his Dutchy of *Normandy*, Earldom of *Main*, and all he had, to his Brother *William* King of *England*^c. Thus did the Pope weaken not only the Empire, and eas'd the Church of that long Contest about the Investitures of Bishops; but also mightily enriched the Ecclesiastical Persons, who purchased most of the Temporalities, which the Undertakers left, and so became much greater than they had been before; especially in *France*, and afterwards in *England*, when *Richard* the First undertook the same Voyage. This War notwithstanding it was attended with infinite Hazards and Difficulties, Pressures and Wants, was kept on foot almost three hundred Years, and by it were consumed an infinite Treasure, and most of the bravest Men of these Western Parts of the World, especially in *France*; for in *Italy* and *Germany* the Pope kept many back by Dispensation, who were his Friends, and would else have gone, merely to maintain his Cause against the Emperor; who yet struggled with him, but at last the Pope prevailed. The Zeal of these Christian Princes was admirable, but did little or no good; for instead of driving the Enemy out of the Christian Countries, they discover'd their own Weakness, and encourag'd the Infidels to make their Attempts upon *Europe*, of which since they have gained some of the fairest Provinces.

By this War *William* was rid of his elder Brother, and a troublesome Competitor, had the Possession of *Normandy* during his Reign, and became an absolute Prince in both. But this want of an outward Enemy made him take Liberty to do many irregular and arbitrary things, whereby he lost the Love of his People in general, and brought upon himself the Hatred both of the Clergy and Laity. For to raise this great Sum, which he had agreed to furnish *Robert* with for his Journey into the Holy Land, he made use of the most rigorous and unjust ways of exacting Money of the People, seized upon the vacant Livings and Preferments of the Clergy, and kept them in his own Hands to enjoy the Profits of them. After the Death of *Lanfranc*, he kept the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* vacant four Years, and had held it longer; but that falling sick of a dangerous Distemper at *Glocester*, the Clergy in his Sickness convinc'd him so much of the Sinfulness of the Fact, that he vow'd that he would fill up all Vacancies if he recover'd, which indeed he did, but with some unwillingness. *Anselm*, an *Italian* born, but bred up in *Normandy*, was preferred to the See of *Canterbury*; But What through his own Stubbornness and the King's firm Adherence to his Regal Prerogative, he never enjoy'd it quietly. For between them began the Controversy about Investitures of Bishops, and other Privileges of the Church, which was so hotly maintain'd by his Successors; and *Anselm* not yielding to the King's Will, or rather Right, was forced to leave the Nation; and the King assum'd his Bishoprick again, and took all the Profits of it, and after this became so arbitrary a Possessor of Church-Livings and Preferments, that he held in his Hands at one time, beside the See of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of

A. D. 1097. Reg. 10.

William gets Normandy.

Anselm made Archbishop of Canterbury.

His Ausrice.

Winchester.

^a *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury*. Sir J. H.

^b This Pope had been driven out of *Italy* into *France*, expell'd by the Faction of *Clement III.* there being at this time a Schism in the Papacy.

^c For 6666. others say 13600 Pounds of Silver. Sir J. Hayward.

^d *Anselm* was Abbot of *Beechellowin* in *Normandy*, was chosen Bishop on the 6th of March, 1093. Hol. Vol. III. 20.

A. D. 1097. Winchester and Sarum, and eleven Abbies, of which he had all the Incomes. What he disposed of to others, fell usually to their Shares who would give most Money for them, and took Fines of Priests for Fornication. He vex'd Robert Bluet Bishop of Lincoln with Law-Suits, till he paid him 5000 l. And tho' he had much impoverish'd his Clergy, yet when he had laid this Tax upon them to pay his Brother, and they complain'd of Want, he answer'd them, *That they had Shrines of Gold in their Churches, and for so holy a Work as this War against the Infidels was, they should not spare them*. He also took Money of the Jews, to cause such of them as were converted to Christianity to renounce it again, making greater Benefit of their Apostacy than Conversion; wherein he discover'd something worse in his Nature than Covetousness, which is Atheism. Besides the Taxes which he impos'd upon the Laity, he set Informers to take notice of any small Irregularities committed by them, and inflicted severe Penalties upon them. And tho' these Actings were very odious and tyrannical, yet he wanted not some of great Name and Station to countenance them, as Ranulph Bishop of Durham, and some other Bishops, who suffer'd themselves to be corrupted, contrary to their Profession, to oppose the Clergy and awe the Laity. By these ill means he gather'd great Sums of Money, which he as lavishly expended, either in his Buildings, (which were the Castle upon Tine, the City of Carlisle, Westminster-Hall, and the Walls of the Tower of London) or else in his Prodigal Gifts to Strangers, as the King of France, and others, which brought him to extream want.

His Person and Courage. 1099. He was of an indifferent Stature of Body, and well set, his Complexion was ruddy, and Hair inclining to yellow, whence he had his Name Rufus; he was bountiful to Soldiers, but austere to the Churchmen; he was of a rough and violent, but yet very courageous Spirit; of which we have this convincing Proof: As he was one day a hunting, a Messenger came in all haste out of Normandy, and told him how the City of Mans was surpriz'd and taken by Heli, Count de la Flesche, (who by his Wife pretended a Right to it, and was assisted by Fulke d'Angiers, the old Enemy of the Dukes of Normandy) but the Castle held out valiantly for him; yet, if it were not timely relieved, must surrender. The King immediately bid the Messenger return with all speed, and assure them in the Castle, that he would be with them in eight days, if Fortune hinder'd him not. And presently having inquir'd which way Mans lay of a Norman that stood by, rid directly towards the Sea-Coasts. His Attendants, tho' they

admir'd his Resolution, yet advis'd him to stay a while to provide things necessary for the Journey, and a Force answerable to his Design: But he reply'd, *They that love me will follow me*. Being arriv'd at Dartmouth, and desirous to go on Board a Ship ready to carry him over, the Master told him, That the Weather was so bad, and Sea so rough, his Passage would be very dangerous: But he said, *Tush, set forward, I never yet heard of a King that was drowned*. Whereupon the Master setting sail, he arriv'd at Harfleu by break of Day, sends for his Captains and Men of War to attend him at Mans, and accordingly arriv'd there upon the Day appointed, Count de la Flesche, after his coming, was not able to hold out the Siege, but after some Skirmishes released the City, and was himself taken by a Stratagem, and brought a Prisoner to Rouen. Here being brought into the King's Presence, the King jested upon him to his Face, as not having Courage or Policy enough to withstand him; at which being more enrag'd, than cast down, he said, *That he was made a Prisoner more by Chance than Force; and that, were he at Liberty again, he would leave the King but little Land on that side the Sea*. The King hearing these Words, instantly set him at Liberty, and giving him a good Horse, bid him go and do his Worst. Which brave Act had such an effect upon the Count, that he gave over all Opposition, and came soon after to a Peace with the King. After this Success, the King return'd home with great Jollity, feasted his Nobility magnificently in his new Hall at Westminster, which was then lately finish'd, with which he found fault for being built too little; saying, *That it was fitter for a Chamber than a Hall for a King of England*; and took a Platform to build it larger. After these Demonstrations of Joy were over, he spent some time in settling his publick Affairs, and then betook himself wholly to the Pleasure of Peace; and being a hunting with his Brother Henry in the New-Forest, Walter Tirrell a Norman, and his Kinsman, shooting at a Deer, (whether mistaking his Mark, or not, is uncertain) shot him to the Heart, and so he immediately dy'd, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, and the forty fourth of his Age. A Prince, who for the first two Years of his Reign, while either through Fear or Design he follow'd the wise Counsel of Lanfranc, behav'd himself as one of the best of Princes, and might have had an absolute Government of all his Subjects, if he had continu'd to seek it by endearing Acts; but seeking to establish it by Force, made both himself and People miserable.

Westminster-Hall built.

His Death in New-Forest.

* Yet that he approv'd not the Simonaical Buyers of Church-Promotions, though his Necessities put him upon such sinister means and ways of raising Money, appears from this Instance: That the King having the Presidency of an Abby in his Hands, which he resolv'd to dispose of, two Monks came to him, and bid him large Sums for it, striving to outvy each other in purchasing it; a third stood by, as an Attendant of him that should be prefer'd, the King ask'd him, What he would give? To whom the Monk answer'd, *Nothing, because I have vow'd Poverty*. This answer pleas'd the King so well, that he presently gave it him; shewing, that tho' he let them have Promotions who bought them, yet he thought those deserv'd them best that would not purchase them.

^b This King was not at all oblig'd to the Monks for the Character they gave of him, neither were they oblig'd to him for his Favour. He hated their Covetousness and Arrogance, and had more Religion or less Superstition than any of them, if what is said of him be true, that he should openly declare, *He believed no Saint could profit any one in the Lord's Sight*; and that neither he nor any wise Man would make Intercession either to Peter, or any other for help. Eadmerus, Hol. p. 27.

^c Bayfleu.

^d This Feast was kept at Westminster the last Year, before he went to Normandy. William of Malm.

^e Walter Tyrrell, says Ordericus Vitalis a Norman, was a French Knight, a Native of Pontoise, a City in the Pais Vexin Francois, of the Province of the Isle of France.

^f Sir John Hayward relates the Circumstances of it thus: As he was hunting at Choringham in the New Forest, he struck a Deer lightly with an Arrow; and stay'd his Horse to look after the Deer, holding his Hands before his Eyes, because the Sun-Beams dazzled his Sight; another Deer crossing the way, Sir Walter Tyrrell shooting at it too carelessly, or too steadily at the King, shot him full on the Breast, and kill'd him, the 2d of August, 1100.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of William II.

IN his second Year there happen'd a dreadful Earthquake through the whole Kingdom, which was follow'd by a great Scarcity of Fruit, and so late a Harvest, that Corn was not full ripe at the end of November. Sir J. Hayw. Hist. William II.

On the 5th of October, in the Year 1091. there fell a violent Storm in several Parts of England, especially at *Winchelscomb* in *Glocestershire*, where the Steeple of the Church was thrown down by Thunder and Lightning, and the Crucifix with the Image of the Virgin *Mary* was broken to Pieces. The Hurricane was follow'd by a noisome Stink. *Holinshed*.

Sir *John Hayward* adds, That there was also a thick Smoke which darken'd the Sky.

On the 17th of the same Month there happen'd a Storm of Wind, which was then S. W. the same that blew in the late Tempest, so dreadful to the whole Nation; and yet this we are about to mention seems to have been more fatal in the City of *London*, where it threw down above five hundred Houses, and blew off the Roof of *Bow-Church* in *Cheapside*, by the fall of which two Men were kill'd. The top of the Steeple at *Salisbury*, and many Houses were blown down. *Holinshed*.

Sir J. H. says, It threw down six hundred and six Houses in *London*; and that some Beams of *Bow-Church*, twenty eight Foot long, were driven so deep into the Ground by it, that not above four Foot remain'd in sight. The Tower of *London* was also much broken. He adds farther, The next Year *Osmond* Bishop of *Salisbury* finish'd the Cathedral Church of *Old Sarum*, and the Steeple was fir'd by Lightning the fifth Day after the Consecration of the Church: Which, perhaps, gave occasion to *Holinshed's* Saying, that the Damage was done to *Salisbury* Church at the same time that the Roof of *Bow-Church* was blown off.

The Year 1094. was very remarkable for the Number and Fashion of gliding Stars, which seem'd to dash together in manner of a Conflict. Sir J. H. *Holinshed*, who is very particular in his Account of the Seasons, Weather, Plagues and Famine, goes farther, and affirms, That there was this Year so great Mortality of Men and Beasts in *England* and *Normandy*, that the Ground lay untill'd in many Places, which caus'd a severe Dearth.

Grizzly and hideous Sightings were seen in *England*, as Hosts of Men fighting in the Air, Stars falling from Heaven, and other such Wonders. The Ignorance and Superstition of those Ages have, we suppose, heighten'd the Terror of the unusual Accidents in the *Phænomena* of Nature: But we are not of the Opinion of those, who think there is nothing useful or entertaining in an Account of such extraordinary Events and Appearances, nor are they below the Dignity of History.

In the Year 1095. the eighth of this King's Reign, a Comet appear'd for fifteen Days together, the Tail pointing to the East. And in this Year *Peter* the Hermit preach'd up the Crusade against the Infidels.

In the last Year of his Reign the Sea overflow'd in divers Parts of *England* and *Scotland*; many Villages, Castles and Towns, much People, and a vast Number of Cattel were overwhelm'd. At the same time the Lands that belong'd to *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, Father to King *Harold*, were overflow'd and cover'd with Sand; and ever after they were call'd *Godwin's Sands*, as at this Day *Goodwin* by Corruption. The Heavens often seem'd to flame with Fire, and frightful Forms and Apparitions were seen in the Air.

In this Reign, the Monastery of *Bath* was joyn'd to the See of *Wells*, by *John* Bishop of that Diocels; and the Church of *Coventry* to the Bishoprick of *Chester*, by *Robert* Bishop of that See.

The most famous Warriors in his Reign were

Robert de Mowbray Earl of *Northumberland*,
Roger de Montgomery Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Robert de Bigod*,
Hugh de Grandmesnil, *Roger Lacy*, *Ralph Mortimer*.

For Learning there were few or none Eminent in his Time, except,

Turgotus, Prior, Archdeacon, and Vicar-General of the See of *Durham*, who wrote a Chronicle of that Bishoprick. He was afterwards Bishop of *St. David's*.

'Tis observable, that the *English* Names are already lost in the List of the most noted Barons of *England*: All whom we have mention'd, and those we must have nam'd, had we inserted more, being *Normans*.



THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY I.

A. D.
1100.
Reg. 1.

Henry the
third Son of
the Conquer-
or chosen
King of
England.

HENRY the youngest Son of *William* the First, being present at his Brother's Death, and born in *England* (which contributed much to his Advancement) was elected^a and crowned King within four days after his Brother's Decease; it being reported, that *Robert*, who should have succeeded *William*^b, was chosen King of *Jerusalem*; and 'twas not probable, that he would leave that Kingdom to govern this. But however, lest *Robert*'s return from the Holy Wars (who was indeed in *Apulia*, and hasting home) should shake the present Inclination of all People to settle him in the Throne, *Henry* used all Expedition possible to settle himself in the Possession of it, which accordingly he effected; and that he might secure himself the firm Allegiance of the People, he began his Government with Acts of Kindness and Benefit to them, being a Prince not only learned, as those times were, from whence he was called *Beau-Clerk*^c, but also of a mild Disposition and crafty Judgment; so that he knew how to make them good Subjects, after they had once made him their King. And to effect this, he first began with the Clergy, and all Vacancies in the Church, which his Brother through Covetousness had reserved to himself, he filled up with learned and pious Men; *Anselm* he recalled from his Banishment, and restored him to the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury*, and in general settled the Church in all the Privileges which had been taken from it by his Predecessors. The Laity he not only freed from the Oppressions and heavy Exactions they had long lain under, but punished those Men who had been forward Instruments of promoting them, which mightily pleased the People. And because *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, a Man who by his Cunning and fair Tongue had raised himself from a very mean Condition to great Preferments and highest Employments under the late King *William*, being his chief Counsellor, was generally looked upon as the only Person who put his Master upon these intolerable Exactions and Irregularities, and so was

odious to all; he committed him to a streight and loathsome Prison. All dissolute and vicious Persons were expelled his Court, and the People were allowed to use their Lights again after the Cover-feu Bell had gone, which *William* had prohibited them to their great Discontent. Many other^d good Laws and Orders he made for the Government of his Kingdom; and to make himself the more popular and beloved of the *English*, he married into the Royal Blood of *England*, by taking to Wife, *Maud* the Daughter of *Margaret*, the late Queen of *Scots*, Niece to *Edward Atheling*, and so descended from *Edward Ironside*; a Lady of admirable Virtues and Goodness, worthy of so good a Mother, yet hardly won from her Vow of Virginity to become a King's Wife^e.

Henry having thus secured his Interests in *England*, as much as possible, was scarce settled in his Regal Honour, but that *Robert* returned from the Holy Wars into *Normandy*, and was received with a general Applause by his Subjects there. The News of his Arrival much loosen'd the Affections of many from King *Henry*, especially of the *Norman* Nobility; who either out of Conscience, or Discontent, desire *Robert* should be their Governour. In the first Year *Robert* only threaten'd, but in the second he arriv'd with a strong Army at *Portsmouth* to recover his Right, and to him flock'd great Numbers of *Henry*'s Subjects, especially *Normans*; so that the Armies on both sides were very powerful. But when the two Brothers met, and were to encounter each other, Proposals of Peace by *Henry*'s Craft, were made to *Robert* (who was a very tender-hearted Man, and easily won to it, though very valiant) to save the Expence of Christian Blood; and it was concluded upon these Terms 'That since *Henry* was born after his Father had obtained the Crown of *England*, and so was the eldest Son of *William* as King, though he was the youngest of him as Duke, and was now invested in the Regal Dignity by the Consent of the Kingdom, he should enjoy it

A. D.
1100.
Reg. 1.

Henry
married in-
to the Eng-
lish Royal
Line.

Robert's
return from
the Holy
War.

1101.
Reg. 2.

1102.
Reg. 3.

^a He went to *Winchester* and seiz'd the late King's Treasures, from thence he posted to *London*, where by the Interest and wise Management of *Henry Newburgh* Earl of *Warwick* he was elected King. *William* of *Malmesbury*.

^b *Robert* behav'd himself with such Courage and Conduct in this Expedition against the *Turks*, that when the *Christians* had taken *Jerusalem*, and thought it necessary to prefer one of the Christian Princes to be King of it, it was with general Consent tender'd to *Robert*, but he having just before heard of his Brother *William*'s Death, refus'd that Dignity, and hasten'd homeward to assume his Kingdom of *England*. Our Historians generally think, that *Robert* cross'd Providence by this Refusal; for he not only lost *England* but *Normandy*, and was unfortunate in all his Actions ever after.

^c He was born, after his Father had been crown'd, at *Selby* in *Lincolnshire*; he study'd at *Cambridge*.

^d He restor'd King *Edward*'s Laws with some Amendments, and added several others much for the Benefit and Liberty of the Subject, as about the Punishments of Theft with Death, false Coining and Adultery with Loss of Eyes and Members, Marriage of Widows, and the Daughters of the Gentry, all which may be found more largely in *Speed*'s Lives.

^e *Maud*, Daughter of *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* by *Margaret* Sister to *Edgar Atheling*, and Daughter to *Edward* Son to *Edmund Ironside*, was next in Descent from the Saxon Kings to the Inheritance of the Crown of *England*. *Edgar* dying without Issue; by her Marriage with King *Henry* the Saxon and *Norman* Lines were united together both in Blood and Title to the Crown.

A. D. 1102. Reg. 3. it during his Life, paying *Robert* three thousand Marks per Annum. 2. That if *Robert* outlived him he should succeed. 3. And that all, whether *English* or *Normans*, that had taken part with *Robert*, should have their Pardons, and enjoy their Estates and Liberties. Things being thus amicably composed, *Robert* a Prince of a generous and free Temper, stayed in *England* two Months, enjoying the Delights and Pleasures of his Brother's Court without any sign of Envy or Ill-will, and then returned about *Michaelmas* into *Normandy*.

Henry's
Contest
with An-
selm.

1103.
Reg. 4.

Henry being thus freed from his greatest Fear, and settled in his Throne by Right, began to stand up more stoutly in asserting his Prerogative against the Opposition of Archbishop *Anselm*, who refused to consecrate that Bishop that the King had preferred; alledging it to be a Violation of the sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church lately decreed (at *Rome*) concerning this Business. The King not willing to forego his Due, sends an Embassage to Pope *Paschal*, to represent his Right to the Investiture of Bishops and Collation of Ecclesiastical Dignities, which he received from his Predecessors Kings of *England*, who never were molested in this Prerogative, but of late. *Anselm* immediately follows the Ambassadors to *Rome*, there to make good his Cause; which so anger'd the King, that he banished him the Kingdom, and took his Bishoprick immediately into his hands. The Pope boldly vindicated the Power assumed by the Church, but in the end seeing the Resolution of *Henry*, and knowing that it was not in his Power to constrain him (who was engaged with the Emperor and other Princes in a Contest of the same Nature) he resolved to deal with him by Persuasions to draw him to his Will; and to that end, with kind Letters solicits him to relinquish his Claim, and promises him most solemnly, that he would further him in any Matters concerning his State. The King considering the Proposals, and having some Designs in hand, which he judged might be better effected by the Connivance of the Church, consents to the Pope's Desires, and became an Example to other Princes of yielding to him in the same case: So *Anselm* was recall'd, and his Ambassadors returned with large Presents from the Pope.

A Rebellion
against
Henry.

While these things were in hand, and transacting at *Rome*, there burst out a Rebellion at home, which as it tended to the Destruction of the Authors of it, so it brought the King more easily to his Ends than otherwise he could have expected. *Robert Belesme*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son to *Roger Montgomery* (a fiery young Man) presuming upon his great Strength and numerous Friends, fortified his Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgnorth*, *Tick-hill* and *Arundel*, and combining with the *Welshmen*, deny'd the Obedience and Subjection to the King. *Henry* enraged at their Attempt, gathers a strong Army, and marches towards him; and within thirty Days, partly by Force and partly by Promises, dispersed all his Associates, and took all his Castles, except that of *Arundel*, wherein were *Belesme* himself, with his Brother *Arnulphus* and *Roger de Poytiers*, which held out something longer; but at length was forced to yield upon Condition, that they might retire safely into *Normandy*, which the King readily granted, seeing he lost nothing but two or three troublesome Men, which were better any

where than at home. Their Departure made well for the King, for he immediately seized upon the Earl's Estate, which made a considerable Addition to his Revenues; and being come into *Normandy*, he made way for his obtaining that also. For as soon as he came thither, he enter'd into a Familiarity with one of like Condition and desperate Fortunes with himself (an exiled Person) whose Insolency had likewise stripp'd him of all his Estate in *England*, and much wasted that in *Normandy*, viz. *William* Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son of *Robert* half Brother to *William* the First. These two Earls with their Adherents, committed many Outrages, assaulting the King's Castles, unjustly detaining the Estate of *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, a Minor, and the King's Ward, and spoiling several other parts of the Country; and tho' they were complain'd of to Duke *Robert*, yet no Redress was made, the Duke being either past Action, or giving himself up to a Monkish Sluggishness. *Henry* therefore was appealed to by the *Normans*, who sending for his Brother, reproved him sharply for his Sluggishness; which *Robert* took so ill, that giving vent to former Discontents he joined with those mutinous Earls, and resolved upon a fresh Revenge upon his Brother. The King being troubled in Conscience at the Foulness of a Quarrel with his own Brother, was very dubious what to do, till Pope *Paschal* sent him some Letters to persuade him with all the Arguments of Wit and Invention to engage in this War, which he said, would not be a civil Dissention, but a noble and memorable Benefit to his Country. The Countenance and Approbation of the Pope put Resolution and Alacrity into the King, and now he proceeds boldly not as against a Brother, but a most dangerous National Enemy, passes into *Normandy* with his Army; and after many Difficulties and Losses of many worthy Men, in a great Battel near the Castle of *Tenechbray*^b, defeated his Enemies and won *Normandy*, on the same day by Computation (wherein forty Years before) *Normandy* had over-run *England*. *Robert*, who stood in a fair Possibility of two Crowns, was now deprived of his Duchy, brought a Prisoner into *England* and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe*; where to add to his Misery, he had the Misfortune of a long Life, living after this Loss twenty six Years not only in Confinement, but most of it in utter Blindness^c, his Eyes being put out soon after his Imprisonment for endeavouring to make an escape. He was a Prince of great Excellency and Valour, of which he gave so many Proofs in his Voyage into the Holy Land, that he had the second Command of the Army, and was very nigh being elected King of *Jerusalem*. But his Disobedience to his Father, and his Profuseness in his Expences, for which he sold, or engaged his whole Duchy, are great Stains to his Credit, and made him thought so unfit for Government, that his Brother *Henry* had the Commendation of most Men for taking it from him.

And now *Henry* being gotten to the highest pitch of Power and Dignity, an absolute King of *England* and *Normandy*, was so formidable, that none dare disturb his Peace; so that he lived many Years in the most flourishing Prosperity, gathered a great Treasure, and held a friendly Correspondence with all neighbouring Princes. *Scotland* was obliged to be quiet, not only upon the

A. D. 1103.
Reg. 4.

1104.
Reg. 5.
Robert
raises War
a second
time a-
gainst
Henry.

Henry en-
courag'd by
Pope Pas-
chal opposes
Robert,
and con-
quering
him gets
Norman-
dy.

1105.
Reg. 6.

1106.
Reg. 7.
Henry's
prosperous
Condition.

^a This Opposition was in a Synod call'd by *Anselm* at *London*, wherein he deposed several Bishops who had been invested in their Sees by the King, and decreed, that none so invested ought to be consecrated.

^b *Tenechbray*.

^c Some Authors report, that 'twas not his Eyes which were put out, but the Earl of *Mortaigne*'s.

A. D. 1106. Reg. 7. the account of his Match with *Maud*, but also because he was a Benefactor to their Kings, and sav'd them from Usurpations. *Wales*, tho' he was titular Lord of it, yet was not subject to him, but now and then gave his Arms a little Exercise; but at length by his Wisdom he found out an effectual way to check their turbulent Humour. For, (1.) He planted within the Body of their Country a Colony of *Flemmings*, who being admitted into the Nation by *William*, who marry'd their Country-woman, and used their assistance in subduing the Kingdom, and after allow'd them to dwell in *Cumberland*, had been routed from their Habitation, by the Sea breaking in upon them, and were become now burthensome Guests to the Kingdom, and much disturb the Natives. These People, who were both numerous and stout, he settled among the *Welsh*, and so not only eased his own People of their Grievance, but also put a curb upon that People to keep them in awe, for they soon made room for themselves, and kept all the adjoining Countries in fear of them. And then, (2.) He took the chief Men's Sons in the Country for Hostages, and so forced them to be quiet. As for *France*, he had no suspicion of Disturbance from them, because their King *Philip* gave himself up wholly to Ease and Luxury, and minded not Warlike Affairs, though his Son was thought to be of an active Temper, and might alter things when he came to the Crown. With the Earl of *Flanders* he had some difference, but it proceeded no farther than Words, which happen'd upon this occasion: The Conqueror in Recompence of the good Service which *Baldwin V.* Earl of *Flanders* had done him in his Expedition for *England*, gave him three hundred Marks per Annum, and continu'd it to his Son after him.

Flemmings settled in Wales.

1107. Reg. 8. This present Earl *Robert* was of a Collateral Line, but yet being grown indigent by the Holy Wars, in which he had engag'd himself, and finding that such a Sum had been paid to his Predecessors, demands it of King *Henry* as his due; but the King, who was very slow at parting with Money, sent him word, That it was not the Custom of the Kings of *England* to pay Tribute; if they had allow'd Pensions to any Persons that had deserv'd well of them, they were temporary, and ended with them. This Answer much displeas'd the Earl; and tho' he liv'd not to show his hatred, yet his Son did it, by assisting *William* the Son of *Robert* in his attempts to recover the Duchy of *Normandy* from King *Henry*. In this serene part of his Reign he settled his Affairs so firmly at home, that he never had any Disturbance among his Subjects after.

Henry's Quarrels with the King of France. But the Changes of the World brought a mutation in *Henry's* Affairs abroad. For after the Death of *Philip* King of *France*, *Lewis* the Gros his Son succeeded him, and soon after his accession to the Crown began a Contest with him about the City of *Gisors*, which lies on the River *Epre*, and belong'd to his Duchy of *Normandy*. *Henry* being a Politick Prince, and knowing that he had a powerful Monarch to grapple with, not only provided an Army to oppose his Enemy, but strengthen'd himself by good Alliances, which he had a favourable opportunity to do just at that Juncture. For there happen'd at that time a Quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor *Henry V.* whom tho' the Pope had encourag'd in a Rebellion against his Father

Henry IV. and so had rais'd him to the Throne, (for he conquer'd his Father, and kept him in such straight Imprisonment, that he dy'd) yet he extorted so many Privileges of the Empire from him, that repenting of what he had done, because he was reproach'd for it by his States, he rais'd a mighty Army, and marching into *Italy*, constrain'd the Pope and his College to acknowledge the Rights of the Empire in that form as *Adrian* had done to *Charles* the Great, and *Leo* to *Otho II.* according to the Decree of the Council of *Rome*, and made him take an Oath of Fidelity between his Hands, as to the true and lawing Emperor. But the Pope, as soon as *Henry* was gone, call'd a Council, makes void this Acknowledgment, as done by Force, and shortly after deceas'd. *Calixtus* the Son of the Count of *Burgogne* succeeded him in the Papacy; and being a *Frenchman*, call'd another Council at *Reimes*, where, by an Ecclesiastical Decree, *Henry* was declar'd an Enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Imperial Dignity. This made *Henry* the Emperor have a jealous Eye of *Lewis*, as a Favourer of his Enemies, who being most his Subjects, had pronounc'd such a Sentence against him; and to strengthen himself against a growing Party, desired a Marriage with *Maud*, the Daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, who was then an Infant of about five Years old. Besides this Enemy, *Lewis* had in his own Kingdom several of his Nobility about *Paris*, as the Counts of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dimmartini*, *Champaigne*, and others, who presuming upon their Franchises within their own Seigniories, of which at that time there were many in *France*, would be absolute Lords, and not be under the awe of a Master. These *Henry* took under his Protection; and that *Lewis* might not move against him, but with near as much prejudice to himself, in his own Confines, as he could do to him, lent them assistance against their Sovereign. The Emperor, who being become his Son-in-Law, was easily sway'd by his Interest or Persuasion, he incens'd to that degree, that he immediately rais'd a mighty Army to assault his Dominions, and joyn with *Henry*, who had made as great Preparations. This Storm hanging over the *French* King's Head, and almost unavoidable, much terrify'd him, and finding himself unable to grapple with such Enemies, he first deals with some of the *German* Princes, represents to them the Danger and Mischiefs of a War, undertaken upon a meer Suspicion, and in a Heat, without any just ground, and moves them to induce the Emperor, that they may first treat about it, before they began the War. The Princes prevail'd so far with the Emperor, as to send Ambassadors to signify his Discontent; to whom the *French* King declar'd, That it was a great grief to him to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church (viz. the Pope and Emperor) at variance, because by it the Ruine of the whole would almost inevitably follow: That he was a Friend to them both, and would very gladly be a Mediator for Peace between them for the good of *Christendom*; but would not, nor ever had been any means to increase the Dissentions between them. This Answer so pacify'd the Emperor, who was glad to have a Mediator between the Pope and himself, that he laid aside the Thoughts of a War with him; and not long after, by his intercession, the Pope and Emperor came to an Agreement, which was

A. D. 1108. Reg. 9.

The Contest between the Pope and Emperor.

The Emperor and Pope made Friends by the Mediation of the French King.

^a In *Ross*, Hundred in *Pembrokeshire*, where their Posterity still continue, retaining so much of their old Customs and Language, as distinguishes them plainly from the *Welsh* or *Britains*; they were first planted in *Northumberland*, and remov'd to *Wales*, as *Florence of Worcester* writes, in the Year 1111.

^b But it was only for the present; for in the fifteenth Year of his Reign they made several Inroads into *England*, two under *Owen ap Cadogan*, when they invaded the Possessions of *Gilbert Strongbow* Earl of *Strigill*; and two not long after under *Griffith ap Conan*, when they fell upon the Estate of *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*; which turbulent Humour so enrag'd *Henry*, that he vow'd utterly to root them out, yet upon their submission he pardon'd them.

A. D. 1108. was sealed at *Wormes*, to the Pope's advantage; for the Emperor yielded up his Right to Investitures of Bishops, and other Benefices, to him. The King of *England* was very much displeased at this Disappointment, but however did not give over his Designs against *Lewis*, giving the greater support to the Faction in *Lewis's* Kingdom, especially to *Theobald* Count of *Campaigne*, who being strengthen'd with his great Alliance to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*, was most likely to make the boldest Opposition to the *French* King. *Lewis* on the other side endeavour'd as eagerly to undermine *Henry's* Power in *Normandy*, and to that end conspired with *William* Earl of *Flanders* to restore *William* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* to his Father's Dominions, to whom by Right the Inheritance belong'd. Many great and bloody Battels were fought between these two Princes, with the expence of much Blood and Treasure; till at length, both being tired with the Fatigues of War, willingly came to conclude a Peace by the Mediation of the Earl of *Anjou*, whose Daughter *William*, King *Henry's* Son, was about to marry; and upon the Consummation of the Peace, was made Duke of *Normandy*, for which he did Homage to *Lewis*, and marry'd the Duke of *Anjou's* Daughter^a; and so *France* and *Flanders* became his Friends.

Peace made
between K.
Henry
and the
French
King.

1116. But these Troubles were scarcely blown over, and this happy Conclusion made, but there follow'd such a sad Accident, as turn'd all the prosperous Successes and Joys into Mourning. *William*, the only Son of *Henry*, who was but just settled in his Dukedom, a Prince of seventeen Years of Age, going into *England* a little time after his Father's departure, accompany'd by *Richard* his base Brother, *Mary* Countess of *Perch* his natural Sister, *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, and his Wife, who was the King's Niece, and many other Persons of Quality, and their Attendants, to the number of an hundred and forty, besides fifty Mariners, setting out at *Barbfleet*, were all cast away at Sea, only a Butcher escap'd. The Prince had recover'd a Cockboat, and was in possibility of being sav'd; but being mov'd with the lamentable Cries of his Sister, he went back to the sinking Ship to take her in, where so many crowded with her into the Boat to save themselves, that it sank with its Load, and so all perish'd in the Waters. What Reflection this heavy Judgment might cause in the King's Conscience, is hard to know; but certainly it made such Impressions of Grief upon his Mind, that he was never seen to laugh after: And tho' he made all the haste he could to repair the Breach made in the Succession, by marrying *Adalicia*^b, a young beautiful Lady, Daughter of the Duke of *Lovain*, and of the House of *Lorrain*, yet the Loss prov'd irreparable, for he never could have a Child by her.

Troubles
caus'd to
the King by
the Prince's
Death.

But the Death of Prince *William* created the King not only inward, but outward Troubles, by breaking his Alliances, and unsettling his Affairs

in *France* and *Flanders*. *Normandy* it self waver'd much in their Allegiance, many adhering to *William* his Nephew, to whom many more were in Conscience inclin'd, than dare shew it. His great Confederates went over to the King of *France*. *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou* quarrel'd with him for his Daughter's Dower. *Robert de Mallent* his chief Counsellor, and a Man of great Trust under him, fell from him, and conspiring with *Hugh* Earl of *Monfort*, invaded and seized upon his Dutchy. But such was his great diligence and working Head, that he soon reduced things into a quiet frame. The two Earls he took by surprise, and made them his Prisoners; and Death rescu'd him from the Claims of the Duke of *Anjou*, who was a considerable Prince, as we may judge by the King's matching first his Son, and after his only Daughter, then an Empress, into his Family, as we shall presently come to relate. The King of *France* continu'd his Opposition, and entertain'd *William*, Son of *Robert Courtois*, wherein all the danger lay; and first aids him in Person with great power to obtain the Earldom of *Flanders*, to which he had a fair Title by the defect of Issue in Earl *Baldwin*, who was slain in a Battel in *France* against King *Henry*. But *William*, as if he had been not only Heir of his Father's Dominions, but Misfortunes, being admitted to the Government, miscarry'd in his management of it, was deposed by his People, and at length slain in a Battel by them. And so ended the Family of *Robert Courtois*.

A. D.
1116.
Reg. 17.

1123.
Reg. 25.

1126.
Reg. 27.

While these things were transacting, News came to the King, that his Son-in-law *Henry* the Emperor was dead; whereupon he presently sent for his Daughter the Empress home, with intention to settle the Succession of his Kingdom upon her; and for that purpose summon'd a Parliament^c, which met at *Windsor*, wherein an Oath was administer'd to all the Lords of the Land, to be true to Her and her Heirs, and to acknowledge and obey them as the right Heirs to the Crown. This Oath was first taken by *David* King of *Scots*, Uncle to *Maud*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Bollogne*, and *Mortain*, the King's Nephew, on whom he had bestow'd great Possession in *England*, and advanced his Brother to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. And to make all secure, he had the same Oath imposed in another Parliament^d at *Northampton*. His next Care was to provide Heirs, and thereupon marry'd her to *Jeffrey Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*^e, by whom he liv'd to see her have two Sons. So that all things now seem'd settled and quiet, but only the King's own Dreams, which were said to be very terrifying, and in which he would rise, take his Sword, and act as if he were to defend himself from some Enemy; which shew'd, that his Conscience was very uneasy and fearful.

Henry the
Emperor's
Death and
Maud's
Marriage.

1133.
Reg. 34.

His Government in Peace was always of the best sort; for he kept his Kingdom in such order, that whatever Troubles he had from abroad, he had

Henry's
Govern-
ment in
Peace.

^a He marry'd her at *Lisieux* in the Year 1119. *Ord Vit.*

^b She was Crown'd at *Westminster* by *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*; *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by reason of his Palsie, being not able to perform the Ceremony: And yet because *Roger* was not appointed by him to do it, the Archbishop was so angry and insolent, that he offer'd to strike the King's Crown (who was crown'd again with her) from his Head. *Sir John Hayward's Hist. of Hen. I. Eadmerus*, lib. 6. p. 106. writes, that she was crown'd at *Windsor* by *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Henry Huntingdon* relates, that he brought her over with him from *Normandy* into *England* about *Michaelmas*, 1126.

^c In this Parliament *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, King *Henry's* natural Son, and *Stephen* Earl of *Bullogne*, his Nephew, had a warm dispute who should swear first. *David* King of the *Scots* also swore Fealty at this time to *Maud* the Empress, and her Heirs.

^d *Dr. Brady* and some other Authors pretend, that the Convention of the three Estates, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, which we now call a Parliament, was not a part of our Constitution till the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the Third: But *Polydore Virgil*, *Stow*, *Speed*, and *Sir John Hayward* particularly assert, That the first Council of the Nobility, the Clergy, and the common People, was held on the 19th of *March*, in the 16th Year of this King's Reign, *Anno Dom. 1116*. And there are others who trace the Origin of these Assemblies as high as the beginning of the *Saxon* Monarchy.

^e *William* of *Malmesbury* writes, that the King went over in *August*, 1127. to be present at the Consummation of the Empress *Maud's* Marriage to *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou*, Son to *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*, whom 'tis said the Empress had no great inclination to marry.

A. D.
1133.
Reg. 34.

had none at home. His Entrance upon the Kingdom, which was with fears of a Competitor, taught him to take all the best Courses to gratify and please his People with all things to their Advantage; that Justice should be administered duly and impartially to all; that no Corruption or Oppression should burthen his People; by which means things were carried with Evenness between the Nobility and Commons to their Satisfaction. He made several Progresses into the most remote Parts of his Kingdom, to see how his Realm was ordered; and therefore, when he was in England, he kept no certain Residence, but celebrated the solemn Festivals in several Parts of his Kingdom, that all might enjoy his Company and share in his good Cheer. He never would extort any Sums of Money arbitrarily from his People, but always raised such Taxes as his Necessity required by the Consent of his People; which he assembled in Parliament first at Salisbury, Anno Regni 15. consisting of three Estates, according to the Custom of Normandy, as it continues to this day. He was a very sober Prince himself, and carefully repressed the Excesses of his Subjects, as long Hair, and other loose Fashions. He was very frugal and sparing in his Expences, chusing rather to pinch himself than his People; and tho' he had many great Charges of War, he never had but two Taxes in his long Reign, one for his War in France, and the other of three Shillings upon every Hide of Land for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor. He kept indeed some Bishopricks and Abbies void in his hand, as that of Canterbury five Years together. By an Act of Parliament, Anno Regni 30. he was permitted to punish the Marriage and Incontinency of Priests; but for a certain Fine he allowed them to enjoy their Wives, which much displeased the Clergy, and hinder'd the Reformation intended. He changed the Punishments of Malefactors by dismembring, into Pecuniary Mulcts. The Provisions of his House, which used to be paid in kind, he had rated and received that Money to support his Charge, to the great Content of his People, and with the Consent of his States. He assumed to himself the Liberties of hunting in his Forests, and besides renewing the former Penalties, made a Law, That if any Man in his own private Woods killed the King's Deers, he should forfeit his Woods to the King. But he permitted the richer sort to inclose Parks, and gave them an Example first himself, in making one at Woodstock, which was the Original of that Grievance. His Expences were chiefly in Wars, and upon several great Fortifications in Normandy. His Buildings were the Abby of Reading, and the Manour of Woodstock, with the Park belonging to it, which he inclosed with a Stone Wall of seven Miles in Circumference.

The Original of Royal Progresses.

The beginning of Parliaments.

His Reformation.

His ways to raise Money.

His Orders for his Forests, and Original of Parks.

His chief Counsellors. Roger Bishop of Sarum.

that he put him into the greatest Trust when he was a King; which he discharged with Policy, Honesty and Judgment. He had the Title of *Justitiarius Angliae Totius*: Of his magnificent and noble Mind we have some Marks in the Remainers of Buildings erected by him, especially in the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*, where is the Ruines of a most noble Fabrick, built after the manner of the *Romans*. He built also the Castles of *Malmesbury* and *Sherburn*, two strong and sumptuous Fabricks; he repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and new-wall'd it about, all which he lived to see taken from him and seized into the next King's hand, as things unfit for him either to raise or possess, and are now deformed Heaps of Rubbish. Besides this, he walled in *Old Salisbury*, and repaired the Church there.

Robert Earl of Mallet was the Son of Roger Beaumont, who of all the great Men that followed William the First in his Civil Wars in Normandy, refused to attend him in his Expedition into England, though he was invited to it with large Promises, saying, 'The Inheritance left him by his Fathers was sufficient to maintain his State at home; and he desired not to thrust himself into other Mens Possessions abroad. But his Son Robert was of another Mind, and had a mighty Estate in England and Normandy. He was a Man of good Judgment, and his Direction in most weighty Affairs of State was always used as most profitable. His Frugality, both in Apparel and Diet, was very exemplary, and much influenced others, being a Man of so great Note: But in the end he fell into Disgrace (the usual Fate of Grandure) being engaged in a Rebellion against his King, and died stripp'd of his Estate.

Besides these, he was served with a Potent and Warlike Nobility, who by his Example were led to further his Designs in France for the Preservation of his Duchy of Normandy, whither he made his last Voyage in the thirty second Year of his Reign. In his Passage there happened an exceeding great Eclipse of the Sun, which was after interpreted as a Forerunner of his Death, which happened shortly after in the thirty fifth Year of his Reign, and the sixty seventh of his Age. He was of a graceful Personage, quick-sighted, brown Hair, and a close-set Body, wherein was seated a Mind of solid Judgment and well-order'd Affections. He had a Taste of Learning in his Youth, yet not much; but the very Reputation of it made Books in Fashion, and many Learned Men flourished in his time. He had by his Wife Maud the Daughter of Malcolm the third King of Scotland, no other Children but Maud and William; but he is said to have had seven Natural Sons, and as many Daughters, which shews his Incontinency. Two of these Sons was afterward Men of Note, viz. Reynold Earl of Cornwall and Castlecomb, and Robert Earl of Gloucester, a great Champion and Defender of his Sister Maud the Empress. His Daughters were all married to Princes and Noblemen of France and England; and of them, as Writers say, came many Worthy Families.

A. D.
1134.
Reg. 35.

Robert Earl of Mallet.

His Personage.

His Issue.

^a Before this time the English Kings order'd National Affairs by their own Edicts, and by the Officers and Governors of Counties, and had seldom any General Assemblies of the People, unless at a Coronation, or in Times of War. Their Parliaments were only Meetings of the Nobility, and Clergy usually.

^b He dy'd of a Surfeit of Lampreys at the Castle of Lyons; near Roan in Normandy. His Body was courfully Embalm'd, being stuff'd with Salt, and wrapp'd up in Ox-Hides; after which 'twas transported to England, and bury'd at Reading. In him the Male-Line of William the Norman was extinct.

^c Sir John Hayward says he had twelve Illegitimate Children, who were of no great Note or Continuance.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of Henry I.*

IN his 2d Year 1102. *Gloucester* and *Winchester* were burnt. In his 4th a Comet appear'd, and four Circles were seen about the Sun. In his 7th another Comet was seen, and on *Thursday* Night before, two full Moons appear'd, one in the East and the other in the West. In his 10th a third Comet was seen, and an Earthquake happen'd in *Shropshire*.

Sir *John Hayward*, Hist. *Hen. I.*

In his 11th Year the River *Trent*, near *Nottingham*, ceas'd to run its Course for four and twenty Hours, and so long the Channel was dry'd up. *Hol.* There was this Year a great Mortality of Men, a Murrain among Cattle, both Domestick and of the Field; the Fowls also perish'd in Abundance. In his thirteenth Year *Worcester* City, the Church, Castle, and many Citizens were burnt. A Pig was farrow'd with a Face like a Child; and the Water of the River *Medway* fail'd so much for many Miles in the midst of the Channel, that the smallest Boats could not float, and the *Thames* was so low between the Tower and the Bridge, that many Men, Women and Children, waded it over a foot; which was occasion'd, says our Author Sir *John Hayward*, by reason of a great Ebb in the Ocean, that laid the Sands bare several Miles from the Shoar, which continu'd so a whole Day. The City and chief Monastery of *Chichester* were burnt, and there was much Rage and Violence of Weather with a Comet. *Holinshed* adds, that the Comet appear'd in a strange manner; it rose in the East, and when it was advanc'd near the Mid-Heavens it kept not its Course forward, but seem'd to go backwards, as if it had been retrograde; in *December* the Air appear'd red, as tho' it had burn'd. Most of these Accidents he places under the next Year, during which, almost all the Bridges in *England* being then built with Timber, were broken down by the Ice when it thaw'd after a severe Frost. In his 16th Year, on the 1st of *November*, there fell a prodigious Storm of Hail, accompany'd with unusual Claps of Thunder and Blasts of Lightning. In *December* a great Earthquake happen'd, and the Colour of the Moon was chang'd into that of Blood. *Holinshed*.

In his 17th Year the Cities of *Bath* and *Peterborough* were burnt. In his 20th Year there was an Earthquake in *September*. In his 22d the City of *Gloucester* was burnt, and *Lincoln* the Year following. In his 30th Year *Rochester* was almost destroy'd by Fire, and *London* in his thirty second. In the Year before he dy'd, being the 34th of his Reign, on the 2d of *August*, just as he was about to take Ship and sail to *Normandy*, an Eclipse of the Sun and Moon appear'd, at which time *William* of *Mahmsbury*, who was then living, writes that he saw the Stars plainly about the Sun. This Eclipse was follow'd by a terrible Earthquake: In which the same Author relates, the House wherein he sat was lifed up with a double Remove, and at the third time settled again in the proper Place. Sir *John Hayward*.

Holinshed tells us, 'twas the House in which the King sat; he adds, that Flames of Fire burst out of certain Rifs of the Earth with such Violence, that they could not be quench'd by Water or otherwise.

In this Reign, *Anno* 1109. the Bishoprick of *Ely* was founded. The first Bishop of the Diocess being *Harvey*, Bishop of *Bangor*. About this time the Marriage of Priests was strictly forbidden in *England*, by a Synod at *Westminster*, in which *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* presided; it had been disallowed in a former Synod, *Anno* 1102. The Pope's Power was very low in *England* in the Reign of *Henry I.* In whose time

The most Illustrious Captains wer

Robert de Bellesme Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *William* Earl of *Mortaigne* the King's Nephew, and *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*. The most able Ministers of State were *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Richard de Ridvers*. And the most Eminent Men of Learning

Eadmarus, who wrote the History of the three *Norman* Kings to the Year 1122. Mr. *Selden* pub-

lish'd it. He was a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Anselm's* Disciple, and Archbishop elect of *St. Andrews's* *Ordericus Vitalis*, an *Englishman*, but a Monk of the Abby of *St. Evroul* in *Normandy*, *William Gemitenfis* Abbot of *Jumiegnie* in that Dutchy, *Alfred* of *Beverly*, and *Florence* a Monk of *Worcester*, who dy'd about the eighteenth Year of the Reign of *Hen. I.* He epitomiz'd, or as the Learned Bishop of *Carlisle* is of Opinion, rather transcrib'd, *Marianus Scotus*.

Eng. Hist. Lib. P. 1. p. 149.



THE LIFE and REIGN OF King STEPHEN.

A. D.
1035.
Reg. 1.

Stephen
Earl of Bo-
logne
made King
of Eng-
land, and
upon what
Reasons
and Condi-
tions.

THE Male-Issue of the *Norman Line* being extinct, and only a Daughter remaining, who was marry'd to a *Frenchman*, *Stephen Earl of Bologne and Mortagne*, Son of *Stephen Earl of Blois*, and *Adela* the Daughter of *William I.* was elected by the general Consent of the Kingdom, and within thirty days^a after *Henry's* death crown'd King at *Westminster* by *William Corbell* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The chief of the Peers and Bishops had engaged themselves by Oath to accept *Maud* for their Queen after *Henry's* decease; but when he was dead, and the Awe of his Power and Greatness removed, they found out many^b shifts to evade their Oath, tho' none strong enough to save them from Perjury. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* boldly alledg'd, (tho' he had first sworn to the Succession of *Maud*) That it was not fit that so many and great Peers should be subject to a Woman; which others of his Party form'd into a Reason, That it not being a Custom in any Christian Kingdom, whose Kings are anointed, to admit Women to inherit the Crown, it was an unlawful Oath, and therefore had no Obligation. *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, one of the principal Men then in Council, gave this Reason why they were discharg'd from their Oath, That the King had marry'd his Daughter out of the Realm, without their consent, and therefore they were not bound to receive her. His Right of Succession was not pretended: Because indeed he had no Right that way, having an Elder Brother, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, and there being others whose Claim by Descent was before him, particularly *Maud's* two Sons, if she herself were rejected for their slight Reasons. But the main thing that prevail'd at that time to make *Stephen* King, was this: That he was a Man, and had very great Possessions both in *England* and *France*; his elder Brother was a Prince of great Power, being Earl of *Blois*; and his younger Brother Bishop of *Winchester*, the Pope's Legate in *England*, and of very great Interest with the Nobility, who at that time were chiefly guided by the Clergy. Besides, *Stephen* himself was of a very comely and graceful Personage, very affable and courteous, of admirable Courage and Activity, which re-

commended him much to the Nobility. These Reasons drawn from Interest abroad and at home, being back'd partly with the Bishop of *Winchester's* Persuasions and Friendship, and partly with the Consideration, that by preferring one to the Crown whose Title was weak, they might better secure their ancient Liberties, than by any Person that should come to it by a lineal Succession, made them elect *Stephen* to be their King: And to secure themselves of him, they caused him to take a private Oath before the Bishop of *Canterbury*, to confirm the ancient Liberties of the Church, and obliged his Brother to undertake for the performance of his solemn Promise made thus to them in the Presence of God^c.

Stephen being thus got into the possession of the *English* Government, and so made Master of all the Treasure which his Uncle had gather'd in many Years, which was the Sum of 100000 L.^d of ready Cash, besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable value, after the Interment of *Henry* at *Reading*, call'd a Parliament, which assembled at *Oxford*, and therein restor'd the Clergy to all their former Liberties, and freed the Laity of all their Tributes, and other Grievances of which they complain'd; and confirming these Grants by his Charter, he took an Oath in the presence of the whole Assembly to observe them. Whereupon the Bishops and Peers swore Fealty to him, on this Condition, That he observed the Tenure of this Charter.

And first after his Settlement in his Kingdom, he prepares for his own defence; being sensible, that what he had gotten could not be held long but by the Sword. And for this end he first gives a liberty to all Persons that would to build Castles upon their own Land, to secure themselves and the Nation from any Invasion, which in a peaceable and unanimous Reign had been a good piece of Policy, but in a factious time, as it happen'd, was indeed dangerous to the Kingly Power, as he after found: Then, because he knew nothing would be a greater Security to him than firm Friends, he made all he could by creating new Lords, giving several Persons large Estates, and sparing no Cost to make his Subjects of greatest Interests faithful to him. Two ways he expected Disturbance

A. D.
1035.
Reg. 1.

His first
Parlia-
ment, and
Actions in
it.

He prepares
for his de-
fence, and
gives a li-
berty to
build Ca-
stles.

^a He was in *Normandy* when King *Henry* dy'd, and taking a light Ship at *Whitlands* made haste to *England*. He arriv'd at *London*, and was elected King the 2d of *December*, by the Management and Interest of his Brother *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Abbot of *Glassenbury*, who had brought over the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his Party, together with other Bishops.

^b These Evasions and Shifts were ridiculous to the more considering Part of the Nation, tho' they serv'd the Turn of the Politicians themselves: Wherefore there was another more plausible Reason given. *Hugh Bigod*, who came with *Stephen*, and had been Steward to the late King *Henry*, depos'd before the Nobility and States, That King *Henry* upon his Death-Bed did give the Kingdom of *England* to his Nephew *Stephen*, because his Daughter *Maud* had by her undutiful Behaviour alienated the Affections of the King from her. And this is said to have generally prevail'd for *Stephen's* Establishment.

^c *Malmsbury* writes, that he kept few or none of his Promises.

^d The same Author calls the Sum 100000 Marks.

A. D. 1136. Disturbance to his Government, viz. from Scotland and France. David King of Scots began the Quarrel: He took himself oblig'd to restore his Niece the Empress Maud to her Right; not only upon the account of his near Relation to her, but the Oath he had taken in Henry's Days; and therefore first invades Stephen's Dominions. But Stephen, as if he had been prepared against all Opposition, was presently with him with a strong Army; which so deterr'd the Scots, that they came to a Composition with him to return home upon the Restitution of Cumberland to their King, and the Earldoms of Northumberland and Huntingdon to Prince Henry, the King of Scots Son, to whom in Right of his Mother Maud, the Daughter of Waltheof Earl of both, they belonged; which Stephen granting, a Peace was patch'd up for the present. Henry did Fealty to the King of England for his two Earldoms, and so they departed. At the King's return home, he met with a Revolt from some of his Nobility, of whom Baldwin de Redvers^a was the Head, and the Welsh were very troublesome on the Borders. These Motions cost the King some time to allay, and were scarcely well appeased, but a new Occasion reviv'd them again: For King Stephen, with the violent Toils of War, fell very dangerously sick; so that it was reported he was dead, by which means his Friends began to fly from him and provide another Master, and his Enemies both at home and abroad to seize upon his Dominions. Hugh Bigott fortified himself in the Castles of Norwich, the Welsh plunder'd the Neighbouring English, the Earl of Anjou did also take this Opportunity to seize on his Wife's Right, and took certain Parts of Normandy, and made his Kingdom waver. Thus was his first Year spent in nothing but Battles, Invasions and Revolts, a sad Presage of the distracted and troublesome Reign he should have over an ill-gotten Kingdom, and a faithless People.

1137. Reg. 2. Stephen conquer'd the Earl of Anjou, and subdu'd his home Enemies.

The King after some time recover'd, and to make the World know he was alive, pass'd immediately with his Forces into Normandy, and in a pitch'd Battel overcame the Earl of Anjou; but yet that he might secure himself from future Pretensions, he came to an Agreement with him, That upon his renouncing Maud's Claim to his Kingdom he would pay him five thousand Marks per Annum, and then made his Son Eustace Duke of Normandy, causing him to do Homage to the French King Lewis VII. for it, that thereby he might secure his Friendship. Theobald Earl of Blois, the King's eldest Brother, envying Stephen's Greatness, began to put in his Claim for his Possessions; which tho' Stephen little valued, yet to pacifie him, he agreed to allow him two thousand Marks per Annum. When the King had settled Affairs thus in Normandy, he returned again into England, and found the Scots at work again to disturb his Dominions; which while he was busied to defend, a strong Conspiracy against him broke out in the Body of his Realm. Robert Earl of Gloucester, base Son to Henry the First, a Man of great Spirit, indefatigable Industry, and great Judgment, surpriz'd the Castle of Bristol, and held it out against the King; and so in other Parts of the Kingdom did William Talbot the Castle of Hereford, Paynel the Castle of Ludlow, Lovel that of Cary, Moon that of Dunster, and many others^b. The King counting an inward

Enemy most dangerous, left the Prosecution of the War with the Scots to Thurstan Arch-bishop of York, as his Lieutenant; Walter Earl of Albemarle, William Peverell Earl of Nottingham, Walter and Gilbert Lacys brave and valiant Commanders, and goes himself well attended to repress the Conspirators, which he did in one Expedition, and forced the Earl of Gloucester to fly to his Sister in Anjou. Nor had his Forces in the North less Success against the Scots, whom they routed and put to flight; and so Stephen, as Fortune's Favourite, was become victorious over all his apparent Enemies.

Stephen having now gotten a little respite from his Enemies, began to consult with himself how he might ease himself of such troublesome Contests with his Subjects; and because he now found, that the Castles he had permitted his Nobility to build, were the greatest Impediments of his Peace at home, and the readiest Harbour of Rebels, he resolv'd to forbid that any should be built hereafter, and demolish some of the most dangerous lately erected; and to this end, call'd a great Council at Oxford. Here some of his Lords, who much envy'd the magnificent and stately Castles erected by the Clergy (whose Buildings both in Number and Strength much excelled those of the Nobility) but especially by the Bishop of Salisbury who had built several great Castles at Salisbury, the Devises, Shyburn, Malmsbury and Newarke; whisper'd into the King's Ear, who was very jealous and suspicious of such Designs, That these Fortresses were intended for the Reception of the Empress Maud and her Party; and by their Surmises so wrought upon the King's Fears, that he sent for the Bishop of Salisbury to Oxford. The Bishop foreseeing the Danger impending, would have excus'd himself from his Attendance upon the King, by reason of his great Age; but that Plea would not be allow'd, he must go. The Bishop therefore taking with him his Nephews Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and Nigel Bishop of Ely, with a Retinue of well arm'd Men, went to Oxford; where at his first coming his Servants going to take them up Lodgings, happen'd into a Quarrel with the Servants of the Earl of Britain and kill'd one of them in the Fray, the Nephew of the Earl being dangerously wounded. This being brought to the King's Ears he calls for the Bishop, and demands Satisfaction for the Breach of Peace made by his Servants in his Court, which was this, That he should immediately yield up the Keys of all his Castles to him, as Pledges of his Fidelity. The Bishop refused to do it; whereupon he commanded the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to be seiz'd upon, and kept under a Guard. The Bishop of Ely had made his escape, and got into the Castle of the Devises. The King presently took into his hands by force the Castles of Salisbury, Shyburn, and Malmsbury; and after three days assault, that of the Devises was surrender'd to him, whither he sent the two Bishops Prisoners, and seiz'd the Bishop of Salisbury's Treasure, which amounted to forty thousand Marks.

This Action of the King's being something arbitrary, and very unusual, was censur'd variously by the People of that time; some justified it, and pleaded, 'That the King had done very well in seizing upon those Castles: For 'tis very unfit, yea it is against the Canons of the Church

A. D. 1138. Reg. 3.

He demolishes the Castles he lately permitted to be built, and prohibits Building more.

His Dealings with the Bishop of Salisbury, and taking his Castles from him.

1139. Reg. 5.

1138. Reg. 3.

^a Earl of Devonshire and Lord of the Isle of Wight.

^b William of Malmsbury relates, That when King Stephen heard of the Revolt of these Lords, he said, Since they have chosen me their King, Why do they now forsake me? By the Birth of God (his usual Oath) I'll never be call'd an Abdicated King; his words are Rex Ejectus.

A. D.
1139.
Reg. 5.

The Bishop
of Winchester
opposes the
King's Pro-
ceedings
against the
Bishop of
Salisbury,
and calls a
Council at
Winche-
ster about
it, to exa-
mine the
Matter

Church, that the Clergy who are Men of Religion, and should make it their whole business to promote Peace, should build Castles for War, especially with Prejudice to the King and his Realm. But the Bishop of Winchester, the Pope's Legate, being more zealous for his Function than his Brother, made a resolute Opposition to it; saying, That if the Bishops had done amiss, they ought to have been judged not by the King, but by the Canons of the Church; and that they could not lawfully be depriv'd of their Estates and Possessions, but by a General Council: That the King had not done this out of any Zeal for Justice, but for his own private Ends, taking away those Castles which were built upon the Lands, and at the Charge of the Church, to put them into the hands of Laymen who were not well affected to Religion. And therefore, that this Controversie might be examin'd by the Canons, he appointed a Council to be summon'd to sit at Winchester, and gave the King himself a Citation to appear at it. When the Bishops and Clergy were met, the Bishop of Winchester read first the Commission of his Legatine Power given him by Pope Innocent, and then in a Speech to the Assembly, shewed the great Indignity offer'd to the Church by imprisoning those Bishops, calling it an unjust and shameful Action in the King; who suffer'd himself to be led by ill Ministers to do so great a piece of Injustice, a Violence against God, to despoil the Church of its Revenues and Possessions: And tells them, That since the King would yield to no Admonition, he had called them together in Council, to consult what was to be done; and that for his part, neither the Love of the King, though he was his Brother, nor the Loss of his Preferments, nor Danger of his Life, should discourage him from putting in Execution what they should decree. As soon as the Counsel was thus settled, the King standing upon the Defence of the Fact, sent certain Earls to them to know why he was summon'd thither. The Legate in mild Terms told them, 'That the King being subject to the Faith of Christ, ought not to take it ill if he were called to give an account by Christ's Ministers of such an Action, as none but Infidels would be guilty of, to imprison Bishops and deprive them of their Possessions; and that he ought to give an Account of his Action, and undergo a Canonical Judgment in respect to the Church; who had advanc'd him to the Crown; which if he would do, their Determination, by the Help of God, should be such, as neither the Roman Church, King of France, nor Earl Theobald their Brother should dislike. This Answer the Earls, who were attended by one Alberic de Ver, an experienc'd Lawyer, brought to the King, and were again dispatch'd back with this Reply from the King, which Alberic deliver'd to them in these Words; 'That Roger Bishop of Salisbury had done many Injuries to the King; That he seldom came to Court; That his Servants, presuming upon his Power, had affronted the Nephew, and misused the Servants of the Earl of Britain, and Hervi de Lyons, a great Nobleman, both Strangers, to the Disgrace of the King and Discredit of the Realm; That the Bishop of Lincoln, out of Hatred to the Earl of Britain, had encourag'd this Sedition; That the Bishop of Salisbury privately favoured the King's Enemies, as the King found by many Circumstances, particularly because he deny'd

The Bishop
of Salisbury's
Crimes de-
clared in
the Council.

Quarters to the King's Forces in Malmesbury, A. D. 1139. and was generally looked upon as such a Friend to the Empress, that if she came he would resign his Castles to her; That the King did not arrest the Bishop as a Clergy-man, but as his Servant and Receiver of his Revenues; That the King took not his Castles from him by force, but the Bishop resign'd them to avoid the Calumny of a Tumult raised in his Court; That if the King found any Treasure in the Castles, he looked upon it as deliver'd to him with them, through Fear for his Offences; That the Covenants between the King and Bishop were ratified in the Presence of several Witnesses. To this Roger answer'd, That he was never any Servant to the King, nor ever receiv'd any of his Moneys, and threaten'd that if he could not have Justice done him by this Council, he would bring it to an higher Court. The Legate kept to his Moderation, and replied. 'That these Allegations against the Bishops ought first to be examin'd in a Council, whether they were true or no, before Sentence had been given against them; and therefore the King ought (as is necessary in all judicial Tryals) to recommit the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise by the Law of Nations being disseised, they are not oblig'd to hold Plea. After a long Debate in the Council concerning this Cause, it was (upon a Motion) put off till the next day, that the Arch-bishop of Roan, who was to act on the King's Part, might be present, who deliver'd his Opinion thus; 'That if the Bishop could prove by the Canons, that they ought to have Castles, they should hold them; but if not, they did ill to contend so eagerly for them. And were it so, yet in suspicious Times they ought according to the manner of other Nations, to deliver up the Keys of all Fortresses to the King's Pleasure, who is to protect all. But if it belongs not to the Clergy to have Castles, and if it were by the King's Indulgence permitted, they ought to deliver him the Keys. Alberic the Lawyer added, That the King had been informed, that the Bishops were sending some Persons to Rome against him: But he said, that he charg'd them not to presume to do so, lest he prevented their return. These Speeches put a stop to the Council's Proceedings, and caused the Bishops to break up within a few days without bringing the Matter to any Conclusion. The Bishops dare not excommunicate the King without the Pope's Consent, which if they had gotten they feared the Sword: Wherefore the Legate and Arch-bishop took another way of dealing with the King, viz. by Entreaties and Prayers, falling at his Feet in his Chamber, and begging of him, That he would in Commiseration to the Church and his own Soul, as well as his Reputation, compose this Disention between the Kingdom and the Church. The King gave them a mild Answer, but would not part with any thing he had gotten. Shortly after these things, the Bishop of Salisbury died through Grief, unpitied; for he was a Man (in his latter Times) guilty of much Corruption, and of insatiable Avarice; and though the King had been so kind and bountiful to him, as not only to prefer two of his Nephews, the one to be his Chancellor, and the other his Treasurer; but to say, The Bishop should be weary of asking before he would be of granting, though he gave him half his Kingdom, yet he was deservedly suspected of favouring Maud, and had brought over all the Clergy; yea, and the Bishop of Winchester

The Arch-
bishop of
Roan's
Plea for
the King.

The Bishop
of Salis-
bury dies.

A. D. 1139. *chester* himself to a favourable Opinion of her, and to uphold her Title.

Reg. 5.

Maud brought into the Kingdom upon this Quarrel.

This Contest between the King and the Church, tho' the King seem'd perfectly Master, yet in the end prov'd fatal to him: For it open'd a Gap to let *Maud* the Empress into the Kingdom, who by the conduct of the Earl of *Glocester* was convey'd into the Castle of *Arundel*, with a Train of no more then 150 Men, and had a Party raised by the said Earl through all the Country, as far as *Glocester*, without any opposition; so great a Disaffection was then among all sorts to the King by this Quarrel with the Bishops. The King indeed wanted not his wonted Activity in pursuing his Enemies, and to that end advanced towards the Empress upon the first News; but she swearing to him, that she came with no ill design into his Kingdom, but that all that belong'd to her should behave themselves orderly, and pay their due Allegiance to him; the King, too credulous, was so satisfy'd, that he caus'd her to be convey'd by the Legate himself in an honourable manner to *Bristol*, where she was received with great respect; and continu'd so long, till by her Friends and her own courteous Visits and Behaviour, she had gotten an huge Party for her in the Nation; and from thence, when things were ripe for her Design, convey'd her self into *Wallingford-Castle*, and began to put forth her Claim to *Stephen's* Kingdom. *Stephen* delay'd not to retrieve his sinking Fortunes, by laying Siege to it; but seeing so many Enemies start up on every side, he thought all Opposition would be in vain, and therefore sent his Brother the Legate, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to *Bath* to treat about an agreement with her, but nothing was effected, and so both sides return'd to make good their Parties. The King seeks to recover what he had lost, and the Empress to get more. The King immediately takes his way into the North, to keep the Scots from entering in to assist her, and secure those parts. The Earl of *Chester*, who had marry'd one of *Glocester's* Daughters, was in Possession of the Castle of *Lincoln*; and tho' he had not declared himself against the King, yet the King not thinking it safe in his hands, besieg'd it. The Earl finding himself over-power'd, made his escape out of the Castle, and went to his Father-in-Law for assistance. The Earl of *Glocester* undertakes to raise the Siege, and marches towards the King with a great Army of *Welshmen* and others, under his own, and *Hugh Bygod*, and *Robert de Morley's* command. The King at their approach was ready to engage them; and after their Armies were put in order, and the Captains had encourag'd their Men on both sides, there began a sore Battel, which held long dubious, till at length *Stephen's* gave back, and he himself being deserted of all, and after long fighting left without Weapon to defend himself, was taken, presented to the Empress, and by her put into the Castle of *Bristol*; but kept in an honourable manner, till his attempts to escape laid Fetters upon him.

1140.

Maud besieged by Stephen; who after coming to a Battel with the Earl of Glocester, was taken.

Maud the Empress having the King in her power, and the Kingdom (as she imagin'd) at her command, takes upon her the Majesty of Queen of *England*, and by all winning methods endeavours to bring the Legate to admit her to the Kingdom, as Daughter and Heir of the late King,

1141.

Maud accepted as Queen by the Bishop of Winchester and crown'd.

Maud the Empress having the King in her power, and the Kingdom (as she imagin'd) at her command, takes upon her the Majesty of Queen of *England*, and by all winning methods endeavours to bring the Legate to admit her to the Kingdom, as Daughter and Heir of the late King,

to whom the Realm had taken an Oath to accept her for their Sovereign in the Succession; and so prevail'd, that a Parley was granted upon a Plain near *Winchester*, where, after the the Empress had sworn to the Legate, That all the grand Affairs of the Nation, and especially the Donation of all Bishopricks and Abbies, should be wholly in his disposal, if he (with the Church) would receive her as Queen of *England*, and pay her faithful Allegiance, as her Brother *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, and *Brian* his Son, Marquis of *Willingford*, *Milo* of *Glocester* (after Earl of *Hereford*) with many others, on her part had sworn to do. The Bishop with some few others received her readily as Queen (tho' she never came in general so to be acknowledged) and took an Oath of Fidelity to her, promising to keep his Oath so long as she broke not her Covenant; and the next day was led with solemn Procession into the Bishop's Church at *Winchester*, by the Legate on the right hand, and *Bernard* Bishop of *St. David's* on the left, and in the presence of many other Bishops, as *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely*, *Robert* Bishop of *Bath*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Worcester*, and many Abbots, had the Crown deliver'd to her. Within a few days after came down the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Theobald*, to the Empress, being united by the Legate, but would not do Fealty to her, as being a thing unworthy of his Person and Place, until he had conferr'd first with the King; which being obtain'd, he with several Bishops and Laymen went to the King to *Bristol*. In the mean time the Council broke up, and the Empress went to *Oxford*, her own City, to keep her *Easter*. Soon after *Easter* a Council of the Clergy was summon'd to meet at *Winchester*, where the first day the Legate had a private Conference with every Bishop severally, and afterward with every Abbot, and other Persons that were to sit in the Council. At the opening of the Council the Legate made a Speech, shewing them, 'That the end of their Meeting, was to consult for the Peace of their Country, which through the struggling of two Parties was in apparent danger of Ruine. How flourishing the Kingdom was under the Reign of his Uncle *Henry*, who, to secure the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, had sworn both *England* and *Normandy* to continue his Daughter *Maud* in the Succession: That after his decease, his Daughter being in *Normandy*, and delaying to come over, it was thought necessary for the preservation of the Peace of the Country to make his Brother King, upon his own becoming Surety, that he should defend the Church, and settle good Laws. That his Brother having abused his Trust, and ill managed his Government, (which it griev'd him to think of, and repeat) in imprisoning the Bishops, seizing on their Possessions, and by many other publick Misdemeanours; God had shew'd his Judgments upon him, and let him fall into the hands of his Enemies; and tho' he could not but love his Brother, yet he must espouse the Cause of the Immortal God. That therefore the Nation at this Juncture might not be without a Governour, he had called them together, by the Virtue of his Legantine Power, to elect and ordain a Prince, because this Privilege belongs of right to the Clergy. And therefore, having invoked the divine Aid, we do

A. D. 1141. Reg. 7.

A Council at Winchester settle Maud.

^a Hollingshead says, She landed at *Portsmouth*, and went strait to *Arundel* in *Sussex*, then the Castle of *William de Albany*, who had marry'd *Adeliza* the Queen Dowager, by whom the Empress was kindly receiv'd.

^b He order'd *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Walleran* Earl of *Mellent*, to wait on her whither she pleas'd to go; and she chose *Bristol* for the Place of her Residence.

^c He was knock'd down before he was taken, and refus'd to surrender himself to any one but the Earl of *Glocester*.

^d At *Glocester*. ^e *William* of *Malmbury's* word is, *Dominus*, Lady of *England*.

^f She was remov'd to *Wilton*.

A. D. 1141. Reg. 7. do elect for Queen of *England*, *Maud*, the Daughter of the peaceable, glorious, and incomparable King *Henry*, and to her we promise our Faith and Allegiance. When all that were present had either openly given their Voice for her, or by their silence not contradicted it, the Legate added, 'That the *Londoners*, who in respect of the greatness of their City, were to be accounted among the chief Men of the Nation, were summoned, and he hoped would be present in the Council to morrow. The *Londoners* according to their Summons came, and being brought into the Council, said, 'That they were sent from the Commonalty of *London*, not to foment this civil Quarrel now on foot, but to beg that their King might be freed from Captivity. And with them did all the Barons in their Liberties joyn, earnestly petitioning the same of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergy there assembled. The Legate answer'd them at large, and verily loftily, as he did the day before, 'That the *Londoners* ought not to side with them who had deserted their King in the Battel, by which advice the Church had been dishonour'd, and who favour'd the *Londoners* only for their own gain. As soon as this Answer was given, one of Queen *Maud*'s (King *Stephen*'s Confort) Chaplains stood up, and deliver'd a Letter to the Legate, who having read it to himself, said aloud, 'That it was not fit it should be read publickly in an Assembly of so many Reverend and Religious Persons, because it contain'd Matters very blame-worthy. The Chaplain hearing this, and seeing the disappointment of the Queen's design, like a faithful and zealous Servant, stood up and boldly read the Letter himself, which was to this effect: 'That the Queen earnestly entreated the Clergy there assembled, and particularly the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Brother of her Lord, to restore him to his Kingdom, whom wicked Men, who were his Subjects, detain'd in Prison. To this the Legate answer'd as he had done to the *Londoners*; and the Council was so far from yielding to her Request, that many of the King's Party were excommunicated by them, and particularly *William Martell*, a chief Man with the King, who had displeased the Legate; and then the Council brake up. This Election had such an influence upon the Nation, that the greatest part submitted to the Empress *Maud*, and she seem'd in a fair way to become Mistress of the whole; her Brother *Robert* employing all his diligence and care in reforming Justice, restoring the Laws of *England*, promising a release of Taxes, and doing whatsoever he knew would please, and win the People to Obedience; and the Legate seconded him.

Maud's Pride destroys her Interest with the English. But *Maud*'s Interest was not so much promoted by her Friends among the People, as it was weaken'd by her own haughty and proud Carriage to her Subjects. The *Londoners*, who hoped to obtain whatever they begg'd of their new Queen, petition'd that the rigorous Laws of her Father might be abrogated, and King *Edward*'s restored, but were deny'd with some sharpness: Whereupon they fell immediately to the King's side, (which in their Hearts they most affected) inveigh'd openly against her, and conspir'd to surprize her in their City; but she having had timely notice of it, made her escape (with *David King of Scots*, who came to visit her, and her Brother *Robert*) and got to *Oxford*, which was always true to her. The Legate himself also being deny'd his Request for his Nephew *Eustace*, that he might enjoy his Earldoms of *Bolloigne* and *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, began to slacken his Affections to her,

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in which disgust Queen *Maud*, finding an opportunity to address her self to him, wrought so upon him by her Tears and Intreaties, with Promises of the King's Reformation, that she brought him to pity his Condition, and act like a Brother, and to absolve those of the King's Party, which he had lately excommunicated. The Earl of *Glocester* observing this sudden Change in the Empress's Affairs, bestirs himself all he could to recover the Legate's Affections to her; and to that end settles her in the Castle of *Winchester* with her Guards, from whence she sends for the Legate to come to her, but he first delay'd, and then openly deny'd. The Empress, much amaz'd at this Answer, call'd a Council of her best Friends about her, to advise what to do; but in the mean time, by the Legate's Information and Order, who was fled to her, Queen *Maud*, and the Lords of her Party, encompass the Town, and shut up all Conveyances of Provision to it: So that at last, after six Weeks Siege, the Earl of *Glocester* was forced to remove the Empress to the Castle of the *Devises*; in which dangerous attempt, tho' she got safe away, yet the Earl himself was taken, and brought to Queen *Maud*, who rejoiced in nothing so much, as that she had now a Prisoner, who might, in the Empress's opinion, balance an Exchange for her Lord; which according she caused immediately to be propounded, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Legate being to be Prisoners till *Robert* was released. The Earl himself would not consent to the King's Release to gain his own Freedom; but at length, being persuaded by his Sister, he yielded to it: And *Stephen* being dismiss'd from his Imprisonment, left his Queen and Son *Eustace* Pledges, till *Robert* was also releas'd; which was done upon the King's coming to *Winchester*, where he was solicited by the King with all promises of Preferment and Honour to forsake the Empress's Party; but when nothing would prevail, he was safely sent back to her; and so both Parties began afresh to renew their Quarrel with their restor'd Captains.

Soon after this great Change of Affairs, the Legate calls a Council at *London*, where the Pope's Letters, written to him in answer to the Briefs of both Parties sent to him a little before, were read openly; in which the Pope reproved him (tho' mildly) for his neglect in procuring his Brother's Release, and exhorts him to obtain his Liberty by all means Civil and Ecclesiastical. The King himself came to this Council, and complain'd, 'That his Subjects, to whom he had never deny'd Justice, and taken him, and by their reproachful and cruel usage almost destroy'd him. The Legate with great Eloquence labour'd to excuse his own Actions, alledging, 'That he did not voluntarily accept the Empress, but through meer Compulsion and Fear; because upon the King's overthrow, while the Lords were either fled, or waited in suspense for the Event, she and her Party came upon the City of *Winchester*, and besieged it: That whatever Agreements he had made for the benefit of the Church, she had broken: That he was certainly inform'd, that she and her Party had conspir'd against his Life and Dignity. But God in his Mercy had so order'd Affairs, contrary to her Desires and Intentions, that he had escaped her Attempts, and his Brother was deliver'd out of her hands. And therefore he, in the Name of God and the Pope, requir'd them with all their Powers to assist the King, who was anointed by the consent of the People and Apostolick See, and to excommunicate all such as disturb'd the Peace, and were found Favourers of the Countess of *Arjou*. To this Speech of the Legate's,

A. D. 1141. Reg. 7.

The Earl of Glocester taken Prisoner, and exchange'd for the King.

A Council call'd at London.

* The Words in *William of Malmesbury* are, *Lady of England and Normandy*.

* *De Communiione*.

A. D. 1141. Reg. 7. Legate's, the Empress's Agent, who was present in the Council, made a bold Reply, charging the Legate to his Face, 'That he had given his Faith to the Empress: That he would pass no Act there prejudicial to her Honour: That he had sworn to her, that he would never aid his Brother with above twenty Soldiers: That her coming into England was occasion'd by his Letters, by which he often solicited her to it: That he was the chief Cause, that the King was taken and kept Prisoner. These, and many more Reflections upon the Legate, did the Agent make; but the Legate seem'd not at all concern'd, nor would make any reply to them.

1142. Some few Months after the Enlargement of the King, both sides remain'd without Action, but yet employ'd in contriving how to bring about their Designs most effectually and speedily. The Empress remaining at the Castle of the Devises, resolves by the advice of her Council to send over her Brother into Normandy to solicit her Husband the Earl of Anjou to assist her with what Forces he was able: And the Earl, the better to secure her in his absence, settled her in the Castle of Oxford, which was well fortify'd against all Assaults, and takes with him the Sons of the chief Noblemen that were about her, as Pledges of their Fidelity to her. Stephen having notice of this design, endeavours to stop his Passage; but not being able to do that, laid Siege to the Castle of Oxford as soon as he was gone, which held him employ'd till the Earl return'd. Jeffery Earl of Anjou, being desirous rather to have Normandy (of which he had gotten the greatest part, and was in great hopes of the rest) than to adventure for England, refused to go over in Person, but sends a small Army under his Son Henry's command, who was then but eleven Years old, that he might be acquainted with England, and be shew'd to the People, to try whether his Personal Presence would move them to the Consideration of his Right, which prov'd more serviceable than an Army. The Earl of Gloucester being safely arriv'd with the young Prince, went towards Oxford; but the Empress had made her escape from thence in disguise, and was got to Wallingford, where she met her Son and Brother with great satisfaction.

1143. King Stephen in the mean time takes Oxford Castle, and hearing that his Enemy had received fresh Supplies from Anjou, endeavours to make all the Friends he could to increase his Power; but Money failing him, his Interest sunk, especially with his mercenary Lords, and others, which he had in great numbers out of Flanders, who fell to rifling Abbies, to the great dishonour of the King. But the King's Party did not only fail him, but also the Empress's: The Earl of Gloucester, the chief support of her Title, dy'd within two Years after his return to England, and shortly after Milo Earl of Hereford; which so discourag'd the Empress, that she sent her Son away into Anjou, and not long after follow'd her self, being tired with the Bickerings and Contests of Parties, and leaving her Friends to defend what she had gotten in England. But Henry being advanced now a little in Years, (viz. sixteen Years old) and able to undergo the Fatigues of War, was impatient of a stay in his Father's Court, when he had some hopes of one of his own in England; and therefore went into England again with an Army of choice Soldiers, got into the North, where David King of Scots his Uncle, who had been put into Possession of Northumberland by the Empress, was ready to joyn

him. Stephen, hearing of his arrival, follows him with an Army to York, to secure that City, and hinder his Return; but tho' the first Motions of both sides seem'd brave and adventurous, yet French-like, their Courage cool'd, and nothing was done by either side; Stephen returning home, and Henry not long after into Flanders, where he met that Fortune which set him on the English Throne.

Henry was scarcely arriv'd in Flanders, but his Father-in-Law^b Jeffery Duke of Anjou and Normandy dies, and leaves him Heir of both those Dukedoms: Of which Dignity he had not been long possessed, but that he marry'd Eleanor, the only Daughter and Heir of William Duke of Guien, by whom he had the Possession of those large and rich Countries belonging to the Dutchy of Guien, and Earldom of Poitou. She had been the Wife of Lewis VII. King of France, and was with him in the Holy Wars; but being there accused to him of wanton and lascivious Behaviour^c, he divorced her upon his return, and sent her to her Friends with her whole Portion. But Henry considering how great an Addition her Patrimony would be to his Power, and how much her Treasure would help forward his Designs, overlook'd the French King's Suspicions, and marry'd her. This Match enraged Lewis, because he had made himself a formidable Enemy; and therefore to crush him in time, joyns with Stephen, and assists his Son Eustace (to whom he marry'd his Daughter Constance) to recover Normandy, of which he had been possessed before his Father's Troubles; Stephen in the mean time recovering what he could from Maud's Party in England. Henry being furnish'd now with a sufficient Power for his own defence, left his Friends in England to shift for themselves awhile, and defends Normandy; which he did so well, that the King of France was forced to leave him; and Eustace returning into England, dy'd shortly after^d, being about eighteen Years of Age, and was bury'd at Feversham; a Youth, tho' born to a Kingdom, yet he never lived to see any thing but the Calamities of it. In the time that Henry was busied thus in Normandy, Stephen had gotten ground, and set down before Wallingford, a place of great importance, and almost impregnable, which yet he reduced to such Extremities, that the Defendants were forced to send for Duke Henry to relieve them, who immediately, tho' in the midst of Winter, came over to them with 3000 Foot, and 140 Horse; and to draw the King from Wallingford, lays Siege to Malmsbury, and had most of the great Men of the West, and other parts, come in to him. Stephen much overmatching his Enemy with Numbers, resolved to put his Fortune upon the Tryal of a Battel; but the Armies being kept asunder by the great Floods which then happen'd for some time: The Bishops, fearful of the success, as knowing that it would be very prejudicial for the whole State, and especially for them, to have a young Prince come in to rule with the Sword, mediated with them, and obtained a Peace, which was concluded at Winchester upon these Conditions.

1. That King Stephen should remain King of England for his Life, and Henry enjoy his Dukedom of Normandy, as descended to him from his Mother, and be proclaim'd Heir apparent of the Kingdom of England, as Stephen's adopted Son.

2. That their Adherents on both sides should receive no damage, but enjoy their Estates, according to their ancient Rights and Title.

3. That the King should resume into his own Possessions

A. D. 1150.

Henry's great Fortunes and Dominions.

1151.

1152.

1153.

Henry and Stephen come to an Agreement through the Mediation of the Bishops.

The Articles of it.

^a It must be three Years afterwards; for according to all authentick Historians, he dy'd of a Fever at Bristol, Anno 1146. And Miles Earl of Hereford was, as the Welsh Chronicle reports, unfortunately kill'd three Years before, by the Shot of an Arrow, in the same manner as William Rufus was.

^b He was his Father.

^c With a Young Saracen.

^d He liv'd till a few Weeks before the Peace was concluded in the following Year between Duke Henry and King Stephen.

A. D. 1153. Possessions all Estates belonging to the Crown, which had been either alienated by himself, or were usurped by others in his time; and that such Inheritance as had been unjustly taken from the right Owners since King Henry's time, should be restored to them.

4. That all the Castles which had been built by Stephen's Permission (which were 1117) should be demolished.

There is a Charter of this Agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of Reservation for the Estates of particular Persons; as, for William, King Stephen's second Son, that he should enjoy all that his Father was possessed of before he was King of England: and for many other Persons of Note.

A Peace being thus settled in England, Henry returns into Normandy, and there concludes a Peace with the King of France, at the Expence of twenty thousand Marks. Stephen also betook himself wholly to repair the Ruins of the State, made a Progress into most parts of his Kingdom, to reform such Irregularities as had arisen by long War; and after his return call'd a Parliament at London, to consult about the Good of the Nation and proper methods for establishing of it. After the Parliament broke up, he went to Dover to meet the Earl of Flanders, who desired a Conference with him; and immediately after his return fell sick, and dy'd^a within a few days, and was bury'd in the Abby he founded at *Feverſham*, with the

unfortunate Prince his Son, when he had reign'd A. D. eighteen Years and ten Months.

He was a Person so continually engag'd in War-like Affairs, that it is not possible to give his full Character, whom the World never knew in Peace. He was certainly a very valiant Prince, and excellent Soldier, and wanted nothing but a clear Title to have made him one of the best of Princes. What his Government would have been in Peace, may be conjectured by a few Instances: He kept his Promise made to the States at his Admission to the Throne, concerning the Release of their Taxes, and never had one Tax (so far as can be found) in his Reign. He was so mild and merciful to his Subjects, that tho' there were many Revolts and Rebellions against him, yet he never put any great Man to Death. And it is very observable, that tho' his Reign was full of Wars, yet there were more Abbies built in his time, than had been in an hundred Years before; which shews, that tho' his Times were troublesome, they were not Irreligious and Atheistical.

He had by *Maud* his Wife, the Daughter of *Eustace* Earl of *Bolloigne*, three Sons and two Daughters: Only one Son, viz. *William* Earl of *Bolloigne*, *Surrey*, and *Mortaine*; and one Daughter, viz. *Mary*, a Nun and Abbess of the Nunnery of *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*^b, surviv'd the King. He had two Natural Sons, *William*, and *Gervase* made by the King Abbot of *Westminster*, which Place he enjoy'd twenty Years^c.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of King Stephen.

ON the very Day that he landed in England to put in for the Crown, as an Omen of his troublesome Reign, there happen'd a mighty Tempest of Thunder, (horrible to hear) and terrible Blasts of Lightning, which falling out in the Winter-Season was the more taken notice of.

In the 12th Year of his Reign the Jews at *Norwich* crucify'd a Christian Child.

In his 14th Year there fell so much Rain in the Summer-season, that it spoil'd the Corn; and a Famine follow'd it. On the 9th of December it began to freeze, and the Frost held till the 9th of February; in which time the Passage over the *Thames* for Man and Horse was on the Ice. In this Reign there were built no fewer than 1115 Castles, which were to be demolish'd by the Articles of King Stephen's Treaty with Duke Henry, Son to *Maud* the Empress. *Hol.*

William of *Malmsbury* writes, that about the Year 1140. the Money of the Nation was so bad, that scarce one Shilling in ten was good. In the same Year, on the 21st of March early in the Morning, there was so great an Eclipse of the Sun, that Men were forced to light Candles to eat their Meat by. And the above mention'd Author adds, Those who sat at the Table where he was fear'd the return of the ancient Chaos, for several Stars were perceiv'd near the Sun.

The most famous Warriors in his Time were

Hugh Bigod Earl of *Norfolk*, *Baldwin* *Ridvers*, *Walter* and *Gilbert Lacy*, *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, *William* *Mandevil* Earl of *Essex*, *William* *Martell* *Roger* and *Miles* Earls of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Leicester*, *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, the brave Earl of *Glocester*, Natural Brother to the Empress *Maud*, and Prince *Eustace*, King Stephen's eldest Son.

Of Men of Learning the most Eminent were

William a Monk and Library-keeper of *Malmsbury*, *Simeon* a Monk and Precentor of *Durham*, *Ealred* Abbot of *Rievaulx* in *Yorkshire*, *Henry* Arch-deacon of *Huntington*, *Geoffrey* Arch-deacon of *Monmouth*, *Robert* of *Shrewsbury*, *Caradoc* of *Lancarvon*, *Gilbert Foliot* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York*; all Historians.

^a At *Canterbury* on the 25th of October, 1154.

^b On the Death of Earl *William* her Brother, she was taken clandestinely from *Rumsey*, and marry'd to *Matthew* Earl of *Bolloigne* and *Alsace*.

^c He was at last depriv'd of it, for prodigally imbezling the Revenues of that Monastery.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY II. Surnamed PLANTAGENET.

A. D.
1155.
Henry Son
of the Em-
press made
King.

HENRY PLANTAGENET, (tho' at the Death of *Stephen* he was beyond the Seas and a *Frenchman* by Birth, yet) was admitted to the Crown of *England* without any Opposition or Capitulation other than the usual Oath. He was detain'd by contrary Winds from coming into *England* for six Weeks together^a; after *Stephen's* Death; but the Nation was so tired out with Civil Wars, and all Places so miserably harass'd, that they chose to wait for his coming rather than provoke so powerful a Prince by the Election of another. So he was crown'd by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dec. 20. 1154. in the twenty third Year of his Age. He was a Prince young, active, and powerful, and had all things that might have made him high and assuming; but he understood the Necessity of his own present Affairs, and the Interests of Princes so well, that he began his Reign with all such publick Actions, as he knew would get and increase the Love of his Subjects, being sensible, that the King of *France* was so highly offended by his Match, that he would not overlook any Advantage he could get against him through the Disaffection of his Subjects. And the first thing he did, was to chuse himself a Council, which he did out of the gravest and most experienc'd Men of his Kingdom, who could best inform him in the State and Condition of the Nation. Then he call'd call'd a Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he passed an Act, which was not more for his own Profit than for the Satisfaction of all his People; which was, *To expel all Strangers out of the Land*: For the People were greatly pester'd with them at that time, by reason of the Wars, which drew Multitudes of them, hither, especially *Flemings* and *Picards*; whom King *Stephen*, after he found the *English* false and unfaithful to him, entertain'd and chiefly trusted, making *William de Tros* Earl of *Kent* their Commander, who by Virtue of this Act was banish'd with the rest of his Countrymen, and his Lands seiz'd into the King's hand. After the Dissolution of this Assembly, that he might be able to maintain his Royal Dignity without being burthensome to his People (whose voluntary Contributions would afford him greater Supplies, if Necessity required, than severe Exactions) he look'd into the State and Condition of his Revenues, reform'd the Exchequer, and resum'd those Lands which

had been alienated, or detain'd from the Crown; and though some of his great Lords resolutely kept Possession of what they had in their Hands, as *Hugh de Mortimer* of his Castles of *Clebury*, *Wigmore* and *Bridge-North*, and *Roger Fitz-Milo* Earl of *Hereford* of the City and Lands of *Glocester*, yet the King took them by from from them, as belonging to the Crown. As he did also the Castle of *Scarborough* force *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, and divers other Lands and Castles in *Yorkshire* possess'd by private Men. *Hugh Bigod* resign'd his Castles into the King's hands: But that which look'd worst in these Actions, was his taking the Castle of *Pemsey*, City of *Norwich*, with other Towns and Castles from *William* Earl of *Morraine* and *Warren*, the second Son of King *Stephen*, contrary to his own positive Agreement with the said King; alledging, that they were the Demesns of the Crown, and could not be alienated from it, yet he suffer'd him to enjoy the Lands his Father held in *England* in the Reign of *Henry I.* These things being dispatch'd he went into the North, and seiz'd upon *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, with the Cities of *Carlisle*, Town of *Newcastle*, and Castle of *Bumberge*, which his Mother *Maud* had given to *David* King of *Scots*, or had anciently belong'd to the Crown of *Scotland* by the Donation of his Predecessors; saying, "I was not in the Power of any King to give away any part of his Kingdom." Yet he suffer'd *Malcolm*, the present King to enjoy the Earldom of *Huntington*, which *Stephen* had given to *Henry* his Father, because it could be of no Benefit to him, but at his Pleasure; and he had a mind to keep him his Homager, to do him Services for that Earldom. The same Course he took to recover all Alienations from the Demesns of the Duchy of *Normandy*, forcing *Theobald* Duke of *Blais* to resign two Castles, and *Petroch* Earl of *Perch*, the like Number to him. These Revocations, which were done with Loss to many Persons, and contrary to the Grants of himself and Predecessors, might seem unjust, and in the beginning of his Government not safe: But because the Kingdom reciv'd a great Advantage by it, and only some particular Persons endamag'd, it was generally approved as a necessary and prudent Action; for if these Revenues had been still kept from the Crown, he must have depended upon Taxes for the

A. D.
1155.
His Resum-
ption of the
Lands be-
longing
to the
Crown.

His first
Parlia-
ment.

^a He arriv'd in *England* the 7th of December.

^b *Roger Hovedon* and the *Chronicle of Matros* put this Northern Expedition under the Year 1157. at which time *Malcolm* did Homage to King *Henry* at *Chester*.



KING HENRY THE II.nd

A. D. 1155. Reg. 2. the Maintenance of his Royal Dignity, and so been a continual Burthen and Grievance to the Nation.

He takes Anjou from his Brother Jeffrey.

1156.

But tho' his arbitrary Actings with his Subjects might be excused, yet his taking the Earldom of *Anjou* from his Brother *Jeffrey*, contrary to his Father's Will and his own Oath, cannot be deny'd to be not only unjust, but against Nature and Conscience. For his Father *Jeffrey*, Duke of *Anjou*, desirous to leave some Estate to his youngest Son *Jeffrey*, order'd by his Will, That when *Henry* had recover'd and was settled in the Kingdom of *England*, his Son *Jeffrey* should have the County of *Anjou*; and in the mean time put him in Possession of the Castle and Towns of *Chinon*, *Lodun*, and *Mirabel*, that he might have a present Maintenance according to his Quality, and be in a case to recover the rest when it should become his. And lest his Son *Henry* should not perform this his Will, he caus'd certain Bishops and others of his Nobility to swear, That they would not suffer his Body to be interr'd, till *Henry* who was then absent, had sworn to fulfill his Will. *Henry*, rather than his Father's Body should not be bury'd, took the Oath, but very unwillingly; but after he was possess'd of the Kingdom of *England*, and *Jeffrey* had thereupon enter'd upon the Earldom of *Anjou*, he went over into *France*, and not only took away from him the Earldom, but the other three Towns which were given him in his Father's Life, saying, That 'twas unreasonable that a forced Oath upon such an Occasion, should oblige him to part with his Birthright, being all the Patrimony he had from his Father; for tho' indeed he had recover'd the Kingdom of *England*, that was neither by his Father's Labour or Right, and tho' his Brother was, and ought to be dear unto him, yet having Children of his own, he was to take care that all that was really his should descend to them: But yet he was contented to allow his Brother an honourable Pension for the Maintenance of his Honour, (viz. a 1000 l. of *English* Money, and 2000 l. of *Anjouin* Yearly) and he obtain'd of Pope *Adrian* IVth. (an *Englishman* by Birth) a Dispensation for the Oath he had made in that Case.

1157. Reg. 3. The Welsh first rebelled against him.

The first that gave Disturbance to his Peace, after his Accession to the Crown, were the *Welsh*, under their valiant Captain *Owen*; who, according to their usual manner, always attempted something towards their Country's Liberty in the beginning of every Prince's Reign, to try their Spirits and their own Fortune. *Henry* gather'd such a powerful Army to go against them, as if he meant to conquer all; but was in passing the narrow Streights between certain Mountains, so furiously assaulted by the *Welsh*, that he lost many of his Men, and among them some of his Chief Captains, *Eustace Fitz-John* and *Robert Curcy* and himself was thought to be kill'd; which being reported to the Army that follow'd, so discourag'd them, that *Henry* Earl of *Essex* cowardly forsook the King's Standard and fled: But the King soon made it appear that he was alive, by vanquishing the Army of his Enemies, and bringing them to submit to his Pleasure. After the Battel, *Robert de Montfort* accus'd the Earl of *Essex* of Cowardice and Treachery, in leaving the Royal Standard, and in single Combat (which was the way of Tryal) overcame him; yet was the Earl pardon'd as to his Life; and being condemn'd to be a thorn Monk, was put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his Lands seiz'd to the King's Use. After the Reduction of the *Welsh*

all things continu'd peaceable for two or three Years, the Kingdom flourishing, and Affairs every where prosperous; the Queen also in that time, brought forth three Sons, *Henry*, *Richard*, and *Jeffrey*; *William* his eldest Son (to whom he had caus'd the Nation to take an Oath of Fidelity) dy'd shortly after his Accession to the Crown; and so the same Oath was again repeated to *Henry*, and all things seem'd secure on this side the Sea. The King of *France*, who would have gladly put a stop to the King's Fortune, was kept from his Desires by Necessity, his Treasure being exhausted partly by his Journey into the Holy Land, and partly by the Pope's Exactions, who wrung great Sums from him, for his second Marriage with *Constantia*, King *Alphonso's* Daughter, which requiring a Dispensation, was dearly bought at *Rome*. So that all things concurr'd to enlarge the Power and Dominions of *Henry*, which he had a fresh Occasion to do at this time.

A. D. 1157. Reg. 3.

King of France quiter.

Henry had gotten Dominions almost round *France*, having in his Possession all *Normandy*, a great part of *Britain* by the Resignation of *Nantz* to him by *Conan* Duke of it; the Earldom of *Main*, *Poitou*, *Tourane*, *Anjou*, and Dutchy of *Guien*, and now he lays his Claim to the rich Earldom of *Thoulouse* upon this Title. *William* Duke of *Aquitain* (Grandfather of Queen *Eleanor*) married the only Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Thoulouse*, and going to the Holy Wars engag'd that Earldom to *Raymond* Earl of *S. Gyles*, and never return'd again to redeem it; and *William* his Son, Father of Queen *Eleanor*, either through want of Ability or Neglect, took no Care of the Redemption of it: So that the Earl of *S. Gyles* continuing in Possession of it while he liv'd, left it to his Son *Raymond*. *Lewis* the French King, while he had *Eleanor* for his Queen, demanded the Restitution of the said Earldom, tendring him the Sum for which it was engaged. *Raymond* refuses to accept the Money, and resolves to keep his Possession of it, as either bought or forfeited; but being sensible, that he was not able to contend with the King of *France*, he obtain'd a Peace with, him and marry'd his Sister *Constance*, the Widow of Prince *Eustace*, King *Stephen's* Son, and so confirm'd himself in the Possession. But King *Henry* after marrying *Eleanor*, came to be entitl'd to her Rights; and tendring the Sum disburs'd, as the King of *France* had done before him, requires the Earldom, but receiv'd the like Answer. Wherefore the King prepares to recover it, entering into a League with *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelona*, a Man of great Estate in those Parts, (to whose Daughter he covenanted to marry his second Son *Richard*, on condition that he should have the Inheritance of the Dukedom of *Aquitain* and Earldom of *Poitou*) and taking *William* Lord of *Talchrevill*, who possess'd many Seignories, into his Protection, from the Injuries of the Earl of *Thoulouse*; and having levied a great Army, went in Person against the City of *Thoulouse*, being attended with *Malcolm* King of *Scots*; who coming to do him Homage for the Earldom of *Huntingdon*, and to claim other Places taken from his Crown, was perswaded by *Henry's* fair Words and Promises to attend him in that Expedition. The Earl of *Thoulouse* having notice of the King of *England's* Design, begg'd Assistance of his Brother-in-Law the French King, who came in Person with a strong Army to *Thoulouse*, and was here before the King of *England* was arriv'd; so that he was prevented in his Aim, which so vex'd

His Dominions in France.

1158. Reg. 4.

He endeavours to get Thoulouse. 1159.

* This Combat was not fought till about the 9th Year of King *Henry's* Reign. Hol.

A. D. 1159. Reg. 4. vex'd him, that he fell to spoiling all the adjoining Country, and took *Cahors* in *Quercy*^a, where he plac'd a strong Garrison to annoy the *Tolousians*; then returning into *Normandy*, to augment his Army (where he conferr'd the Order of Knighthood upon King *Malcolm* at *Tours*) he enter'd into the Country of *Beauvoisin*, where he destroy'd many Castles, and committed much Spoil; and having obtain'd the two strong Castles of *Rochfort* and *Monfort*, of the Earl of *Auranches*, made the Way between *Paris* and *Orleans* impassable. These annoyances had certainly rais'd hot Contentions between the two potent Kings of *England* and *France*, and caus'd the Effusion of much Blood, had there not been set on foot a Proposition of Peace; which was at length concluded with a Match between the Young Prince *Henry*, then not seven Years of Age, and *Margaret* the eldest Daughter of the King of *France*, scarce three Years old, who was deliver'd to *Robert* Duke of *Newburgh*, to be kept till she was come to an Age fit to dwell with her Husband^b: Which Conjunction tho' it cemented the present Difference, yet many Ruptures happen'd between the Parents before they came together. The first of which was about the Castle of *Gisors*, and two other Castles standing upon the River *Eata* in the Confines of *Normandy*, which was betray'd to *Henry* by the Knights *Templars*, to whom they were entrusted till the Marriage was consummated. This cost some Blood, and the *French* King persecuted the Knights *Templars* for it, but King *Henry* receiv'd them.

1160. Reg. 6. His Dealings with the Clergy. The King being now free from all Employments abroad, began to turn his Thoughts upon his own Affairs at home; for being inform'd, that the Clergy of late Years had much incroach'd upon the Royal Prerogative, and enlarg'd their Jurisdiction beyond what was convenient for their Vocation and Function; he was soon awaken'd into a Suspicion of it, and set himself to a strict Examination of that Affair. He took notice of their Dealings with King *Stephen* and his Mother, how they exclud'd the one and admitted the other to the Crown as they pleas'd, and made such Conditions with him as were most advantageous to themselves; and tho' indeed they ratified his own Succession, yet he might thank his Sword, the Justice of his Cause, and the strong Party he had in the Kingdom rather than them, who shew'd their Power indeed in doing of it, not their Affection; who had acted against him as long as they dar'd, and there was any hopes of Success on the other side. He observ'd them to be always ready to lay hold of all Advantages to advance their own Interests, and saw little reason to depend upon them for the Preservation of the Succession of his Posterity; and therefore thought it necessary to abate their Power as much as he could. This Resolution was much confirm'd by the Accusations which the Nobility brought against the Clergy, who alledg'd, That the Privileges of the Clergy had hinder'd the Royal Power from executing Justice

in the Kingdom; for the Clergy holding their Dominion apart, and being free from any Authority but their own, many enormous Acts were committed by Clergymen without any Redress to be had; and particularly the King was inform'd, that since the beginning of his Reign, which was but about six Years, there had been above an hundred Murthers committed within the Kingdom of *England* by Priests and Men in Holy Orders, and very few or none punish'd for the Facts (as by the Canons they ought to have been.) This Information hasten'd the King in this Affair, and he proceeded with all Speed to rectifie these Irregularities, which tended so much to his Dishonour, as well as the Detriment of the Kingdom. Now the King had not long before (upon the Death of *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) prefer'd *Thomas Beckett*, a Creature and Servant of his own, to that See^c. He had before made him of Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, his Chancellor, and finding him faithful, diligent and wise, he employ'd him in all great Businesses of State, and left the Education of his eldest Son *Henry* to him, and at last rais'd him to be the Head of the Church; all which Favours might be justly an Obligation upon him to be very complying with the reasonable Desires of the King, and very diligent to advance his Affairs. In the beginning of this Man's Promotion did the King venture upon this Reformation of the Clergy's Manners, and to retrench their Jurisdiction, which tho' it would necessarily prove of much Difficulty and Trouble, the Bishop having from the first preaching of Christianity in this Realm born a principal Sway in the State, and enjoy'd many great Privileges and Immunities by Law separate from the Laity; yet he was not at all deter'd, but as if it were the fitter for him, because so hard, enters upon it, and to that end call'd a Parliament at *Westminster*^d, and there propounded this Law to be enacted, 'That every Clergy-man, 'that shall be convicted of any heinous Crime, 'shall lose the Privilege of the Church, and be 'deliver'd up to the Civil Magistrate to be punish'd for their Offences, as all others of the 'King's Subjects were.' For if after Ecclesiastical Censures, no civil Punishment should be us'd, they would not have a sufficient Restraint upon them to keep them from doing Mischief; since 'tis not probable, that such Men would much value degrading and Loss of Orders, whom the Conscience of their Duty, or Dignity of their Office would not keep from such Actions: The Arch-bishop and his Suffragans, with the rest of the Bishops answer'd, 'That they could not consent to any such Act, being against the Liberties of the Church, which himself had sworn to defend and maintain; and therefore they besought him not to urge or insist upon a Law, which was so much to the Prejudice of their Jurisdiction, and those immunities which they had enjoyed both under him and his Noble Progenitors. The King disliking this Reply, asked them, 'Whether they would submit to 'the Laws and Customs which the Archbishops and Bishops,

A. D. 1160. Reg. 6. The Clergy: Prerogatives very prejudicial to the Nation.

1161. Reg. 7. Thomas Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury.

1162.

A Parliament call'd about the Clergy.

1163. Reg. 9.

^a Of this Place he made *Thomas Becket*, then Chancellor of *England* Governor. *Hol.*

^b The same Author reports that the Marriage was celebrated at *Newburgh*, on the 2d of Nov. 1160. in the Presence of the Bishops of *Pisa* and *Pavia*, two Cardinals, and the Pope's Legates.

^c *Gilbert Foliot*, the Learned Bishop of *Hereford*, oppos'd the Election of *Becket* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, saying, 'Twas not fit to make a meer Soldier and a secular Man an Archbishop.

^d *William Fitz-Stephens*, in his Life of *Becket*, says, 'twas a great Council of Bishops.

^e The Laws King *Henry* sought to establish by the Name of *Avia Leges*, or his Grandfather's Laws, but met with so strong Opposition from Archbishop *Becket* in the settling of, were these, viz. 1. That all Controversies between the Clergy and Laity should be try'd in the King's Courts. 2. That no Bishop or Clerk should go out of the Kingdom without the King's Licence, and at their going should swear to procure no Damage to the King or the Realm. 3. That no Appeals be made to the Pope, but all Pleas in the Consistory shall be remov'd, 1st, To the Archdeacon's Court; 2d, From thence to the Bishop's; 3d, Thence to the Archbishop's; and Lastly, To the King's. 4. That Peter-pence be paid to the King. 5. That Clerks guilty of Felony be hang'd, and of Treason be drawn and quarter'd. 6. That all Persons who are found bringing any Excommunications or Interdicts from Rome into England, be dealt with as Traitors, with others of like Nature, which our Author in the Sequel of this History has set down.

A. D. 1163. Reg. 9. Bishops, in the time of his Grandfather Henry I. did observe. They answer'd, They would; their Order, the Honour of God, and Right of the Church, in all things being kept harmless^a. This Reservation displeased the King more; who hereupon dismissed the Parliament, and did nothing at that time: But gave not over his Endeavours to recover his Prerogative out of the Church's hands: And finding the Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he had reason to expect a ready submission to his Desires, because of the many Favours he had received from him, was the chief Stickler against him; he was very much enraged at his Ingratitude, and resolved to shew him, that he could pull down as well as advance. And therefore he first forbids him his Prefence, and takes from him all that he possibly could; then he countenances all his Enemies, and causes that things be carry'd againg him in all Courts of the King's. The Earl of Clare was supported in the Controversie he had with him, about doing Homage for the Castle of Tunbridge, and prevail'd. In fine, nothing was left undone that could be thought most effectual to humble him. Besides the King by politick Artifices breaks the Confederacy of the Bishops with him, and gains first by his Obligingness the Archbishop of York (the ancient Competitor with Canterbury for Pre-eminence) and afterwards the Bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and others of the Prelates, who were the most leading Men, and separates them from the Council and Company of Archbishop Becket.

The King's dealings with Becket for opposing him.
The Pope's Message to Becket.
A Parliament call'd at Clarendon.
1164. Reg. 10. This Controversie between the Church and State, or rather between the King and Archbishop, made a great Noise in the World, and was soon brought to the Pope's Ear, who being desirous to keep the King's Love, sent Philip his Almoner, by the advice of the whole Conclave of Cardinals, to compose the Difference, and to charge the Archbishop to make Peace with his Master the King, by promising to observe his Laws, without Reservations or Exceptions. The Archbishop seeing his Cause thus discountenanced at Rome, and being pressed to a Compliance by many of his Friends of the Nobility, he went immediately to Woodstock, and there promises the King, without any reserves, to observe his Laws, as he required^b. The King supposing, that by Archbishop Becket's promise all Opposition to his Design was laid aside, calls a Parliament of the Bishops and Nobility at Clarendon in Wiltshire, where John of Oxford the King's Clerk was President, who gave them a Charge from the King his Master, That they should call to remembrance the Laws of his Grandfather Henry I. and commit them to Writing; which being done, he required the Archbishop and Bishops to set their Hands and Seals to them, which they all did, but Archbishop Becket refused. The other Bishops earnestly perswaded him to satisfy the King's desires, not only in respect of the Danger which he would fall into through the King's Anger, but in regard to his Oath, which he had again taken there to observe the King's Laws without Reservation. He thereupon desires a Copy of the Writing, as if he would consider better upon the several Heads of it; but taking it into his Hands, he turned to the Clergy, and said, Brethren, stand fast, you see the Malice of the King, and of whom we are to beware; but would not subscribe it. And so this Assembly was dismissed without doing any thing of Moment, as the King intended. These Disappointments, and this Perverseness in the Archbishop, incensed the King much the more against him, because now he found that all the other Bishops yielded to his pleasure,

and only Becket stood out. And therefore he proceeds by all means to vex and disgrace him, and to advance his Rival, the Archbishop of York; and to that end sent his Agents, John of Oxford and Jeffery Riddle, his Clerks, to solicit the Pope to make him Legate over all England. But the Pope being before acquainted with the business, refused to do it; yet at the Petition of the Agents he granted a Legation to the King himself, with a Proviso, That he should do nothing to grieve the Archbishop of Canterbury; which the King resented so highly, that he sent them back again with his Grant. The Archbishop Becket afterwards so repented of the Oath that he had taken at Clarendon, that he suspended himself from the Service of the Altar, and did severe Penance for it, till he had obtained Absolution from the Pope; which upon his own Information of his Case, was soon sent him. Not long after this, as some write, he attempted to go out of the Kingdom, contrary to a Law made at Clarendon, whereby it was forbidden to the Archbishops, Bishops, or any other Persons, to depart out of the Realm without the King's License; which, altho' they obtain'd, yet they were notwithstanding obliged to secure the King, and neither in their going, returning, or staying there, to practise any thing prejudicial to his State or Person. But being by contrary Winds driven home again, he more exasperated the King against him by this attempt.

The King, by the former Actions of the Archbishop, growing more severe against him, called a Parliament at Northampton to ratifie the Acts made at Clarendon. And here, to thwart him, the King's Horses were placed in his Inn. At this Assembly he had a Case given against him, concerning a Manour which John the King's Marshal contended at Law with him for; whereby he not only lost the said Manour, but was sentenced to pay five hundred Marks, as Arrears, and was forced to pay it. He was also called to an account for all the Sums which he had received in the time of his Chancellorship upon the King's account, which amounted to thirty thousand Pounds. The Archbishop refused to plead to this Charge, because, he said, he was discharged of those Receipts by the Prince, Barons of the Exchequer, and Robert Lucy Chief Justice of England, in behalf of the King, before he was made Archbishop. But this Answer did not satisfy: The King was still very urgent to have Judgment pass against him for this, with other his late attempts, and disobedience; and so he was commanded to attend his Censure the next day. The Morning before he was to appear, he celebrated early in the Morning with great Devotion the Mass of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, which had in it these Words: *Princes sate and spake against me.* From this Office he set forward (committing his Cause to God) to the Court, in his Stole, his black Canonical Hood, carrying the Cross in his right Hand, and guiding his Horse with his left. The People seeing him come in such an unusual manner, flock all about him, and he entring the great Chamber, sat down amongst them; the King being in his Privy-Chamber with his Council. The Bishop of London was the first that came out to him, and he much blamed him for coming in that Garb to the Court, and offered to pull the Cross out of his Hand; but the Archbishop held it so fast, that he could not. The Bishop of Winchester seeing it, said to London: *Brother, let him alone; he ought to bear the Cross.* London reply'd, *You speak Brother, against the King, and it will be ill for you.* After this came forth the Archbishop of York, (whose

A. D. 1164. Reg. 10.

Becket repents of the Oath.

A Parliament at Northampton against Becket.

^a *Salvo Ordine suo.*

^b *Bona fide.*

^c His Chaplains.

A. D. 1164. (whose ancient hatred, says *Hoveden*, would not suffer him to speak mildly and friendly to him) Reg. 10. and chid him very sharply for coming in that fashion, as if he were to appear before a Tyrant, or an Heathen Prince, and told him, *That the King's Sword was sharper than his Crosier; and if he would be advised by him, he should take it from him.* Canterbury reply'd, *The King's Sword wounds the Body only, mine sends the Soul to Hell.* After much debate, the Archbishop *Becket* sharply inveighed against the King's Proceedings with him, and said, 'That it was never known in any former Age, that an Archbishop of *Canterbury* was try'd in any of the King's Courts, for any Cause whatsoever, not only because of his Place and Dignity, but because he is the Spiritual Father of the King himself, and all his Subjects. Then, turning his Speech to the Bishops, who sat as his Judges, he said: 'You see how the World rageth against me, and the Enemy assails me; but that which grieves me most, is, That the Sons of my Mother combine against me: If I should not resent it, the Ages to come would record it to your disgrace, that you left me alone in the Battel, and gave Sentence upon me, who am your Father, tho' never so great a Sinner. But I charge you, by Virtue of your Obedience, and under pain of Degrading, that you be not present in any Court of Judicature, where either my Cause or Person shall be judged; and that if any Layman shall lay Hands on me, you immediately excommunicate him or them, as your Duty to your Father the Archbishop obliges you, who, whatever he suffers, will not desert the Church's Cause, nor forsake the Flock committed to him. Then were many great Accusations of his Contempt and Disobedience to the King brought against him, and Perjury proved upon him; which were so aggravated by the King's Council, that all present cry'd out unanimously, 'That he was one of the worst of Traytors, who having been loaded so much with the King's Favours, had refused to pay him the Civil Honour of a Subject, and to observe his Laws, as he had sworn to do. The Archbishop hearing these things, appeal'd to the Pope. But the Bishops complying with the Secular Power, renounced their Ecclesiastical Obedience to him, cited him to *Rome*, and condemned him as a Traytor and Perjured Person. Then the Earl of *Leicester*, being accompany'd with *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*, came to the Archbishop, and charged him in the King's Name to answer the Crimes objected against him, or else to hear his Sentence pronounced. 'Nay but Son Earl, said he, hear thou me first: 'It is not unknown to your self how faithfully I have served the King, and that for my Fidelity he preferred me to this Dignity I now enjoy (God knows) against my Will. For I was conscious of my own Infirmities, and was contented to take it upon me rather to please the King than God; and therefore doth God withdraw himself from me, and turns the King's heart against me. At my Election he freed me from all Court-Attendance and Slavery; and upon that account I am not bound to answer any defects in that kind, neither will I. As much as the Soul is more excellent than the Body, so much are ye bound to obey God and me before any Earthly Creature. Neither Law or Reason can justify the Sons in the condemning of the Fathers. Wherefore I refuse to stand either to the Judgment of the King, or any other Person, Ap-

pealing to the Audience of the Pope, by whom alone I can be judged upon Earth, committing all I have to God's protection and his, and as under his Authority only I depart out of this place. And so he went out, and took his Horse, yet not without some difficulties in passing, and many affronts from the King's Servants. But being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the common People (rejoycing to see him deliver'd) and divers of the Clergy convey'd him honourably to the Abby of *St. Andrew's* at *Northampton*, from whence he made his escape in disguise, and under the Name of *Dereman*, into *Flanders*, and so got into *France*; where being out of the King's reach, and under the Pope's protection, he caus'd the Kingdom and King much trouble.

Immediately after the departure of the Archbishop, the King sends over his Ambassadors, *Gillebert* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Earl of *Arundel*, to the King of *France*, to intreat him not only to forbid the Archbishop his Kingdom, but to be a means to the Pope, that his Cause might not be favour'd by the Church, being so contumacious a Rebel against his Natural Prince. But the *French* King was so far from Compliance with his Request, that he dispatched *Fryer Francis* his Almoner privately to the Pope to beseech him, as he tender'd the Honour of Holy Church, and the Safety of his Kingdom, to support the Archbishop of *Canterbury* against the Tyrant of *England*. King *Henry* also sent with all speed *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, and *Exeter*; *Guido Rufus*, *Richard Ivelchester*, and *John* of *Oxford*, Clerks, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Hugh de Gundevoill*, *Bernard de S. Welleric*, and *Henry Fitz-Gerrard*, to inform the Pope of the whole Affair, and prevent the ill effects of the Archbishop's Complaints. The Multitude, and the greatness of the Ambassadors, shewed the Importance of the Embassage, and the King's desire to prevail. They found the Pope at the City of *Sens*, and represented to him, how obstinate and disobedient the Archbishop had been to his Sovereign Lord the King of *England*; and that tho' he had sworn to obey his Laws, yet he had wilfully opposed and broke them, and by his peevishness and obstinacy was about to embroil the Church and Kingdom: And therefore they besought him, as he tender'd the Peace of the Church of *England*, and desir'd the Love of their Master, not to favour or credit a Man of that turbulent and obstinate Disposition. This Relation of the Difference little moved the Pope; which when the Ambassadors perceived, they pray'd him to send two Legates into *England* to examine the business more fully, and in the mean time to admit no other relation of the matter but what they should bring. But the Pope would not yield to their desire, and so they departed much dissatisfied. Within four Days after their departure came the Archbishop, and prostrates himself at the Pope's Feet, presents him with a Copy of the Laws, which the King call'd *Leges Avite*, i. e. his Grandfather's Laws; which being read before a Body of Cardinals, Clergy, and many others, the Pope condemned them for ever, and anathematized all such as should either obey or favour them. The Laws, which being among the Statutes of *Clarendon*, were so furiously opposed by the Archbishop, and so much offended the Clergy, were these, (as we find them set down in his own Letter to the Bishop of *London*) 'That there should

Archbishop
Becket
try'd before
the King
and his
Council.

A. D. 1164.
Reg. 10.
The King's
Embassage
to the King
of France
against
Becket,
and to the
Pope con-
cerning
him.

The Laws
which the
Archbishop
refused to
subscribe.

^a *Ivelchester*, or *Ilchester* in *Somersetshire*.
^b *Gilbert Foliot*, lately translated to the See of *London*, was their Orator, and clos'd his Speech with these Words: *The Wicked flee when no Man pursues him.*

A. D. 1164. Reg. 10. should be no Appeals made to the Apostolick See without the King's Leave; That no Archbishop or Bishop should go out of the Realm without the King's Permission; That no Bishop shall excommunicate any Person, that holds of the King *in Capite*, or interdict any Officer of his without a Licence had from the King; That Clergy-men should be try'd before Secular Judges; That Lay-men (such as the King and his Judges) should examine and judge the Causes of the Church about Tythes, and Matters of like Nature, which were looked upon by the Pope and Clergy as dangerous Encroachments upon their Ecclesiastical Liberties.

1165. Reg. 11. The King, at the return of his Ambassadors from the Pope, finding that they had obtain'd no Favour with him, but that he was rather slighted and contemn'd by him, was highly displeas'd; and that he might shew how much he resented the Affront, and scorn'd his Authority, he put out a severe Edict both against the Pope and the Arch-bishop, opposing his Secular to their Ecclesiastical Authority; and ordering, that if any Person were apprehended, carrying a Letter or other Instrument from the Pope or Arch-bishop, containing any Interdict of the Christian Religion in *England*, he should be without delay executed as a Traytor both to the King and Kingdom. That whatsoever Bishop, Priest, Monk, or other Person in Holy Orders, Clerk or Lay-man, should have or conceal any such Letters; shall forfeit all their Lands, Goods and Chattels, to the King, and be immediately banish'd the Nation, with all their Kindred. That no Clergy-man; Monk, or Lay-man, should be permitted to pass from *Normandy* to *England* without a Pass-port from the Justices there; nor from *England* to *Normandy*, or other Places beyond-sea without the King's, upon Pain of Imprisonment if discover'd. That no Appeals to the Pope should be allowed. That all Clergy-men, who had any Estates in *England*, should return into the Kingdom within three Months, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Lands to the King. That *Peter-pence* should be collected and sequestred, till the King's Pleasure was farther known. He also banish'd all the Archbishop's Kindred, without any Exception of Sex or Age, and openly renounc'd the Pope's Authority, declaring his Adherence to the Emperor's Party, who then was at Enmity with the present Pope *Alexander* the III. and vindicated the Election of *Victor* the V. who tho' elected by the far less Number of Cardinals, viz. (but four to twenty two) yet was thought a sufficient Pretence of opposing the Pope, who was a declared Enemy to the Empire. Henry before this Quarrel between himself and the Arch-bishop, had favour'd the Election of *Alexander*, with the King of *France*, and the other Christian Princes of *Europe*, and had at *Coccy* upon the *Loir* shew'd him an extraordinary Reverence and Respect; but finding him so averse to him in this Difference, he fell from him, renounc'd his Authority, declar'd for the Emperor; and to strengthen himself by a firm Alliance with the German Princes, consented to marry his Daughter *Maud* to the Duke of *Saxony*, at the Motion of *Reginald* Archbishop of *Collen*, who was sent on purpose by the Emperor *Frederick Barba-*

rossa to solicit it, and entertain'd another Motion A. D. 1165. for a Marriage between another of his Daughters and the Emperor's Son: But all these things did the King little Service. The Emperor's Party was weak, the Pope's grew stronger and stronger every day; and the Pope being exasperated by the King's Actions, was more earnest in the Defence of the Arch-bishop, whom he encourages to solicit and adjure the Clergy of *England* not to forsake their hold, but resolutely maintain their Liberties and Privileges against the Invader of them, who sought to confound the Priesthood and Kingdom; and if they gave ground in the least, would utterly ruine themselves and the Church. Then he excommunicated all the King's principal Ministers that adhered to the German Faction, or held Correspondence with the Arch-bishop of *Collen*; as *John* of *Oxford*, *Richard Ivelhester*, *Richard de Lucy*, *Jascelin Baliol*, *Alan de Nevil*, and with them all those who had seized upon the Revenues and Goods of the See of *Canterbury*, which he call'd the Partrimony of the Crucifix, and Food of the Poor, viz. *Ralph de Brock*, *Hugh S. Clare*, and *Thomas Fitz-Bernard*. Thus was this unbloody War managed on both sides; in which, tho' there were no Swords drawn, yet it created much Vexation and Trouble to both Parties.

While this Dissention was on foot between the King and Pope, other publick Business happen'd, which kept the King employ'd. The *Welsh* revolted, and could hardly be reduc'd to their Obedience: In the War with them he lost many brave Men, and had himself been killed, had not *Hugh S. Clare* receiv'd the Arrow into his own Body, which he saw would prove mortal to his Master; yet was the King so sensible of his Danger, that he reveng'd his own suppos'd Death with a very cruel Treatment of his Enemies. From this Expedition he pass'd into *Normandy*, where now his Business lay more than in *England*: And here, that he might shew he had not lost his Christian Disposition by quarrelling with the Pope, he obtain'd of his Subjects in a publick Assembly call'd for that purpose, two pence in the Pound of every Man's Lands and Goods for the Year 1167, and a Penny in the Pound for four Years after, for the Relief of the poor Christians in the Holy War; and carefully collecting it Yearly, sent it to them. Then he gathered some Forces, and takes certain Castles in the County of *Maine*, and Marches of *Britain* from several factious Barons. In his absence *Matthew* the Son of the Earl of *Flanders* (who had married the Lady *Mary*, Abbess of *Ramsay*, the Daughter of King *Stephen*) attempted an Invasion, and molested the Coasts of *England*, but to no purpose, the King being too powerful for so weak an Opponent. While he was in *Normandy*, *Conan* King of *Brittaigne* died, and left one only Daughter (which he had by his Wife *Constance* the King of *Scots* Daughter) to succeed him in his Earldom. The King of *England* being then upon the Confines of that Country, thought this a good Opportunity of enlarging his own Dominions; and therefore treating with the Guardians of the young Lady, and having gained the Nobility to consent to a Marriage with his third Son *Jeffrey*, he in the end obtain'd his Desires to his great Content. This happen'd in the thirteenth Year of his Reign; wherein, as some

The King's Edict against the Pope and all his Agents.

Two Popes together.

Arch-bishop Becker's Actions against the King and his Ministers.

1166. Reg. 12. King Henry reduces the Welsh, and after goes into Normandy.

T write,

^a The Pope issu'd out an Anathema against all that for the future should observe the *Leges Antie*.

^b This Revolt was in the Year 1165.

^c This Tax, says *Holinshed*, was to be paid this Year 1166.

^d *Nicholas Trivet* in his Chronicle writes, That *Conan* was alive when Prince *Geoffrey* was betroth'd to his Daughter *Constance*, and that he dy'd the Year following.

A. D. 1167. Reg. 13. *The Death of the King's Mother the Empress Maud.* write, *Maud* the Empress, the King's Mother, died; a Lady of an high and active Spirit, illustrious by her Birth, more by her first Match, but most of all for her Son, whom she lived to see establish'd in his Throne, and flourishing in Honour, Grandure and Peace; blessed with a numerous Off-spring of four Sons and three Daughters, and left in his best Time, before any great Troubles had befall'n him. After her Death *Henry* remained three Years in *France*, which he spent in Wars, partly to clear the Bounds of his own Dominions from the Usurpation and Encroachments of his Neighbouring Lords, whom at length he brought into the Limits of his own Will, and partly to settle and reform the State of *Brittaine*, which was much out of order, and all in a Mutiny at the late Match with his Son: But he soon appeased them, and kept his *Christmas* at *Nantz*, where he feasted all the Nobility of the Country, and by Favours, obliged them to retain their Fidelity to his Son in his absence^a.

1169. Reg. 15. *Henry returns into England.* Having settled things beyond Seas, he returns into *England*, and the first thing he did was to observe whether his absence and a long Peace had not corrupted his Government; and to that end he appointed certain Commissioners to examine into any Abuses and Excesses, which might be committed by his Officers in the Administration of Justice; and having found many of the Sheriffs of the Nation guilty of Extortion and Bribery, he punish'd them severely for it. He kept his *Easter* at *Windsor*, whither *William* King of *Scots*, who lately succeeded his Brother *Malcolm* in that Government, came with his younger Brother *David* to congratulate the King's happy Return into *England*, and put in his Claim for some Countries in the North, which he pretended were unjustly detain'd from him. *Henry* entertain'd him very civilly, and gave him a fair Answer to his Demands: But told him, 'He could do nothing in it without the Consent of the Parliament, which if he would attend, he should have Satisfaction. Which words raised the Expectations of that King, and made him often come into *England*, and once to attend *Henry* into *France* as his Brother had done, but without a proportionable Return to his Desires.

The Contest between the King and Archbishop Becket re-quires.

The Pope's Letters, and the Answer to them.

Not long after the King's return home, his Controversie with the Church again reviv'd, and a greater Storm than ever threaten'd him. The Pope himself was not very forward to proceed to any rigorous Course, but labour'd to pacifie the angry Arch-bishop, by telling him, 'That it was an ill time to contend, the King being potent and the Church already in Troubles; and therefore to heal the Sore, he writes to the Bishop of *London* and *Hereford*, 'Requiring them to treat with the King, and earnestly persuade him to desist from meddling with the Liberties of the Church, and to restore the Arch-bishop to his See and Dignity. The Bishops answer'd the Pope's Letter wisely and gravely thus, 'We have (say they) deliver'd your Holiness's Message to our King, and earnestly press'd him to yield to your Desires so far as was convenient for us to do to the Majesty of a King; begging of him, that if he had done any thing contrary to Truth and Justice, that he would not persist in his Error; That he would not prohibit Men from visiting the Churches at *Rome*, hinder Appeals, oppress the Church or Clergy, or suffer others to do it; That he would recal our Father the Arch-bishop, &c. and persist in all Acts of Piety, that so the God, by whom Kings reign, might preserve him in his Tem-

A. D. 1169. Reg. 15. poral Kingdom, and give him an Eternal one in Heaven; That unless he would now hearken to your Holy Admonitions, you would wait no longer; adding this of our selves, That unless he amended his Errours, his Kingdom would not prosper or long flourish. The King received your Advice with many Thanks, great Comeliness and Modesty, and gave these Answers to every Point. (1.) He protested, That he had not any Averſion to your Holiness, nor purpos'd to maintain any Opposition against you; but so long as he could enjoy your Fatherly Kindness, he would reverence you as a Father, and honour and protect the Church as a Mother: Nor would disobey any of your Decrees, so long as his own Dignity and the Kingdom's Happiness might be preserved. And if of late he had not paid that Respect to you, which he was wont, 'twas because his Ambassadors had met with such unkind Denials of his Petitions, which he had reason to obtain, because he had stood by you with so much Zeal and Power in your Necessity. (2.) That he neither had, nor would ever hinder any from visiting your Holiness. But as for Appeals he challenges that Prerogative to himself by the ancient Custom of *England*; That no Clergy-man, for any civil Cause, shall go out of the Realm till he had tried whether he can't obtain his Right by his Royal Authority and Justice at home, which if he can't do, he will not hinder him from making his Appeal to your Holiness; and if in this he doth any way prejudice you, he is willing to amend it, as it shall be order'd by a General Council of the Kingdom; That as for the Emperor, tho' he knew he was a Schismatick, yet he never understood that he was excommunicated, which if he be rightly inform'd of, or have made an unlawful League with him, he promises to rectifie it at the Direction of the said Assembly: That he never banish'd our Father the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and that he was at his Liberty to return to his Church, provided his Majesty be satisfied concerning his Complaints; and that he will live in Obedience to his Laws: That if it can be proved, that any Church or Churchmen have been oppress'd by himself or Officers, he will make Satisfaction, as shall be thought fit by the Ecclesiastical Council of the Kingdom. This (say they) is the Answer we have received from our Lord the King, and wish it had been more fully according to your Desire; but those things we thought fit to make known to your Holiness, that you may see what is like to be the Event of this Difference. The King stands up in Defence of his own Cause, ready to obey the Council and Judgment of the Church of *England*. Wherefore we have judg'd it convenient to beseech your Highness to, moderate your Zeal for God's Church for a time and forbear to interdict or excommunicate our Churches, lest both the King and his Subjects be irrevocably (which God forbid) deterr'd from their Obedience to the Holy See. And lastly, they add, as a Dissuasive from rigorous Dealings with the King, That the skilful Chirurgion doth not immediately cut off the Member that is unsound and diseased, but uses all means to heal it, and recover it to its proper Use; and so it is better for his Holiness to labour to pacifie the King, than by cutting off so noble a part of the Church of God to bring more Disturbance into the same, which hath too much already: That tho' the King were stiff and resolute, yet they doubted not but through

^a *William* King of *Scots* follow'd the King into *Normandy*, did him Homage, and waited on him while he was there.

A. D. 1169. Reg. 15. through God's Grace he might be won by Patience and Meekness: What tho' the Lord of Canterbury lose his Goods, and remain in Exile, yet 'tis better it should be so, than that all England fall from their Obedience through your Severity? And tho' perhaps a Persecution may not separate us from you, yet there will not want Kneest to bow to Baal, there will be enough to receive the Pall of Canterbury from the King's hands, and supply our Seats with all assurances of Obedience; and some there are that hope this Schism between you and the King will make way for their Preferments. By these Letters, which are the best pieces of History in the World, we see the full state of this Controversie, and what it was that kept these two mighty Potentates from getting their Wills, and tho' they threaten'd loud, were really afraid one of another.

Henry assumes his Son into the Regal Dignity, and had him crown'd. Hitherto the King stood safe, and might have continued so, had he not been suspicious of more danger than he was really in; and so endeavouring to secure himself more than was necessary, he undermined his own Peace, lessen'd his Authority, and embroyl'd his People. And this he did by assuming his eldest Son Henry into a Copartnership in his Royal Dignity and Power. An Act without Precedent in this Kingdom, which 'tis hardly credible, that the Parliament, in such discerning Times, would have consented to, if the King would have been contented with a denial. In compliance with which the young Prince was crown'd June 14. 1170. by Roger Archbishop of York, and received Homage from William King of Scots, David his Brother, and most of the Nobility of England. For what Reasons the King did thus, whether out of meer kindness to his Son, or whether he feared the Clergy, with whom he then was at difference, might deprive his Posterity of the Succession, as they did his Mother Maud, (as is most probable by reason of this Juncture) yet certain it is, he got himself two Enemies by it, viz. the French King, and his own Son. The French King threaten'd him with War, because his Daughter was not crown'd with her Husband, unless it were immediately done. Henry hereupon hasts into Normandy to secure his Dominions there, and leaves his Son in England, thinking thus to prevent or pacifie his angry Father-in-Law. His own Son, not content with a bare Title without Power, or a participation only in Government with his Father, who by being his Superiour, clouded his Glory, and null'd all his Authority, created him much Grief and Trouble, contriving all ways to make him no King, who had shew'd too much indulgence in creating him one; and forgetting the Duty of a Son, by being rais'd to an equal Power with his Father, who by his Actions found too late, That Crowns are not to be made over in trust to any Persons.

A Conference of the King and Archbishop. While the King remain'd in Normandy, it was effected by the mediation of the French King, Theobald Earl of Blois, and other great Bishops, that the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had then been six Years in Banishment) should be admitted to a Conference with the King; who did not unwillingly embrace the Proposition, because he found that a Quarrel with the Church in those zealous Times, would much prejudice his other temporal Affairs, and create him daily more potent Enemies, through the Pope's and Bishops

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16. means. Their Meeting was at Montmirial, in the presence of the King of France. And the Archbishop, at his entrance into the King's presence, fell on his Knees at his Feet, and said, 'He would leave the whole Matter in Controversie to his Majesty's Decision, *Salvo honore Dei*, i. e. God's Honour being sav'd harmless. The King, who had been tired with this Reservation, and seen the ill tendency of it, began to be in a Passion, and said to the King of France, and others present, 'What ever displeases this Man, he makes to be against God's Honour, and under that shew claims all that belongs to me. But that you may not think that I will be against any thing that is really for God's Honour or his Right, I declare, that whatever the greatest and most holy of his Predecessors have done to the meanest of mine, I will condescend to undergo from him. This Answer, which was so much beyond the Expectation of all the Company, begat such a good Opinion in them all to the King's Cause, that the King of France told the Archbishop plainly, 'That he could not stand upon any thing now reasonably, unless he would be greater than the Saints, or St. Peter himself; and that if Peace were not now made, 'twas his fault only. The Archbishop reply'd to this effect, 'That as the Authority of Kings had grown up by degrees, so had that of the Church; which being by the Providence of God come to that pitch of Grandeur, he was not to follow the Example of any that had been faint-hearted, or too yielding in their places. The Church had risen and increased by many Persecutions, and he was to hold what it had so hardly gotten. Our Fathers (said he) suffer'd all manner of Afflictions, because they would not forsake the Name of Christ; and shall I, to gain the Favour of any Man living, lose any thing that is for his Honour. This proud and obstinate Answer to so yielding a Proffer made by the King, so much distast'd the Hearers, that they look'd upon his Cause as nothing else but the effect of Pride and Arrogancy, not of true Zeal; and so the Meeting at that time concluded. Divers Meetings they had after this, to debate about the same matters; one of the most conclusive, was upon the Confines of Normandy, in the presence of the same King of France, (who entertain'd the Archbishop all the while) where the King took the Archbishop apart, and talk'd with him a long time; twice they lighted from their Horses, and twice remounted again; and twice the King held the Archbishop's Bridle, and then parted, both prepar'd for a Peace, but not concluding any. At last, by the mediation of the Archbishop of Reven, the Controversie was fully compos'd, and decided before the Earl of Blois at Amboys. And thereupon the King sent to Henry his Son in England in this manner: 'Know ye, that Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury hath made Peace with me, according to my Will; and therefore I charge you, that he and all his Relations be no more disturbed; but that the Estates and Goods of him, and all such as went out of England for his sake, be restored to them in as full and ample manner as they enjoy'd them three Months before their going, &c. (Which shews that the supreme Command was lodg'd in the Father, and not in the Son.) Soon after this the Archbishop return'd into England, (yet not as one that had sought, but forced a Peace)

The King and Archbishop fully agreed.

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* 'Tis reported, that King Henry himself carry'd up the first Dish to his Son's Table at the Coronation-Feast; and when the Archbishop of York represented to him, how much he was oblig'd to his Father for that Favour, the young Prince haughtily reply'd, That it was not such great Condescension in his Father, who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to him, who was the Son of a King.

^b William Fitz-Stephens, who was Becker's Chaplain, and wrote his Life, writes, That this Peace was concluded on the 22d of July, 1170. at Freteville, between Chartrin and Maine.

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16. *The Archbishop's return into England, and his Suspension of the Bishops.* Peace) and therefore, as if he had gain'd Power to strengthen his Resolution by his Agreement with the King, he suspends by the Pope's Bull the Archbishop of York from his Episcopal Function, for crowning the young King within the Province of Canterbury, without his Leave, and against the Pope's Order, and without taking (according to the Custom) the Cautionary Oath for the preservation of the Liberties of the Church. He also suspended in like manner by other Letters, which he brought with him, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, S. Alaph, and Landaff, for assisting at the Coronation, and defending the King's Cause against him, and by their Suspension they were to remain depriv'd of their Office till they had given the Archbishop such satisfaction as he required. The Bishops, amazed at this terrible assault, had no other Refuge but the King, to whom they immediately fled into Normandy, and gave him an account of the Archbishop's Severity, and implacable Fury and Imperiousness. The King hearing their Relation, was mov'd with extream Passion, and is said with great Grief to have utter'd these words: 'In what a miserable Condition am I, who can't be quiet in my own Kingdom for one only Priest! What is there no Man will rid me of this trouble? Some say, that there were four Knights attending the King when he spake these words, viz. Sir Hugh Morvill, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Britton, and Sir Reginald Fitz-Urse^b, who guessing at his Desire, departed instantly into England to be the unfortunate Executioners of it; but others relate, that these four Gentlemen were sent with a Commission by the King, to treat with the Archbishop in this Affair. (1.) To require him to take his Oath of Fidelity to the young King. (2.) To restore the Bishops he had deprived to the Execution of their Office. (3.) To advise and command him to carry himself with much more Lenity and Moderation in his Place, that so the Church may have comfort, and the Kingdom peace, by his return. These Men, zealous for their Prince, and arm'd with Authority, went to the Archbishop, and finding him peremptory and untractable, not answering their Humour, nor regarding their Master's Message, were highly enrag'd, and threaten'd to commit him. The Archbishop, to secure himself, withdrew into the Cathedral Church, but to no purpose; for they arming themselves entred in the Church, when he was at Divine Service with the Monks, and furiously reviling him as a Traytor, fell upon him with their Swords, gave him many Wounds, and at length struck out his Brains, so that the Altar was sprinkled with his Blood. The Archbishop in this Assault behav'd himself with great Courage, and passionately committed his own Soul^c, and the Church's Cause to God and his Saints; which, together with the Manner, Time, and Place of his Suffering, begat great Compassion towards him, and Abhorrence of the Fact. The unfortunate Gentlemen, tho' they effected a great piece of Service, yet dare not return to the King, either because they had exceeded the Bounds of their Commission, and so might

The Archbishop slain in the Cathedral of Canterbury.

justly fear his Displeasure; or because they knew he would not acknowledge it a Kindness, tho' he thought it a great one; but (after they had rifled the Archbishop's Palace) fled into several Countries^d in the North, and dy'd all within four Years (as it is reported) miserable Fugitives.

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16. *The Death of Archbishop Becket much aggravated, and laid to the King's Charge.* The Fame of the Archbishop Becket's Death soon spread into all parts of the Christian World, and both Tongues and Pens fell all to work to aggravate and condemn it. The King of France himself informs the Pope of the whole matter, aggravating the Foulness of the Fact, and inciting him to Severity in punishing it: *To unsheath St. Peter's Sword to revenge the Death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whose Blood cries out to all the Church, and whose Divine Glory was manifested already by Miracles.* Theobald Earl of Blois, a great and grave Prince (elder Brother to King Stephen) represented to the Pope, 'That he was present when the Peace was made between the King of England and the blessed Martyr; That the King cheerfully confirm'd the Agreement, and granted the Archbishop power to use his Authority, as it pleased the Pope and him, against those Bishops, who had contrary to the Right and Dignity of the Church of Canterbury, presum'd to set the new King upon the Throne. And this he would justify upon his Oath, or otherwise. By this Peace (says he) was the Man of God brought under the King's Sword, the innocent Lamb slain upon the morrow after St. Innocent's Day, the just Blood shed at the Altar, where Christ's Blood is offer'd, by Court-Dogs, the King's domestick Servants, set on work to do this horrible Act; and then concludes with Admonitions of Revenge. But William Archbishop of Sens came with a loud Cry, as if he fear'd the Pope would overlook the Fact, and tells him, 'That all Power was given to his Apostleship both in Heaven and Earth, and God had appointed him to bind Kings in Chains, and Nobles in Links of Iron. He bids him observe how the Boar of the Wood had rooted up the Lord's Vineyard. And after he hath bitterly inveigh'd against the King, stirs him up to revenge that which is past, that he may provide for the future: What place shall be safe, if the Rage of Tyrants be suffer'd to fill the Sanctum Sanctorum with Blood, and Christ's Vicegerents be torn in pieces without punishment? Arm therefore, says he, all the Ecclesiastical Power you can, &c. The King of England, on the other side, protested his own Innocency, and solemnly avow'd, That he was as far from ordering or desiring any such deed to be done, as he was from doing it himself; and that he was heartily sorry for it when he heard of it. He also employ'd the chief Men of his Kingdom, for Reputation, Learning and Judgment, to defend his Innocency to the Pope; but his Holiness was so prepossessed by the sinister Reports of others, that he deny'd his Ambassadors Audience, and the Cardinals refus'd all Conference with them; yet they were not so much discourag'd by this unkind usage, but that they clear'd their Master's Honour by Apologies, Remonstrances, and whatsoever

The King clears himself of Becket's Murder.

^a William Fitz-Stephens says, he was exasperated against him by the suspended Bishops, and particularly the Archbishop of York, who told him, *That so long as Thomas Becket was alive he would never enjoy happy Days, nor a quiet Kingdom.*

^b Fitz-Stephens calls them Barons and Servants of the King's Bed-Chamber, Cubicularii. They stole away from Court. F. S.

^c His last Words were, *Lord, into thy hands I commend my self, and the Cause of the Church of God, St. Mary, St. Denis, and all the Saints Patrons of his Church.*

^d They remain'd a Year in Knarsborough-Castle in Yorkshire, and might have easily been brought to Justice for their Crime, but there was no Law to punish with Death any Persons that had kill'd a Clergyman, because the Clergy had exempted themselves from the King's Jurisdiction; and so the Archbishop himself, who so violently oppos'd the secular Power over the Clergy, and was by that means the Cause that the Blood of many Persons was unreveng'd, prevented the deserv'd Punishment of his own Blood from the Sword of Justice; tho' God seem'd to punish it by the miserable Lives and unfortunate Deaths of the Actors of it: Who, according to Ro. Howeden's account, being excommunicated by the Pope, went to Rome for Absolution; and were enjoin'd to go to Jerusalem, and to do Penance afterwards on the Black Mountain for Life.

A. D. 1170. soever Wit could devise; so that they kept off the highest Censure, tho' it was every day expected, and by gravely urging the Mischief that might fall upon the Church by too great Severity, so allay'd the first Heat, that they gave the King some hopes of a Pacification, till the Pope sent two Cardinals *à Latere*, *Gratianus* and *Vivianus*, into *Normandy* to interdict him and his Dominions, which exceedingly disturb'd him; but the King having gotten some notice of their coming and intention, appeals to the presence of the Pope upon their entrance, and so put off that trouble. And when he came into *England* again, to prevent the like, forbids all Brief-Carriers, of what Condition or Order soever, to pass the Seas, without giving good Security for their Behaviour to the King and Kingdom.

great Riches and Reward; and afterwards with *Richard Earl of Pembroke, Chepstow, and Strigil*, surnamed *Strongbow*, a Lord of great Courage and Worth, of large Possessions both in *England* and *Normandy*, and well followed, whom he won by a Contract of giving him his only Daughter in Marriage, and the Succession of the Kingdom of *Lemster* after him. *Fitz-Stephens*, with his half Brother *Maurice Fitz-Gerard*, passed over first with a small Force, and landed at a place call'd by the Irish *Bagg-Bun*, which in *English* signifies *Holy*; and therefore look'd upon as an Omen of good Success: Whereof it retains the Memory to this day in this Rythm:

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16
Fitz-Stephens first Conquers Ireland.

At the head of Bagg and Bunn,
Ireland was lost and won.

The King's Expedition into Ireland, and Conquest of it.

But tho' the Controversie which the King had with the Church caused him much trouble, yet he omitted nothing which tended to the Advancement of his Kingdom, and Enlargement of his Dominions, which at this time he undertook by an Expedition into *Ireland* for the Conquest of it; and so much the rather, that at this time he might make himself formidable. He had had a like design at the beginning of his Reign; and to prepare his way to it without opposition, had obtain'd leave of Pope *Adrian IV.* to go on with it, under the pretence of reducing a Rude and Barbarous People from their Vicious Customs to the Faith and Truth of Christ, and upon promise of paying *Peter-Pence* to the *Roman See*. The Pope (who is always willing to give away what is not his own, to get something by it) readily granted the King's Petition, and sent his Ambassadors back with an Instrument of Concession in Writing to this effect: 'That it was a laudable and glorious thing for so magnificent a Prince to enlarge his Dominions for the Conversion of Souls, and Good of the Church. And then gives him power to invade the same, and to execute whatever should be to the Honour of God, and Good of the Country; with a Reservation of the Rights of the Church, and *Peter-Pence* promised; and concludes with an Exhortation to settle an holy and exemplary Clergy among them, &c. But the King at that time having other important Matters in hand, laid these Thoughts for the present aside, and did not resume them till a fair occasion offer'd it self of prosecuting it with success, which was thus given him: *Dermot Macmurgh*, one of the five Kings that then ruled *Ireland*, came to him into *Aquitain* to crave his Aid against *Rodericke the Great*, call'd *O-Conar Dun*, King of *Connaught*, who aiming at the Dominion of the whole Country, had expell'd him out of his Dominions of *Lemster*. The King of *England*, glad of this opportunity of introducing his Forces into the Country, promised him assistance; and tho' he was a little detained by other Affairs of Importance, yet he gave him liberty to get as many of his Subjects as he would, to try their Fortunes with him. The occasion of the Quarrel between the two Irish Princes was very foul on *Dermot's* part, who had corrupted and stolen away the Wife of *Rodericke*; and for that reason, with his Injustices to his People, (the common Causes of ruining and transferring Kingdom) was by force of Arms driven out of his Dominions of *Lemster*; and being expell'd, he seeks to the King of *England* for help to recover his Right; and having obtained the former Grant of him, went into *Wales*, where he first prevail'd with *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, a Man of a desperate Fortune, but good Interest among the *Welsh*, by promises of

The next day arriv'd *Maurice Prindergast* with two Ships full of armed Men, and Archers, to joyn with *Fitz-Stephens*, who made up together about four hundred Men. With this small Army they marched with Banners display'd to the City of *Weishford*, in so strange a form and order, that the Irish, unacquainted with such an unusual form of War, and supposing them by their Front to be far more numerous than they were, were overcome with fear, and render'd up themselves to them, with their City of *Weishford*, which *Dermot* gave to *Robert Fitz-Stephens* with the Country adjoining, to encourage him, and raise the hopes of others. And here was the first Colony of the *English* settled in *Ireland*, which hath continu'd there ever since, retaining still our ancients Garb, and much of our Language, which is proper to that City, and the Country about it, call'd the *Weishford-Speech*. The next Year they had a new Supply out of *Wales*, and after, upon news of their success, the Earl of *Pembroke* went over with two hundred armed Men, and a thousand other Soldiers, and landing at *Warterford*, takes the Town, which was then call'd *Portblarge*, and puts all the Inhabitants to the Sword, not only to terrifie others, but to make room for his own People. And here *Dermot* gave the Earl his Daughter *Eva* to Wife, with the Dowry of his Country, which after he had liv'd to undo by his Wickedness, he liv'd not long to see, but dy'd miserably, leaving nothing memorable but the infamous Name of *Ningal*, which signifies a Friend to Strangers, as a Brand of his unnatural Treachery to his own Country. The Earl, after he had gotten his Inheritance convey'd, and secured the places he had won, marches with his small Forces thro' the whole Island without resistance, *Rodericke the Great* not daring to make good his Name, nor appear in opposition to him, but kept in the Wilds and strong Holds of *Connaught*, and never met the Enemy. So that he took Pledges of the Inhabitants to secure their Obedience as he pleased; and with very little labour possess'd himself of *Dublin*, the head City of the Island. Thus did the *Welsh* first win the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and (which is most strange) without Battel; a thing scarce credible, that so populous a Country as *Ireland* was, and a Nation of that disposition, should not lift up any hands in their own defence; but it seems, tho' they had continual Wars almost among themselves, yet they had so little Armour and Discipline, that they were terrify'd with the Warlike Appearances of the *English*.

1171. Reg. 17.
The Earl of Pembroke's success in Ireland.

The King of *England* being inform'd of the great Success of the former Adventures, began to be jealous of them, lest they should think them-

* Roger Hovedon places the King's Expedition into Ireland under the Year 1171.

A. D. 1171. themselves something greater than Subjects; and therefore to stop their farther Proceedings, and gain the Glory of the Conquest of Ireland, he immediately declares, that they had gone beyond their Commission, and puts out his Proclamation, 'That no Vessel should carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland; That all his Subjects there should desist from farther Attempts, and return home immediately, or else should forfeit their Estates in England. And withal, sends over William Fitz-Adelm and Robert Fitz-Bernard, with some Forces, to prepare the way for him; while he himself provided a Navy of four hundred Ships well furnish'd with Men, and all Necessaries for the Expedition at Milford-Haven; from whence he sailed into Ireland, and arriv'd there eight Miles from Waterford on S. Luke's Eve, Anno 1172. being the third Year after Fitz-Stephen's Invasion. At his first landing his Soldiers caught a White Hart, and presented it to him as a Sign of his Victory. The next day he marched to Waterford, and staid there fifteen days. While he remain'd here, the Kings of Corke, Limerick, Offery, Meth, and all of any Power in Ireland (except Roderick King of Connaught, who kept himself in the strong Holds of his own Country) came and submitted themselves with all their Clergy to him, taking an Oath of Fidelity to him and his Successors for ever; thus chusing rather to unite with a Stranger in a common Subjection, than with one another to deliver themselves from Slavery, because they had lived long in Enmity. The King went from Waterford to Dublin, where he held a great Assembly of all the Kings, Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Ireland, to assure himself more fully of their Allegiance, and to reform and order all things in the State; which when he had done, he summon'd a Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy at Cassel (to whom he appointed a Chaplain of his own, and the Archdeacon of Landaffe to be Assistants) to reform the Affairs of the Church; for tho' the Irish had been Christians long before, yet they were but a confused and disorderly Church: And therefore it was ordain'd and decreed, 'That all Church-Lands should be freed from the Exactions of Secular Men, and that for the future all Divine Things should be order'd and us'd in every part of Ireland, according to the manner of the Church of England, it being fit (as the Canon saith) that as Ireland had by God's merciful Providence obtain'd a Lord and King out of England, so also they should receive from thence a better manner of living than they had used before. The King having thus settled the Kingdom, kept his Christmas at Dublin, where he feasted all the Kings and great Men of the Country, gave Orders for the planting and fortifying of Garrisons where they were needful, made Hugh Lacy Justice of Ireland, and seated him in Dublin to defend it; granting him by his Charter, and his Heirs, the Country of Meth, to hold the same in Fee by the Service of an hundred Knights; to Robert Fitz-Bernard he left the keeping of the Towns of Waterford and Weisford (which he had taken from Fitz-Stephens) with a Charge to build Castles in them; and to humble Earl Strongbow, and level him with the rest of his Subjects, he took from him all his Dependents and made them his. Thus in one Winter was the Kingdom of

The King goes into Ireland to conquer it. 1172.

His Reformation of Ireland.

Ireland made subject to England, and a tolerable Settlement made, tho' it proved not very lasting; because both this, and some succeeding Kings, had such innumerable Diversions that they could not attend to the full Establishment of it.

A. D. 1172. Reg. 17.

On the Easter-Mondy after he set sail from Ireland into England again, but made a very short stay there, because he had appointed the Pope's Legates, Theodinus and Albertus, to meet them in Normandy, who were sent by Pope Alexander (but in a milder way than formerly) to examine into the Murther of the late Archbishop Becket; wherefore taking with him the young King, he passed over thither. Four Months were spent in debating the Matter, and in Conclusion, the King taking an Oath upon the Holy Evangelists and Saints Reliques in the Presence of his Son Henry, the Archbishop of Rouen, and the rest of the Bishops and Abbots of Normandy, in the City of Auranches, That he neither had commanded, nor consented to the said Murther, cleared himself from the Charge brought against him for it: Yet because he feared, that the Persons who did murther him were moved to it either by his Passion or Words, he engag'd himself in Satisfaction for it to perform these following Articles. (1.) Never to forsake Pope Alexander, nor his Successors, so long as they treated him as a Catholick King. (2.) That he would freely allow Appeals to be made to the Pope in Ecclesiastical Causes, provided, That if any Man be suspected of any ill Designs against the King or Nation, he shall put in Security before his Departure. (3.) That he would for three Years go in Person to the Holy Wars, unless hinder'd by the Pope or his Successors, or employ'd against the Sarazens in Spain. (4.) That he should put so much Money presently into the Templars hands, as should maintain two Hundred Men in the Holy War for one Year. (5.) That he should recall all that had suffer'd Banishment for the Archbishop, and restore his and their Possessions. (6.) That he should abolish all Customs which had been introduced in his Time, to the prejudice of the Church. When the King had sworn to the aforesaid Concessions, he made his Son Henry to ratifie the same by Oath, except such as concern'd his own Person; and having set his Seal to them with the Cardinals, he deliver'd them to be kept in the Roman Church. Thus ended this tedious Controversie, which made such a Noise in the World; and Becket tho' he could not conquer the King while he lived, did it by his Death; having gained the Name of a Saint in Heaven by his Sufferings, and a Shrine in the Church, to which his Sovereign Lord must bow himself and pray, or else be thought a worse Enemy to him than ever: So that this obstinate Archbishop was above his Will when alive, and over his Faith when dead. But how good a Man he was may appear by this, that forty eight Years after his Decease, the Doctors of Paris disputed whether he were damn'd or sav'd; and one Roger a Norman, maintain'd he had justly deserv'd Death, for rebelling against his Sovereign, the Vicegerent of God. After the ending of this Affair, the King, that he might pacifie all Parties, and content the King of France, had his Son Henry crown'd again with his Wife Margaret^b.

The King's return from Ireland and Voyage into Normandy, where he clears himself of Becket's Murther.

Shortly after these things, the young King Henry

^a For Pope Alexander Canoniz'd him soon after this Agreement, and his Shrine was erected at Canterbury by his next Successor but one, Stephen Langton, at very great Expence and Charge; and he became so famous a Saint for Miracles (no less than 270 being said to be done at his Shrine) that the Gifts at it annually were computed worth 600 l. and the Visitants in a Jubilee an hundred thousand.

^b In St. Swithin's Church in Winchester. This was done the 27th of August, before the ending of the Affair of Becket's Death; for the King purg'd himself of it at Auranches on the 27th of September following.

A. D. 1172. Henry obtain'd leave of his Father to visit Paris, and his Father-in Law the French King; where staying some time, he imbib'd those Instructions which kindled his Ambition, and overthrew his Obedience to his Father, being taught there, that to be a King was to have a Supreme Power, and be under none; which he soon put in Practice upon this Occasion. Henry the Father, who was always watchful to lay hold of every Opportunity of advancing his own Greatness and Power, took a Journey in Person to Auvergne, and so to Montferrat^a; where he purchased a Match at the Price of five thousand Marks for his youngest Son John, with Alice the eldest Daughter of Hubert, Earl of Mauriena and Lord of Piedmont and Savoy, with a Condition of having all those Countries, containing many Seigniories, Cities and Castles, after her Father's decease. The King of England also assured to his Son John the Castles of Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabel at Limoges, where he was come after the Conclusion of the Match. While he continu'd here, Raymond Earl of S. Gyles came to him to do him Homage for the Earldom to Tholouse to hold it of him, and his Son Richard Earl of Poitou by Hereditary Right, by the Service of coming unto them upon Summons, and remaining in their Service forty days at their own Charge; and if they detain'd him longer, to be allow'd reasonable Expences: As also to pay Yearly one hundred Marks of Silver, or ten Horses worth ten Marks a-piece. Prince Henry was displeased at his Father's Gift to his Brother John, and the King of France was afraid of his great Power, who now had gotten Dominions all round him: Wherefore observing the Prince's disgust, he put him upon requesting, and that with an Importunity that would not brook a Denial, either the Dutchy of Normandy, Earldom of Anjou or Kingdom of England for his Maintenance, and Exercise of his Kingly Power. The Prince being ambitious put up his Request, and because he was not presently gratified, escapes from his Father, and got to Paris, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the French King, who had no way else to prevent the over-growing Greatness of his Neighbour, but such an unnatural Division; and to strengthen the Breach, summons all the Princes of France, and all the Friends he could make, to assist King Henry the Son against the Father, and made them swear, That they would either dispossess King Henry of his Kingdoms, or bring him to their Conditions. The young King likewise swears to them never to make Peace with his Father without their Consent; and to encourage his Assistances, he engag'd to give Philip Earl of Flanders a 1000 l. a Year, with the County of Kent, and Dover and Rochester Castles; to Matthew Earl of Bologne, the said Earl's Brother, Kerton Soake in Lindsey, the Earldom of Morton, with the Honour of Heize; to Theobald Earl of Blois^b 200 l. a Year in Anjou, the Castle of Ambouys, with all his Right in Tureine, which Grants he confirm'd under his Seal, with many others, to his Followers for their Service; to the King of Scots he granted all Northumberland as far as the River Tyne, and to his Brother the Earldoms of Huntington and Cambridge^c. Many discontented Lords both of England and Normandy, who hoped for new Advantages by Changes in State, and a broken Sovereignty, adhered to him; as Robert

Earl of Leicester, Hugh Bigott, Hugh Earl of Chester, Roger Mowbray, &c. to whom he gave several large Promises of the Lion's Skin before he was dead. Queen Eleanor enrag'd for some Injuries done to her Bed^d, like a furious *Alecto*, blows up the Coals of War between the Father and Son; and persuading her two Sons, Richard and Jeffrey, to join in the Rebellion against their Father, made the Confederacy so strong, that the King was left destitute both of Friends and Subjects to defend his Right. Some faithful Ministers he had, yet those but very few; as William Earl of Mandevile, Hugh de Lacy, Hugh de Beauchamp, Humphrey Bohun, and some others: But his People forsook him so generally, that he was forced to hire twenty thousand^e Brabansons which were Mercenary Soldiers, commonly called *Routs* or *Casterells* to maintain and hold his Kingdoms. This happen'd about the 20th Year of his Reign. The King having yet the Bowels of a Father toward his Rebellious Son, sought all ways to heal the Breach, offering him all convenient Allowances for his Estate, and advantageous Conditions of Peace; but all would not do, his Sword was drawn, and nothing would satisfy him but War; and therefore with the King of France his Forces he invades Normandy, and besieges Vernoul, a Place of great Strength and Importance. The King of Scots enters Northumberland, and makes great Havock there. Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp valiantly defended the Castle of Vernoul, and after a Month's Siege, the Citizens (being destitute of Provision) obtain a Truce of the King of France, and a Permission to send for Succours to their King, which if they could not obtain within three days, they would surrender their City, and the mean time gave him Hostages; and on the other side, the King of France, Prince Henry, and divers other Lords and Bishops swore, That if they surrender'd the City at the day appointed, their Hostages should be restor'd, and no Harm be done to their City. King Henry the Father came with all the Forces he could gather just at the day appointed, and disposes his Army for Battel; but the King of France to avoid it, sends the Archbishop of Sens and Earl of Blois to procure a Parly, which was granted on the Morrow, but lost Vernoul; for the King of France neither came, nor sent to the Parly, but had admittance given him into the Town according to the Covenants, which contrary to his Oath he demolish'd, plunder'd, and taking Hostages remov'd his Camp, and left the King of England disappointed; who being intrag'd at it, pursu'd the flying Army, of which he got some Booty, enters Vernoul, and the next day took the Castle of Danville, with many Prisoners. From hence he marched to Rouen, and there sent his Brabansons into Britain against Hugh Earl of Chester, and Ralph Fulgiers, who had gotten that whole Country into their Power; but being not able to withstand this Army of the King's in the Field, they with all the great Men of those Parts got into the Castle of Dole, and fortified themselves in it; but the King following in Person besieg'd and took it, and in it about eighty Lords, besides others of Note and Valour, by which Defeat the rest of the Country was brought to yield. By this Success the King's Enemies were so much discourag'd,

A. D. 1173. Reg. 19.

Young King Henry's Voyage to Paris, and the ill Effects of it.

1173. Reg. 19.

The young King Henry rebels against his Father.

^a Howedon drew Daniel into this Mistake. The Father and Son met, according to other Authors, with Hubert Earl of Maurienna (now Part of Savoy) at Clermont in Auvergne; and indeed 'tis very unlikely that King Henry should go so far as Montferrat in Italy, to get a Wife for his Son.

^b 500 l. of Anjouin Money. This was done at a great Council held at Paris, where Philip Earl of Flanders, Matthew his Brother Earl of Bulloign, and Theobald Earl of Blois, did Young Prince Henry Homage.

^c King Henry had lately bestow'd his Affections on Rosamund, Daughter to the Lord Clifford, whom he kept at his Mannour of Woodstock.

^e Of the Province of Brabant.

A. D. 1173. Reg. 19. *Try.* At this Treaty the King of England, tho' every way superiour, was so condescending to his Children for a Pacification sake, that he offer'd to his Son Henry half his Revenues of the Crown of England, with four convenient Castles; or if he had rather remain in Normandy, half the Revenues of that Dukedom, and the whole of the Earldom of Anjou, &c. To his Son Richard he offer'd half the Revenues of Aquitaine, and four Castles in it. To Jeffrey the Earldom of Conon, which was to descend to him by his Wife. And if these things were not sufficient, he would submit to the Arbitration of the Archbishop of Tarento, and the Pope's Legates, to add any Allowance which they should in their Judgments think fit, reserving to himself his Royal Authority, and Administration of Justice. But all these fair Proposals did not satisfy: The King of France was for no Agreement, as is plain from the Indignities offer'd to the King at the Treaty; wherein 'tis said, that Robert Earl of Leicester reproached him to his Face, and attempted to draw his Sword at him. So the Meeting ended with quarrelling, and the Armies began their daily Bickerings, tho' the French had the worst. The Earl of Leicester with an Army gets over into England, where he was received by Hugh Bygot into the Castle of Fremingham. Richard de Lucy Chief Justice of England, and Humphry Bohun the King's Constable, being then upon the Borders of Scotland, and hearing of his arrival, made a Truce with the King of Scots, and hasten'd away with their Forces to St. Edmundsbury, where the Earls of Cornwall, Gloucester, and Arundel joyn'd with them; and so they went on to encounter the Earl of Leicester at Farnham^a, whose Army they defeated, killing ten thousand Flemmings, and taking himself, Wife, and several other great Men Prisoners, whom he sent to the King in Normandy. In the mean time the King himself was not idle, but daily got Castles and Forts from his Enemies, until Winter constrain'd him to make a Truce till Easter; which also the Bishop of Durham did with the King of Scots, for three thousand Marks of Silver, to be paid out of the Lands of the Barons of Northumberland.

1174. Reg. 20. The Spring being come on, the Truce on all sides being expired, King Henry the Son, and Philip Earl of Flanders, are ready at Graveling with a great Army for England. The King of Scots also entred Northumberland, and sends his Brother David to relieve the small Remains of the Earl of Leicester's Forces, which held the Town of Leicester, but too late; for Robert de Lucy and the Earl of Cornwall had taken and raised the Town, and seized Robert Mowbray coming to help those who held out in the Castle. King Henry the Father seeing his Son's Preparations for England, draws off his Forces from other Employments, and brings them down to Barbfleet, and so pass'd over to Southampton, with his Prisoners, Queen Eleanor, Margaret his Son Henry's Wife, and the Earls of Leicester and Chester; and from thence he went to Canterbury, to visit his own Martyr, and perform his Vows of Victory; and some write, that when he came in sight of the Church, he alighted from his Horse, and^b went three Miles barefoot to it; the Stones which cut his Feet receiving bloody Tokens of his Devotion. But in recompence of this meritorious Action, they add, That the same day, when he departed

from Canterbury, the King of Scots was conquer'd, and taken at Alnwick by some Knights of Yorkshire, viz. Robert de Stuteville, Odonel de Humfreville, William de Vesey, Ralph de Glanville, Ralph de Tilly, and Bernard Baliol; and his Son Henry was by Tempests beat back again into France where Lewis the King of France hearing of his Father's passage into England, and the taking of the King of Scots, call'd him to the Siege of Roan. Henry, after his fit of Devotion was over, being ready for business, soon quieted and settled the disorder'd State of his Nation. For he took the Castles of Huntington, Fremingham, Bungay, Durham, Norham, and Alverton; which Hugh Bygot and the Bishop of Durham resigned to him, upon his granting them his Favour and Pardon. Ralph Mowbray also yielded himself up with his Castle of Treske, Earl Ferrers resigned his Castles of Tutbury, Duffield; one Ankstill, Mallery, and William Dive, Constables of the Earl of Leicester, the Castles of Leicester, Montforill and Groby. So that within three Weeks all things were quiet without Arms. When the King had thus settled England, he being enforced with a thousand Welshmen, went with his Prisoners, the King of Scots, Earls of Leicester and Chester, and passes over into Normandy to relieve Roan. His Welshmen being first sent over the River Seine, made way through the French Camp by their Swords, and got into a Wood, without any loss, slaying an hundred of their Enemies; and so got into the City with the King's Forces, who open'd the Gates to provoke the French King to Battel, but in vain. For Lewis having sent away the weakest of his People before, follow'd after with the rest, by the permission of the King of England; of whom he got leave by the Archbishop of Sens, and Earl of Blois, to depart, under pretence of a Parly to be the next day, which he never perform'd. However the King of France seeing that all his Arts prov'd nothing advantageous, either to himself or his Confederates, he again sends the former Agents to the King of England with the same proffers of Peace, which was at last concluded^c between him and his Sons, but upon harder Conditions than he had proffer'd at the former; and yet upon such as shew'd the Goodness of his Nature, and Love to his Children: His whole Proceedings in this War proving, that not his Will, but Necessity moved him to Action. At the signing of the Covenant of Peace, when his Son Henry would have done him Homage (which is a Personal Service) he refused it, because he was a King, but of his Sons Richard and Jeffrey he accepted it: Yet Henry, to free his Father from all scruple, swore Fealty to him as a Subject against all Men, in the presence of the Archbishop of Roan, Bishop of Bayeux, Earl of Mandevile, and many others of his Nobility. At the Conclusion of this Peace the Earl of Flanders yielded up to King Henry the Father his Son's Charter of Reward for his Assistance, and had another confirm'd to him for a Pension of a thousand Marks to be paid out of England yearly upon Condition of Homage, and to find the King of England five hundred Soldiers for the space of forty days upon Summons given him. This business being ended, the King's (Father and Son) took their progress into all the Provinces on that side of the Sea, to visit and reform the Disorders of War, and settle all Affairs; and sent Richard into Aquitaine, and Jeffrey into Britain for the same purpose, and settled them there with their Council to take care of their own. Shortly

A. D. 1174. Reg. 20.

Peace made between the King and his Sons.

^a Farnham, in a Meadow near the Church of St. Genevieve.

^b Our Historians relate, he submitted his Back to receive eighty Lashes from the Monks and Clerks of that Church, to make full satisfaction for his Offence against their Archbishop Becket, who had been lately Canoniz'd.

^c At Poitiers on the 23d of September.

Henry goes barefoot to visit Becket's Tomb, and after settles England.

A. D.
1175.
Reg. 21.

The two
Kings re-
turn into
England,
and reform
things.

Shortly after the two Kings, Father and Son, return'd into *England*, where there was as great necessity of a Reformation of Government both in Church and State as there was in *France*. The King desirous to compleat both, first had a Council of the Clergy call'd under *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in which many Enormities of the Clergy were reform'd, as may be seen in the Canons of that Synod. The King supply'd all Vacancies, and gives to *John Oxenford* (his chief Minister) the Bishoprick of *Norwich*. Then he took into his hands all the Castles he could seize, and among others the Tower of *Bristol*, which was surrender'd to him by the Earl of *Glocester*, and was never in his hands before. The King also exacted certain Penalties of all, both Clerks and Laymen, who had in the time of the War done any Injuries to the King's Forests, for which he is accused of Injustice, because *Richard Lucy* the King's Justice, had by the King's Warrant, discharg'd them for the same; but the gain, which such Mults yielded him, made him the more severe. For after the Death of *Alain de Nevill*, who had been chief Justice of all the Forests of *England*, he divided them into several parts, appointing four Justices to oversee every one of them, whereof two were to be Clerks, and two Knights. And over all other Foresters he constituted two of his own Servants to be the Gamekeepers, and gave them power to implead any, according to the Laws of the Forest.

1176.
Reg. 22.

The King of
Scots does
Homage,
and several
Parliaments
call'd

The King being at *York*, there came to him *William* King of *Scots*, with almost all the Nobility, Abbots, and Bishops of his Kingdom, and confirmed the Peace and final Agreement, which had been promised in his Imprisonment at *Falaise* in *Normandy*, before all the greatest Personages of both Kingdoms, the Copy of which is in *Roger Hovedon*. A little after a Council was held at *Windsor*, to which certain *Irish* Bishops, and the Chancellor of *Rodericke* King of *Connaught* came, who concluded a firm Agreement for their Master, doing Homage and Fealty, and obliging him to pay a Tribute of one sufficient Hide of every ten Beasts killed within his Kingdom, and those Provinces that held of it. The same Year a Parliament was summon'd to meet at *Nottingham*, where, by the advice and consent of his Nobles, he caused the Kingdom to be divided into six parts, and appointed for each of them three Justices, who were to travel from place to place to administer Justice, causing them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists, faithfully to observe, and cause to be observed by all his Majesty's *English* Subjects, the Statutes made at *Clarendon*, and renew'd at *Northampton*, concerning Murther, Theft, Robbery, and Receivers of such as were guilty of such Crimes, Frauds, and Burning of Houses; which Facts, if any were found guilty of by the Verdict of twelve Men, they were to pass the Tryal of Water-Ordeal; whereby, if they were not acquitted, their punishment was the loss of a Leg, or Banishment: it being held in that Age a more deterring Spectacle, to see a miserable Malefactor alive then dead, for as yet they did not shed Blood in those cases. And yet we find,

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that in this King's Reign, one *Gilbert Plumpton* a Knight, being accused of a Rape, was condemned by *Ranulph Glanville* Chief Justice of *England*, to be hang'd on a Gibbet; but before the Execution, it was discover'd, that *Glanville* did it out of a design of getting his Wife, a great Heiress, for one *Reinor*, Sheriff of *Yorkshire*; and so by the Clamours of the People, and Authority of *Baldwin* Bishop of *Worcester*, he was saved, till his Innocency was clear'd to the King, who thereupon stopped the Sentence. This Act of Injustice leaves a foul Blot upon the Memory of *Glanville*, though he was a chief Instrument in composing that Body of the Laws and Customs of *England* that pass under his Name.

A. D.
1176.
Reg. 22.

Glanville's
Injustice.

The Charge given at the Assizes at this time consisted but of very few points, besides the Felonies aforesaid, and was especially for taking Homage and Allegiance of the King's Subjects, demolishing Castles, securing the King's Rights of his Crown and Exchequer. The multitude of Actions which arose in succeeding Ages, proceeded from new Crimes, and increasing of Laws and Contests, which were then but in the Cradle. This Year the King of *Sicily* sent and craved to have the King's Daughter *Joanna* in Marriage; and *Henry* having taken the advice of his Parliament, which he call'd on purpose, granted his Request; and shortly after sent her to him, who honourably endow'd her with many Cities and Castles in his Isle. But the great March which the King had provided for his Son *John*, was at this time broken off by Death, and he was marry'd to the Daughter of *William* Earl of *Glocester*, by whom he was to have that Earldom. This *William* was the Son of the famous Duke of *Glocester*, who being natural Brother to *Maud* the Empress, so strenuously asserted her Right. The same Year he marry'd *Eleanor*, another of his Daughters, to *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, and determin'd a Controversie between him and his Uncle *Sanctio* King of *Navarre*, about the detaining of certain parts of each others Kingdom, he being chosen Arbitrator between them. Likewise the Marriage between his Son *Richard*, and *Alice* the Daughter of the *French* King (who was trusted to his Care and Keeping) was again treated on, and urged by the Pope's Legates, to be consummated upon pain of Interdiction; but it was deferr'd, tho' both Kings entred into a perpetual League, both Offensive and Defensive, and vow'd an Expedition into the Holy Land together, which they never liv'd to perform.

1177.
Reg. 23.

The King of
Sicily ob-
tains the
King's
Daughter
in Mar-
riage.

The King of *France* in a dangerous Sickness of his Son *Philip*, vow'd to visit the Sepulchre of *Thomas* the Martyr of *Canterbury*, and by a License from the King of *England*, and promise of safe Conduct, perform'd the same with great Devotion, and gave rich Presents, viz. Offering upon his Tomb a massy Cup of pure Gold, and giving and confirming to the Monks 3600 Sextaries of Wine yearly (a Sextary is two Gallons of *English* Measure) to be deliver'd to them at *Poissy*, at the *French* King's Charge, and besides freed them from all Toll and Custom for whatsoever they should buy in his Kingdom. He stay'd in *England* three Months,

1178.
Reg. 24.

The King of
France vi-
sits the
Tomb of
Archbishop
Becket.

^a The King of the *Scots* came to *York* in August, 1175. By this Treaty *Roxburgh*, *Berwick*, *Gedworth*, *Edinburgh*, and *Sterling* Castles were deliver'd to King *Henry*. In this Charter of Peace, which is at large in *Hovedon*, is expressly mention'd, that the King of *Scots* did Homage to the King of *England* for all *Scotland*. The Council at *Windsor* was held about Michaelmas, 1175. The Council at *Nottingham* was held on the 25th of January, in the next Year 1176. They arriv'd about Whitsuntide, Anno 1175. Rog. Hov.

^b The Earl of *Glocester* left all his Estate to *John* the King's youngest Son, on Condition he marry'd *Hawise* the Earl's youngest Daughter. Some Authors place this Marriage in the first Year of *Richard III.* Anno 1189. Her five eldest Sisters had Penfions allow'd them.

^c *Rad. de Diceto*, and others, relate, That the Princess *Eleanor*, who was then but seven Years old, was marry'd to King *Alphonso* in 1169.

^d This Controversie was debated and determin'd by the Great Council of the Nation, but the King had the Honour of it, and Judgment was not given till the next Year, 1177.

^e It happen'd in July, 1177.

A. D. Months, and then return'd into *France*, being
 1179. conducted by the King of *England* to *Dover*. What
 Reg. 25. Effect this Journey had upon the Recovery of the
 Son, 'tis easie to conjecture; but 'tis certain, that
 it wrought most upon the aged King, who was
 no sooner come to *S. Denis*, but he was taken
 with a Palsie, and died of it within a few days;
 yet foreseeing his Death, he caused his Son to be
 crown'd, tho' then but fifteen Years of Age,
 which was done at *Reimes*, Anno Dom. 1179.

The Duke of Saxony, who had married *Maud*
 the King's Daughter, was expell'd from his
 banish'd by the Emperor *Fredericke* for seven Years; because he detain'd cer-
 tain Revenues from the Archbishop of *Cologne*,
 which were payable to him out of *Saxony*, and
 refused to come to a Tryal about it at the Im-
 perial Chamber, according to his Faith and Pro-
 mise made to the Emperor: So that he was
 forced to come with his Wife and Children to
 his Father-in-Law the King of *England* for Assi-
 stance, and remain'd with him three Years, till
 the Archbishop of *Cologne* coming to visit the
 Sepulchre of *S. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, the King
 so pacified the Archbishop, that he was restor'd
 to his Dutchy, and a Contract of Marriage made
 between *Richard* the King's Son and the Empe-
 rour's Daughter; which notwithstanding the Pre-
 contract made with *Alice* the French King's Daugh-
 1180. ter, had been consummated, had not Death pre-
 Reg. 26. vented. King *Henry* also sends his Son *John* to
 reside in *Ireland*, thinking that the Majesty of a
 Court, and Gallantry of his Attendants might
 both awe and civilize that rude Country; but he
 being accompanied with many young Men, who
 had more Wit than Judgment, did more Harm
 there than Good. For the jocosse Courtiers scorn-
 ing and deriding the *Irish* for their rude Habits
 and Fashions so anger'd the Natives, that three
 of their most potent Kings, viz. of *Limerick*, *Con-
 naught*, and *Corke*, fell into open Rebellion; for
 as *Cambrensis* says, 'Tho' Barbarous Nations are
 ignorant of Honours, yet they affect to be ho-
 nour'd above measure, and are quickly touch'd
 and incens'd with any Signs of Disgrace and
 Contempt, but their Anger was soon al-
 lay'd'.

The King's
 Ais to fill
 his Treas-
 ures and
 enrich him-
 self.
Henry enjoying now days of Peace, employ'd
 himself to find out all means possible to fill his
 Treasury, and watched all Occasions to enrich
 himself; and the first thing he attempted this
 way, was this. *Roger* Archbishop of *York* dy'd
 very rich, and in his Sicknes dispos'd of very
 great Sums by Will to godly Uses; which as soon
 as the King had Intelligence of, he sent Commis-
 sioners to seize them for his Use, because as he al-
 ledg'd, he had acted against a Canon of his own
 making; which was, *That it is against Law for
 any Ecclesiastical Person to dispose of any thing by
 Will, unless before he were sick.* The Commissioners
 in Prosecution of their Office having found out,
 that *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* had receiv'd three
 hundred Marks of Silver of the Archbishop's
 Money to be bestow'd in those Uses, demanded
 the same for the King; but the Bishop said, 'He
 had disposed of the Money according to the
 Archbishop's Will to the Leprous, Blind and
 Lame, and in repairing Churches, Bridges and
 Hospitals; and if they would have the Money,
 they must take it of them: Which round An-
 swer so displeased the King, that he seiz'd upon
 his Castle of *Durham*, and brought him into ma-
 ny Troubles. The King's Revenues (besides his

Demerits and the Benefit of his Forests) were but
 small in *England*, which caus'd him sometimes to
 make bold with the Church, and keep the Bi-
 shopricks and Benefices vacant, as he did that of
Lincoln eighteen Years. He made a new Coin in
England, and cry'd down the old, fining all the
 Corrupters of the Coin very heavily: And
 because the Charge of Horse and Armour was
 very burthensome to him, to save his own Purse
 he caused every Man's Lands and Estate to be
 rated for the furnishing out of them. This Method
 he began to take first in his Dominions beyond
 Sea; where he order'd, 'That all that had 100 l.
 of *Anjovin* Money in Goods and Chattels, should
 find an Horse, and all Military Furniture belong-
 ing to it; and all that had 40, 30, or 20 l. of
Anjovin Money, should find a Croslet, Head-
 piece, and Sword, or a Bow and Arrows, with
 a strict Prohibition, That no Man should sell or
 pawn his Armour, but leave it when he died,
 to his next Heir: And this Constitution he
 establish'd in *England* by the Consent of his Par-
 liament. The King of *France* and the Earl of
Flanders, much liking his politick Invention,
 made the like Constitutions in their Country.
 But notwithstanding all his Arts of getting and
 saving, he could hardly get much more than to
 supply his large Expences, which he was oblig'd
 to be at in so large Dominions, for Entertain-
 ments, Pensions and Rewards, Buildings and For-
 tifications, besides his extraordinary Disburse-
 ments, which either for Honour or Policy he was
 forced to; for he was often fain to bribe the
 Pope's Legates, to make them favourable to him
 in the Business he had with the King of *France*,
 about sending such Supplies to the Holy War, as
 might be sufficient, and for his Reputation. In
 the Year 1182. he reliev'd the Necessities of the
 Christians at *Jerusalem* with a Royal Bounty, gi-
 ving them forty two thousand Marks of Silver,
 and five hundred Marks of Gold, which is in our
 Money 47333 l. 6 s. 8 d. And when Pope *Lu-
 cius*, being reduced to very great Streights by
 the People of *Rome*, desired his Assistance, he
 sent him a very great Sum of Gold and Silver,
 which he levied of the Clergy, partly at their
 own Desire: For when the Pope's Nuncio's came
 to desire the same, they went to the King and
 advised him, 'That he should supply his Wants,
 as he thought was convenient for his Honour,
 both for himself and them; because it was bet-
 ter that their King should receive any Imposi-
 tion laid upon them than the Pope, lest it
 should be an ill President, and beget a Custom,
 which may prove of very great Detriment to
 the Kingdom.

The Peace made between the two Kings, the
 Father and Son, had now continu'd about eight
 Years, when a fresh Quarrel broke out between
 them upon this Occasion, as far as can be ga-
 ther'd from the uncertain Relations of those
 Times. In the 29th Year of his Reign he kept
 his Christmas at *Cane* in *Normandy*, and feasted
 most magnificently his Sons, *Henry*, *Richard*, and
Jeffrey, with the Duke of *Saxony*, his Wife and
 Children, and all the Nobility of those Parts. At
 this Meeting the King advised his Son *Henry* to
 take the Homages of his Brothers *Richard* Earl of
Poitou, and *Jeffrey* Earl of *Britain*. *Richard* at
 first refused to do it, but upon Persuasion offer'd
 it, but was then refused: Whereupon he depart-
 ed into *Anjou* from his Father's Court, to fortifie
 and furnish his Castles there. The King his Bro-
 ther

A. D.
 1180.
 Reg. 26.

His Desire
 to raise
 Horse for
 his War.

His great
 Expences.
 1181.
 Reg. 27.

1182.
 Reg. 28.

The King
 and Sons
 fall out.
 1183.
 Reg. 29.

* Prince *John* did not go for *Ireland* till the Year 1185. He was stil'd King of that Island, and had a Crown of Pea-
 cocks Feathers, interwoven with Gold, sent him by Pope *Lucius* the 3d.

A. D. 1183. Reg. 29. ther follows him, being put upon it by the Barons of *Poitou* and *Aquitain*, who deserted *Richard*, as sensible^a that he could not long hold his Dominions against his Brother's Power and better Title; and *Jeffrey*, Earl of *Britain*, joyned his Forces with the King his Brother. *Richard* being over-power'd, sent for Assistance to his Father, who immediately came into *Poitou*, not to make War, but constrain his three Sons to a Peace, with a powerful Army; by which he soon effected it, and brought them to swear Obedience to him, and to live in Peace one with another, which was ratified not long after at *Mirabel*, and the Barons of *Poitou*, and *Aquitain* at the Desire of *Henry* (who had sworn to defend them against his Brother *Richard*) included in it, and *Richard* made to Promise them a Pardon for all Acts formerly committed, *Jeffrey* Earl of *Britain* being sent to bring them in to joyn in it. But the Barons, judging this Peace either not safe or unprofitable, were so far from complying, that they over-persuaded *Jeffrey* to assist them against his Father, and kept him with them. *Henry* the Son notwithstanding, still mediates for them with his Father and Brother, to receive them into Favour; and undertaking to bring them in, with his Brother *Jeffrey*, is permitted by his Father to go and treat with them at *Limoges*. The King himself, desirous to confer with his Sons and compose this Quarrel, came, as was agreed, another way: But they both met with an unwelcome Reception, the Father being in very great Danger of being shot twice^b; and the Son and being able to prevail with them to submit after repeated Tenders of Pardon and Favour. This Obstinacy of the Barons so troubled the young King, that upon his return to his Father, he protested that he would renounce them, if they would not come and yield themselves to his Mercy; and as if he had resolv'd to forsake their Party, gave his Father fresh Assurances of his own firm Adherence to him, by delivering up to him his Horse and Armour. But he continued not in his Fidelity many days; for either thro' the Instigation of some disaffected Ministers about him, or else because he saw his Father intended a severe Revenge upon them, whom he had promised to secure, but he could not do it if he stay'd with him, he again enters into a League with them. But finding his Power to come far short of his Design, and despairing of Success, he burst out into an extravagant Passion before his Father, and falling down before *S. Martial's* Shrine, vow'd to take upon him the Cross, and give over all Worldly Business, and unless he would give him leave (without which he could not go) he would instantly kill himself. His Father being amaz'd at this sudden and strange Passion, first asked him, Whether any Discontent or Religious Zeal had induc'd him to make this Vow: The Son protests, That it was merely to obtain the Remission of those Sins he had committed against his Person. His Father much dissuaded him from this Purpose; but finding him very obstinate, and resolv'd after all the Arguments he could use, he said unto him, 'Son, God's Will be done, and your's: If you will go, I will take care to fit you out according to your Greatness and State. The Son (while his Fa-

ther was pliable) besought him to deal mercifully with the Barons, who held out the Castle of *Limoges* against him; and by Importunity obtain'd it, upon condition, That they should give him Pledges for their Fidelity for the future, which they seem'd contented to do. But in the Performance of the Condition, some who were against this Peace made such Disturbances, that all former Tenders and Conclusions were broken; and the young Princes fell again into open Rebellion with their Confederates against him, and being made Heads of the Faction, were forced to commit Theft and Sacrilege to support their Adherents. The Father immediately besieges *Limoges*; and the Son, who was enrag'd against him very unwillingly, fell into a Fever and Flux, which was caused by the Grief and Vexation of his Mind, by which in a few days he died. A Prince of excellent Parts, but ruin'd by his Father's Indulgence and Rigour; who never suffer'd him to be a King, tho' he made him one by his Coronation, putting those Desires of Majesty in his Heart which he was forced to break, that he might suppress them. The King was extremely grieved at the Death of his Son, but did not desist from his Revenge he had begun against the Barons of *Aquitain*, whom he furiously prosecuted, seiz'd on their Castles, and rased that of *Limoges* to the Ground. *Jeffrey* upon his Submission was again receiv'd into Favour, but dy'd the next Year at *Paris*, being in a Tournament there trodden to Death by Horses: And thus *Henry* liv'd to see half his Male-issue extinct before him, and that by Deaths as violent as their Dispositions. The other two indeed surviv'd him, but were no less miserable in their Ends, as this ensuing Story will shew.

Philip the Second, King of *France*, being now seated upon his Father's Throne (and able to effect more than his Father could) soon after the Death of King *Henry* the Son, requires that the Country of *Vexin*, which was given in Dower with his Sister *Margaret*, should be restored; but the King of *England* (who never car'd to part with any thing in his Possession) chose rather to pay Yearly seventeen thousand and fifty Pounds *Anjouin* to Queen Dowager, than to part with it^d. And because he saw this Prince to be of an high Spirit and very active, and so likely to give him Disturbance in his old Age, he did Homage to him for all his Dominions he had in *France* (which he never would do to his Father, and was the first time he ever stoop'd to any Earthly Power) and sided with him against *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, a potent Prince in those days; who had always held a fair Correspondence with *Lewis*, but was at Variance with *Philip*, because he required of him the Country of *Vermendois*, as belonging to his Crown, divorcing his Wife, Niece to the Earl, upon an Allegation indeed of Consanguinity, but most for her Relation to him. The Earl being joyned with *Odo* Earl *Burgogne*, the Earls of *Champagne*, *Hainalt*, *Namur*, *S. Poll*, and others, raised War upon *Philip*, and made such havock in his Country, that he was forced to agree a Peace to his own Disadvantage. Soon after this the Kings of *England* and *France* met between *Gison* and *Try*, and the King of *England* having sworn, that he would deliver *Alice* the

A. D. 1183. Reg. 29.

The Young King's Death and Character.

Jeffrey's Death. 1184.

Philip the Second K. of France his Contest with King Henry and the Earl of Flanders.

U 2

French

^a Rad. de Diceto writes, they were discontented with him for his severe Government.

^b Henry and Jeffrey had seiz'd the Castle of *Limoges*, and shut out the King; who coming near the Castle to treat with them, the young Princes Guards shot at him, and an Arrow had certainly pierc'd his Heart if his Horse had not by chance toss'd up his Head and receiv'd it in his Forehead.

^c The French Historians affirm he dy'd of a Fever, and that it was not till the Year 1186.

^d It is 1750 l. only in Rog. How. Mr. Daniel has corrected it, and made it 17050. *Anjouin* Pounds; for 1750 l. that Money wou'd be a small Joynture for a Princess, an English Shilling was then of the same Value with a d. of *Anjou* Money.

A. D. 1185. French King's Sister to his Son *Richard* to Wife, the King of *France* granted her in Dower the Country of *Vexin*, as her Sister *Margaret* had before. But these Tyes held not long. The young King of *France* having contracted so great a Familiarity with *Richard* the King's Son, that one Bed and Board is said to have held them, so stirred up the Jealousie of the old King, that he sent for his Son home, and caused him to swear upon the Evangelists to preserve his Fidelity to him against all Persons whatsoever. The King of *France* seeing this, laid hold upon the old Cause to pick a Quarrel, and threaten'd that he would invade and destroy *Normandy*, unless he would either deliver his Sister to *Richard* forthwith, or resign *Gisors* and the Country of *Vexin* into his hands. The news of this Action brought the two Kings to another Parly between *Gisors* and *Try*, to settle matters in difference between them, but never came to any mention of them. For the Archbishop of *Tyre* (who came from the East to obtain assistance against the *Turks* in the Holy War) did with that Zeal and Earnestness of Persuasion urge that business, that these two great Princes let fall all Contentions between themselves, and with joynt consent resolved to undertake that laborious and dangerous Expedition against the Infidels.

Philip and Henry's Resolution for the Holy War.

Their Preparations for their Expedition.

And now such was the Zeal of these two Kings, that nothing was thought, or talk'd on, but preparations for that War. They agreed to raise each of them a strong Army; and for a mark of Distinction among their Followers and People, it was agreed upon, that the King of *England* should wear a White Cross, the *French* a Red, and the *Flemmings* a Green. And as a farther Engagement in this Business, the King of *England* wrote to the Patriarch of *Antioch* a most comfortable and pious Letter, concluding with these words: 'That among other Princes, he himself, and his Son, rejecting the Glory of this World, and despising all the Pleasures thereof, in their own Persons, and with all their strength, did intend, God willing, to visit them shortly. To raise Money to defray the great Expence of this Undertaking, it was ordain'd by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and other in both their Dominions in *France*, that all Persons, as well of the Clergy as Laity, (except only such as went with them) should pay the tenth part of all their Lands for that Year, and of all their Moveables and Chattels, as well in Gold as Silver. And besides they made many excellent Orders for the restraint of all Excesses in Meat, Drink, and Apparel, as was convenient for the Undertakers of so good and devout an Action. The King of *England* having laid these Impositions upon his Dominions in *France*, comes over into *England*, and calls a Parliament of his Bishops, Abbots, Earl, Barons, and others both of the Clergy and Laity, at *Gayntington*^a, and by their consent imposes the same Tax upon all his Subjects in *England*; and presently sends forth Collectors into every Shire to gather it, as he had done in *France*. But in all the Cities of *England* he sought out the Richest Men, as in *London* two hundred, *York* an hundred, and proportionably in the rest, which at a Time and Place appointed, he summon'd to appear before him, and took of them the tenth part of all their Moveables, as they were rated to him by credible Men, who knew their Estates; and if any refused to pay, he imprison'd them till

A Parliament to raise a Tax for the Holy War.

1186. Reg. 32.

they did: In which Exaction, Piety bore him out, otherwise 'twould not have been endured in those times. The King also sent *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresm*, with other Commissioners, to *William* King of *Scots*, to collect the like Tenths in his Country; which that King would not allow of, but offer'd to give the King of *England* five thousand Marks of Silver, and a Castle, which he claim'd, but the King of *England* refused the same.

Whilst these Preparations were making, and Money collecting, a Quarrel happen'd between *Richard* Earl of *Poitou*, and *Raymond* Earl of *Tholouse*, which blasted their whole Design, and that upon this occasion: The Earl of *Tholouse*, by the Persuasion of one *Peter Suillar*, had taken certain Merchants of *Aquitain*, and used them very hardly. The Earl of *Poitou* being displeased at it, surprizes *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earl of *Tholouse* to redeem him upon any Condition. Whereupon that Earl imprisons two Gentlemen, Servants of the King of *England*, *Robert* and *Ralph Poer*, who were travelling through his Country, as Pilgrims from *St. James of Compostella*; which Earl *Richard* took so ill, that he immediately entred *Tholouse* with an Army, which he had prepared for a better design, destroys the Country with Fire and Sword, and took several Castles. The People and Earl of *Tholouse*, not able to oppose *Richard's* Forces, made their Complaints to the King of *France*, who sends to the King of *England* to know, whether his Son *Richard* had done this by his advice or consent? The King answer'd, That he had given neither to his Son; but that his Son had sent him word by the Archbishop of *Doublin*, that he did it with the consent of the King of *France*. This that King look'd upon as a delusory Answer; and therefore presently enters *Berry*, seizes on that Country, and takes divers Castles belonging to the King of *England*. This Act of Hostility broke all measures laid for the Holy War, and they fell into open and violent Wars between themselves. The Pope by his Legates, and many other Princes, endeavour'd to reconcile these enraged Kings, and brought them to many interviews, but all to no purpose; they went away usually greater Enemies then they came. The Pope's Legates looking upon the *French* King the cause of this lamentable Breach, threaten'd him, unless he would make a Peace with the King of *England*, to interdict him; but the *French* King told them, he feared not their Sentence, being grounded upon no Equity, and it not belonging to the Church of *Rome* by any Sentence to hinder the King of *France* from chastizing his Rebellious Subjects; and added, *That they smelt of the Sterlings of England*. This produced a worse effect than any thing that had hitherto been done. For the King of *England* upon this Occasion utterly refusing to give *Alice*, the *French* King's Sister, to *Richard*, tho' he offer'd to give her to his Son *John* with larger Conditions, so angered his Son *Richard*, that he fell to the King of *France*, did Homage to him for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and joyn'd his Forces with him against his Father. This quite broke the Heart of the King of *England*, and as if he had been wholly deserted of his ancient Courage, as well as of many of his Subjects, buckles to any Conditions, leaves the Defence of *Mans*, (which he had undertaken by Oath never to forsake, by reason it was the Tomb of his Father) and flies away with seven hundred Men; and afterward did Homage to the King of *France*.

A. D. 1186. Reg. 32.

The Design for the Holy War laid aside, upon what occasion.

1187. Reg. 33.

King Henry's degeneracy from his wonted Courage.

^a The Assembly met at *Gayntington*, now *Gayton*, about ten Miles from *Northampton*, in January 1188. Reg. Hen.
^b He did Homage for his Transmarine Dominions on St. Nicholas-day, Anno 1183, almost six Years before.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 35. *France* for all his Dominions on that side the Sea, renders up *Alice* to his Son *Richard*; upon Condition she should be marry'd to him when he return'd from the Holy War, and in the mean time to remain in the Custody of any one of such five as the King of *England* should nominate; grants Fealty should be given to *Richard* of all his Dominions, and pardons all his adherents, covenants to pay the King of *France* twenty thousand Marks in Silver, as a reparation of the Damages he had sustain'd the last War. And as if he had been affrighted out of his Reason and Wit at those Thunderclaps, which are said to have happen'd at some Interviews between himself and King of *France*, he permitted, that in case he should not perform these Articles, his Barons should swear to renounce him, and betake themselves to the King of *France* and Earl *Richard*; and for more security, he yielded up the Cities of *Mons* and *Turien*, with divers other Castles into their hands, &c. And thus having concluded this business, he ended also his Life three days after, the greatness of his Heart not being able to stoop under the weight of his declining Fortune, and therefore with grief and sorrow broke. Some few hours before he dy'd he saw a List of their Names, who had conspired against him, with the King of *France* and his Son *Richard*; and finding among them his Son *John* to be the first, he fell into a very extravagant Passion, cursing his Son's and his own Birth, and in that Fit of Anger departed the World, which he had so often disturb'd, having reign'd a thirty five Years, seven Months, and five Days. After he was dead, and was carrying to be buried (adorned, according to the manner of Kings, with all Royal Ornaments open fac'd) when his Son *Richard* drew near his Body, the Blood gushed out of the Nostrils (which being usually noted, as a Sign of Guiltiness) may rightly be account-

ed as a Voice of Nature giving notice of the Wrongs and unnatural Offences *Richard* had done to him, which was so interpreted by *Richard* himself; for at the Sight of it being surpriz'd, he is said to have burst out into extream Sorrow and Lamentations. He had by his Wife *Eleanor* several Children, viz. four Sons; *Henry*, *Richard*, *Jeffrey*, and *John*, besides two, viz. *William* the eldest, and *Philip* the youngest but one, which dy'd young; and three Daughters viz. *Maud*, married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, *Eleanor*, who was given to *Alphonso* VIII. King of *Castile*, and *Joanna*, who was married to *William* King of *Sicily*. He had also two Natural Sons by his Concubine Fair *Rosamond*, Daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*. viz. *William* surnam'd *Longespee* or *Long-Sword*, and *Jeffrey* Archbishop of *York*, who after five Years Banishment in his Brother King *John*'s time, died Anno Dom 1213. The other Son *William Longespee*, who was Earl of *Salisbury* in Right of *Ela* his Wife, Daughter and only Heiress of *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, Son of *Patrick*, had Issue *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Ulster*, *Eleanor* Countess of *Warwick*, *Ida* Lady *Beauchamp* of *Bedford*, and *Isabel* Lady *Vesey*. It is said, that King *Henry* had a third Natural Son call'd *Morgan*, by the Wife of one *Rodolph Bloeth*, or *Blewit*, a Knight. He liv'd to be Provost of *Beverly*, and was elected to the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and coming to *Rome* for a Dispensation (because his Bastardy made him incapable of it) the Pope advised him to profess himself as *Blewit*'s Lawful Son, and not the King's Natural, promising him to consecrate him on that Condition; but he (by the Counsel of one *William Lane* his Chaplain) told the Pope plainly, that he would not renounce his Father, or deny himself to be of the Royal Blood to gain the greatest Earthly Promotion.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 35.

His Issue by Queen Eleanor, and Natural Children.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Henry II.

IN the 6th Year of his Reign thirty German Hereticks came into *England* to propagate their Opinions: One *Gerard* was their Teacher. They said they were Christians, but deny'd Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Matrimony; for which they were condemn'd by a Council of Bishops at *Oxford*, and deliver'd over to the Secular Power to be punish'd: Accordingly they were mark'd in the Forehead with a red hot Iron, whipp'd and thrust out of Doors naked in the midst of Winter: Where none daring to relieve them, an Order having been publish'd to the Contrary, they dy'd of Hunger and Cold, and were the first that ever suffer'd for Heresie in *England*.

In his 14th Year *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln* dy'd, and the King kept his See vacant seventeen Years, himself all that while receiving the Revenues of that Diocess. Hol.

In his 18th Year a mighty Tempest happen'd in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and three Men were kill'd by Thunder and Lightning, at *Andover* in *Hampshire*, on Christmas-Day. Hol.

The same Year as King *Henry* was about to take Horse at *Cardiffe* in *Glamorganshire*, an Apparition appear'd to him; and having threaten'd him with some dreadful Plagues if he did not amend his Life, it vanish'd. Ibid.

The next Year this Infamous Collect was order'd to be us'd in all Churches in the Province of *Canterbury*, to expiate the Guilt of *Becket*'s Murther.

Be favourable, good Lord, to our Supplication and Prayer; that we which acknowledge our selves guilty of Iniquity, may be deliver'd by the Intercession of Thomas thy Blessed Martyr and Bishop. Ibid.

In his 23d Year it rain'd Blood in the Isle of *Wight* for two days. Ibid.

In his 26th Year, on the 18th of June, after Sun-set, the New Moon then shining out full with her Horns to the East, the upper Horn on a sudden seem'd to be divided into two; out of which there appear'd to rise a burning Brand, casting forth Sparks and Flames as if it had been on fire. The Body of the Moon seem'd to wriggle like an Adder that is beaten: It did so above twelve times,

1154. and King *Henry* the Second, the 6th of July, 1189. and during the same Day of *Stephen*'s Death, he reign'd thirty four Years, eight Months, and

times, and then turn'd black. In *September*, the Moon being about twenty seven days old, at six a Clock a Partile Eclipse of the Sun happen'd; its Body appear'd to be horn'd, the Horns shooting towards the West, as the Moon does at twenty days old: The rest of it was cover'd with a black Roundel, which coming down by little and little, threw about the horn'd Brightness that remain'd, till both the Horns hung down on either side towards the Earth; and as the black Roundel went a little forwards, the Horns turn'd to the West, and the Blackness passing away, the Sun recover'd his former Brightness. *Hol.*

In the Christmas Holidays, *Anno 1179.* the 26th of *Henry II.* says *Rog. Hov.* near *Derlington*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, at a place call'd *Oxen-Hall*, the Earth rais'd it self up like a lofty Tower, and remain'd several Hours in that posture; on a sudden it sunk down again with a horrid Noise, and the Earth so suck'd it in, that it made there a deep Pit, which continues to this day. And *Mr. Camden*, in his *Britannia*, new Edit. p. 774. supposes it to be the Wells that are now call'd *Hell-Kettles*.

In the Year 1185. there was so great an Earthquake as overthrew the Church of *Lincoln*, and other Churches. There was also almost a total Eclipse of the Sun.

In the 34th Year of his Reign a Crucifix was seen in the Air at *Dunstable*, and Streams of Blood seem'd to flow out of the Wounds of the Feet, Hands and Sides; 'twas visible several Hours. *Hol.*

In the last Year of this King, *Mr. Holinshead* (who is apt to take too much notice of these things) reports, That the Fish leap'd out of the Water in a Pool in *Normandy*, and fought together on dry Land, with such noise as drew the neighbouring People to behold this Wonder; which, it seems, was in the Night-time.

Men Famous in Arms in this King's Reign were

Robert Earl of Leicester, Hugh Bygot Earl of Norfolk, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Roger Ferrers Earl of Derby, Richard Lacy, Roger Mowbray, Ralph de Fulgiers, Humphry Bohun Constable of England, William Vesey and Bernard de Baliol.

Those that follow were Renown'd for their Learning, Viz.

Ralph Glarville the Lawyer, Nicholas Breakspear, who was Pope by the Name of Adrian the

Fourth, Gilbert de Sempringham, John Serlo, surnam'd Grammaticus, Abbot of Fountains, John Prior of Hagulstad or Hexam in Northumberland.

Historians: Adam of Evesham, Thomas of Monmouth, John of Salisbury in great Favour with the King: Adelbortus Levita, Gervaise of Cicester, Odo of Kent, Clement Prior of Lanthony, Walter Daniell, Robert Knought, Robert Foliot, William Ramfey, Senatus Bravonus, Robert the Scribe, Odo Miremuth, Hugh of Reading, Richard of Dover, William of Peterborough, and Bartholomew Iscanus.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD I.

Richard
began his
Reign.
July.

A. D.
1189.
Reg. 1.

RICHARD, surnam'd *Cœur de Lion*, Earl of *Poitou*, (born at *Oxford*) succeeded his Father in all his Dominions, and first seizes upon his Treasures in *France*, which being then in the Custody of one *Stephen Thurnham*, Seneschal of *Normandy*, he imprison'd the Treasurer, that he might by Severities extort the full Sums in his Hands^a; which having gotten, he departed to *Roan*, where he was girded with the Sword of *Normandy*, by *Walter Archbishop*^b there, and took Fealty of the Clergy and Laity. Then he went to the King of *France* to agree with him about the Restitution of some parcels of his Dominions, which had been taken from his Father in the late Wars, which

he obtain'd not by his old Friendship, but his Money^c; and to confirm a lasting Amity between them, he gave his Niece *Maud*, the Daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Jeffrey* the Earl of *Perch's* Son. While he continu'd in *France* to settle his Affairs there, Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, whom he had freed from a long Imprisonment of twelve Years, and put into Power in his absence, endeavour'd to prepare his People's Affections for his coming into *England*, by issuing out Pardons, and relieving Oppressions; and at last went to meet him at *Winchester*, and welcome him into *England*. Soon after his arrival (besides the great Sum which came to him by his Father's Treasure, which is said to be have nine hundred thousand Pounds^d in Gold

A. D.
1189.
Reg. 1.

His great
Treasurer
and Cor-
onation.

^a 'Tis said, he was Seneschal of *Anjou* and sent over to *Winchester*, where he was kept in Prison, in Fetters of thirty Pounds weight, till he had paid thirty thousand Pounds of *Anjouin* Money down, and given Security for fifteen thousand more.

^b Archbishop of *Roan*.

^c He gave four thousand Marks above the twenty thousand his Father had agreed to pay the *French* King.

^d *Matt. Paris* writes, There was found ninety thousand Pounds in Money, besides Jewels and other Treasures.



A. D. 1189. Reg. 1. Gold and Silver, with abundance of Plate, Jewels and precious Stones) there fell to him by the Death of Jeffrey Riddle Bishop of Ely, dying intestate, three thousand and sixty Marks of Silver, and two hundred and five of Gold, which befel him in a fit season to defray the Charge of his Coronation, which was perform'd a little after, viz. September^a 3. 1189. at Westminster by Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury. On his Coronation there happen'd an unlucky Accident, which stained that Day with Blood. The Jews inhabiting about the Cities of London and Westminster, desirous to gain the Favour of the new King, came to offer their Presents, as an afflicted People in a strange Country; but the Rabble, who before were incensed against them, set upon them, and in a tumultuous manner so used them, that they lost both their Lives and Money; and their Example was follow'd in the Towns of Norwich, St. Edmundsbury, Lincoln, Stamford, and Lin.

The Jews massacred.

His Expedition into the Holy Land, and his Provision for it.

After his Coronation he resumed the Thoughts of his Expedition to Jerusalem, and resolved to go through with it. The great Treasure which was left him by his Father was not thought sufficient to defray the Expence of that Action, and therefore he contrived all the Ways he could to raise more Money. And first he sold many of the Crown-Lands both to the Clergy and others: Godfrey de Lucy Bishop of Winchester bought two Manours, Weregrave and Menes; the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury the Manour of Mildhall for a thousand Marks of Silver; the Bishop of Durham the Manour of Sadborough^b, with the Palatinate Dignity of the whole Province, which gave occasion to that Jocosse Speech of his concerning that Bishop, That he was a cunning Workman, that could make a New Earl of an old Bishop. He also granted to William King of Scots the Castles of Berwick and Roxborough for ten thousand Marks, and gave him a Release from those Covenants made and confirmed by Charter to King Henry II. as extorted from him by force while he was a Prisoner; but reserving to himself such Rights as were and had been performed by his Brother Melcolm to his Ancestors the Kings of England. Farther, pretending that his Signet was lost, he made a new one, and put out a Proclamation, That whoever would enjoy peaceably the Grants made under the former Seal, must have them confirm'd by the New; by which means he brought in great Sums of Money to the grief of his Subjects. Then he procured a Power from the Pope of dispensing with such Persons as had vow'd to take the Cross, and were not willing to go, he got great Fines of them. All which Monies he levy'd with great Expedition, because the King of France in November after his Coronation, had sent the Earl of Perch, with other Commissioners, to acquaint King Richard, that in a general Assembly at Paris he had solemnly sworn upon the Evangelists to be ready at Tours, with all his Princes and People who had undertaken the Cross, upon Easter-day following, and from thence to set forward to the Holy Land; and to assure him of this his Resolution, he sent a Charter of their Agreement, desiring the King of England to send him the same assurance to meet him at the same Time and Place; which the King did at a general Assembly held at London. In December, the King, having stay'd but four Months in England after his Coronation, departs into Normandy; kept

his Christmas at Rouen; and presently had a Conference with the King of France at Reimes, where both themselves, and most of the Nobility of both Kingdoms, enter'd into a firm Peace and Union one with another, to preserve each other, and their Estates; and agreed upon many Orders for their Journey. These things being settled, Richard sent for Queen Eleanor his Mother, his Brother John the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Bath, Salisbury, Ely, Chester, and others, who came unto him at Rouen, where he committed the chief Charge of the Kingdom to William Longchamp Bishop of Ely, under the Title of Chief Justice of England, and gave him one of his Seals, and the Custody of the Tower of London; and conferr'd upon Hugh Bishop of Durham the supreme Command of the North, from Humber to Scotland, and the keeping of Windsor-Castle, which proved after a cause of Quarrel between these two ambitious Prelates, who were impatient of each others Greatness. Hugh Bardulph, William Marshall, Jeffrey Fitz-Peter, and William Brewer, were joyn'd in Commission with the Bishop of Ely. The King knowing the ambitious Mind of his Brother John, dare not trust him in the Commission; but lest he should cause any Disturbance in his absence, he caused him to take an Oath^c, that he would not come into his Kingdom of England for the space of three Years next following; and that he might be obliged the more to behave himself peaceably, he conferr'd upon him the Earldoms of Mortaigne, Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Darby, and Lancaster; which, with the Earldom of Gloucester, the Honour of Wallingford, Titchill, and Eye, and Castles of Marlborough and Lutgarfal, which he had by his Wife Isabel, Daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, made him a very great and powerful Prince; but were so far from contenting his Mind, that they only increased his Desires of more, and made him a dangerous Subject, whenever an opportunity should offer. The King having thus provided for the Safety of his Kingdom, and Government of it, sends the Bishop of Ely his Vice-Roy^d over into England; and to make his Reputation the greater, he procured of the Pope to make him his Legate over all England and Scotland; confining the Archbishop of York, his Base Brother, to Normandy, till his return, lest he also through Emulation might molest his Kingdom: And being thus secured, commanded him to provide what Necessaries he could for his intended Voyage. The Bishop of Ely furnish'd with this ample Authority, begins his Reign with much Zeal for his Master's Service, but Offence to the People, whom he grievously oppress'd by his rigorous Exactions: For he took from every City in England four Horses of Service^e, and of every Abby one; and so of all the King's Manours. And to shew how he would prove, he took the Castle of Windsor from the Bishop of Durham, and confined him within his Town of Howedon, questioning his Authority, and depressing him; notwithstanding he made his Application to the King himself.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 1.

The Government in his absence committed to the Bishop of Ely.

The Vice-Roy sent into England to provide for his Master's Voyage.

The King having now gotten all things ready for his Expedition, and order'd his Navy to convey his People and Provision to the Holy Land; the Charge of which he committed to the Archbishop of Auxerre, Bishop of Bayon, Robert de Sabul, and Richard Camville^f; he set forward with all

The King's setting out for the Holy Land, and Voyage Sicily.

^a Gervaise of Canterbury says, 'twas the 2d of September.

^b Sadbery, Roger Howeden says, he sold him the Earldom of Northumberland.

^c He releas'd his Brother John from his Oath, and gave him leave to return to England upon his taking another Oath, that he would faithfully serve him in his absence.

^d Chief Justice of England.

^e Two Saddle-Horses, and two Sumpters.

^f His Admirals were Richard de Camville and William de Forz.

A. D. 1189. all his Forces at the latter end of June, in the Company of the King of France to Lyons, where their People growing so numerous, that they were troublesome to each other, the two Kings parted; the King of France went to Genoua by Land, and the King of England to Marfailles, where having stay'd eight Days, expecting his Fleet, which was kept back by Tempests, he was forced to hire ten great Ships, and twenty Galleys to transport him and his Army into Sicily. The King of France, who had taken Ship at Genoua, was likewise driven by Tempest upon the same Isle. They were forced both to winter there, because the French King's Ships were so shatter'd by the Tempest, that they could not go farther till repaired, and Richard expected his own Navy, which caused great Troubles to the Isle, as well as themselves, the English and French not agreeing. William late King of Sicily, who marry'd Joanna the King of England's Sister, was dead, and Tancred, base Son of Roger, William's Grandfather, was invested in the Kingdom, contrary to the Will of the late King, and the People's Oath to Constantia, the lawful Daughter of the said Roger, who was married to Henry the eldest Son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. This Match created Tancred very powerful Enemies, against whose Force he could hardly hold his Kingdom; but after the King of England's coming he much strenghten'd himself, by making a League with that King, to defend him and his Kingdom, upon Condition he should pay his Sister twenty thousand Ounces of Gold for her Dower, and twenty thousand more upon a Match between Arthur Earl of Britain, his Brother Jeffrey's Son, and then Heir of his Crown, and Tancred's Daughter.

Tancred
King of
Sicily.

King Richard conquer'd Cyprus, where he marry'd.

At the beginning of the Spring the two Kings having entred into a new League, and signed several Articles and Agreements of Peace, as their Contests in the Isle oblig'd them to, the King of France first sets forward to the Holy Land; but the King of England being detained by the coming of his Mother Eleanor, which brought Berengera, Daughter of the King of Navarre, to be affianced to him, stay'd upon that account till Whitsuntide after, when the Queen return'd home, and the King with his Sister, the Queen Dowager of Sicily, and the young Lady, proceeded on his Journey with an hundred and thirty Ships, and fifty Gallies. In his way he was by a Tempest driven upon the Isle of Cyprus, and being deny'd entrance, he beset the Isle on all sides, assaulted and took it; and placing Garrisons in it, he committed the Custody of it to Richard de Canvile and Robert de Turnham, taking half the Goods of the Inhabitants from them, to confirm the use of their own Laws. And here our Histories say, that he marry'd the Lady Berengera, and had her crown'd Queen. From hence passed this famous King to the Holy Land, loaden with the Spoils and Treasure of three noble and rich Islands, England, Sicily, and Cyprus, besides what he had gotten out of Normandy and Guien, which he con-

1191.

sumed there, tho' to the great Honour of our English Nation, by his Heroick Actions, of which before I come to give an Account, I shall give a short Relation of the State of Affairs in Asia, which drew these two potent Kings from the utmost Borders of Europe to venture themselves, and spend their Revenues there.

It was now eighty four Years since Godfrey of Boloigne, Duke of Lorrain, with the Confederate Princes and their Associates, had recover'd the City of Jerusalem, with the Country of Palestine, and a great part of Syria, out of the hands of the Sarazens; and having obtain'd the Government of it by Election, was crown'd with a Crown of Thorns, in imitation of our Saviour, but reign'd but one Year. Baldwin his Brother succeeded him, and govern'd eighteen Years, and was succeeded by Baldwin de Burgo, who, having ruled thirteen, dy'd, and left only one Daughter, and the Kingdom in Dissention. Fulke Earl of Anjou coming three Years before, marry'd this Daughter, and enjoy'd the Kingdom eleven Years, leaving two young Sons by her, Baldwin and Almericke, who successively inherited their Father's Throne, and had it, the first twenty four, and the other twelve Years. The last left a Son of his own Name to succeed him; but he having no Issue, made Baldwin his Nephew, Son to his Sister Sybil, who was married to the Marquis of Montferrat, his Heir, committing the Charge of him, and Kingdom in his younger Years to Raimond Earl of Tripolis. But Guy of Lusignan, who after the Death of the Marquis of Montferrat, marry'd Sybil his widow, soon put him from his Charge, not so much for any Love he had to the young Prince, as his Kingdom, which he first got the Administration, and then the Possession of, by poisoning (as was supposed) the young Prince. Raimond endeavour'd by Arms to regain his Trust, and put Guy of Lusignan so hard to it, that he was forced to beg the assistance of Saladine Sultan of Egypt, who glad of this occasion to increase his own Dominions, destroy'd them both, and gain'd their Kingdom; taking the Cities of Ptolomais, Asotus, Byrethus, Ascalon, and after one Month's Siege Jerusalem it self, eighty eight Years after it had been conquer'd by Godfrey. Against this mighty Prince, who was not only an experienced Commander, and Ruler of very large Dominions, but flush'd with Victories over the Christians, did these two Kings, with an Army of several Nations, viz. English, French, Italians and Germans, march; and at their first Arrival set down before Acon, a City of Judea, defended by Saladine against the Christians, who had besieged it three Years. Many worthy Princes and noble Persons had lost their Lives before it, viz. Conradus Duke of Suevia, the Emperor Frederick's Son, the Earls of Perch, Pontiff, and Blois, Stephen Earl of Sancerre, Berteldus Duke of Germany, and Roger and Joselin Earls of Apulia; and of England, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Earl of Leicester, Ralph de Glanville Chief Justice of England, Richard de Clare

The State
of the Holy
Land at
this time.

Saladine
Sultan of
Egypt con-
quers Je-
rusalem.

^a King Richard took the City of Messina.

^b Jeffrey Vinesauf, a learned Historian of those Times, and the Author of King Richard's Travels to Jerusalem, writes That he gave him twenty thousand Ounces more, to be free from all other Demands for the Plate, and other rich Moveables, belonging to the late King, Husband to King Richard's Sister Joanna. The same Authors relate, That Richard divided this vast Sum with the King of France, Philip the August, his Fellow-Traveller, tho' he had no manner of Pretensions to any part of it.

^c During his stay in this Isle he is said to have given himself much to religious Offices and Duties, confessing his Sins, leading a very circumspect and pious Life; and sending for the Abbot Joachim from Calabria to hear him preach, because he was had in great esteem for his Learning, Holiness, and prophetick Spirit. In a Sermon before King Richard, the Abbot is said to have deliver'd, That the Pope was Antichrist.

^d It drove him first into Crete, then into Rhodes, where he stay'd ten Days; and the Ship, wherein the Lady Berengera was, being driven into the Port of Limesun in Cyprus, the King follow'd her thither.

^e On the 14th of May, 1191. they were marry'd by John Bishop of Euxine.

^f Some other Noble Persons are remember'd by our Historians to have perish'd in this Holy Expedition, whose Posterity yet flourish, as Ingelram de Fiennes, the Ancestor of the Right Honourable the Lord Say and Seal, the Lord Daeres, Theophilus Clinton Earl of Lincoln, whose Arms still retain the Badges of the Holy War, Stars, Cressants and Crosses; as also St. John, Minshul, Tilney, &c.

A. D. 1191. Reg. 2. *Clare and Walter de Kime*; but all in vain, till the United Forces of those two Kings, after three Months Siege more, forced them to surrender upon Articles^a. At the Entrance into the City, after it was taken, the Ensign of *Leopold Duke of Aufrich*, which he had set upon the Wall, was order'd to be pull'd down by King *Richard*, and the two Kings Standards to be set up; which being ill resented, was afterwards the Cause of the King's great Misfortune. Besides, during the Siege the two Kings themselves had several Differences concerning *Richard's* Marriage with *Berenguela*, and rejecting the *French King's* Sister, about dividing the Spoils of their Voyage; which, by their Agreement, were to be parted equally: For the King of *France* claim'd his half in *Cyprus*, and *Richard* his Share in the Earl of *Flanders's* Goods and Estate, which the King of *France* had seiz'd; and lastly, about the Crown of *Jerusalem*, which was pretended to by *Conradus*, Marquis of *Montfer-rat*, and *Guy of Lusignan*, who married *Sibilla*, the Sister of the late King, and was in Possession of the Kingdom. The King of *England* took *Guy's* Part, and the King of *France* *Conrade's*. Thus these two Kings liv'd in continual Jars, till a dangerous Sickness through the Heat and Contagion of the Country, put an end not to them only, but almost to their Lives. As soon as they were recover'd, the King of *France* resolves to return home, where he knew was less Danger and more Honour than there; especially by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*, whose bordering Countries he had a mind to add to his Kingdom: And therefore desires the King of *England's* Leave (for by their Agreement, it was not lawful for them to depart without each other's Leave) to return home. King *Richard* was very hardly prevail'd with to grant it, being sensible of the Trouble he might create his Dominions in his absence: But at length, by earnest Sollicitations and Promises made by the King of *France* not to molest his Countries in *France*, he obtain'd his Desires, and so departed, leaving the Earl of *Burgogne* Lieutenant of his Forces. *Richard* soon after he was gone besieg'd *Ascalon*, and wrote invective Letters against the King of *France* for leaving him; and on the other side, the *French King* to be even with him, defam'd *Richard* among his Neighbours at home. King *Richard* staid ten Months longer, consuming both his Men and Treasure with great Valour, but little Success; the Earl of *Burgogne* by his Master's Instructions, proving always an Impediment in Matters of Importance, till his Death, which at length happen'd at *Acon*. *Conradus*, who was so much favour'd by the King of *France* in his Title to the Kingdom, was murder'd by two^b Assassins; not without the Concurrence (as was falsely supposed) of the King of *England*. The Earl of *Champagne* marry'd his Widow, who was Sister to Queen *Sibilla*, and was by King *Richard* prefer'd to the Crown of *Jerusalem*, and *Guy of Lusignan* (the other Pretender to it) he made King of *Cyprus*, and so gave Content to them both.

While these things were doing in the East, *England* suffer'd much at home under the Government of *Longchamp*, who assuming the whole Regal Authority to himself, and excluding both the Nobility and the Commissioners whom the

King had joyn'd with him, did act so arbitrarily and insolently, that he became odious to the whole Kingdom, as well Clergy as Laity; which concurring with the Prejudice the *English* had against him, as a *Frenchman*, and Envy^c for his excessive Grandure and Pride, begat a general Opposition to his Proceedings; which being encourag'd by Earl *John*, who study'd all ways to make himself popular, and usurp the Kingdom, soon brake out upon this Occasion. *Jeffrey*, Archbishop of *York* Elect, base Son to *Henry* the Second, whom *Richard*, who was averse to any Preferment of him in *England*, had confin'd to *Normandy* during his absence, obtain'd by great Labour of Pope *Celestine* a Licence to be invested in that See, and for that end came into *England*. The Chancellor *Longchamp* having Intelligence of his Arrival, met him at *Dover* to apprehend him; but the Archbishop escap'd to the Church to secure himself: *Longchamp* pursued him to the very Altar, and in a barbarous manner drawing him from thence in his Pontifical Vestments imprison'd him in the Castle. This Action gave just Cause of Offence not only to Earl *John*, but all the Bishops; who thereupon commanded the Chancellor not only to release him, but also to answer the Matter before the Assembly of Bishops and Nobles, which should meet for that purpose at *St. Paul's*. Here divers Articles of heinous Offences committed contrary to the Commission given him, and the Interest of the King and Kingdom, were exhibited against him. The Archbishop of *Roan* also, and *William Marshall* Earl of *Striguile*, openly shew'd them the King's Letters Patents, dated at *Messina* in *Sicily*, wherein they were made Commissioners with him in the Government of the Kingdom; but alledg'd, That he never would permit them to manage any publick Business, but took upon him to do as he thought fit. Whereupon in the end, he was by the Assembly^d deposed from his Office, and the Archbishop of *Roan*, who would do nothing without the Concurrence and Advice of the Peers, put in his Place; to whom the Tower of *London*, Castle of *Windsor*, and Legantine Power, was by him also unwillingly resign'd. *Longchamp* deservedly thus stripp'd of all his Power and Greatness, endeavour'd to make his Escape to the King in the Habit of a Woman, with a Parcel of Linen Cloth under his Arm; but being discover'd at *Dover*, he was rudely used by the People, and made Prisoner in the Castle, till Earl *John* released him within eight days, and suffer'd him to go on in his intended Journey; by which being the Messengers of his own Misfortunes, he had the advantage of his Adversaries, and mightily incens'd the Pope against them, because they had so villified the Legantine Power, which he was very tender of. Soon after his Departure Earl *John*, the Archbishop of *Roan*, and the other Justices of the King granted unto the City of *London* their Immunities, and the Citizens swore Fealty to King *Richard* and his Heirs; and if he dy'd without Issue, they promised to receive Earl *John* for their King, and swore likewise Fealty unto him against all Men, reserving their Faith to King *Richard*. In so great Forwardness was *John* for his Brother's Crown, while he besieg'd *Ascalon*, and grappl'd with *Saladine* in the East.

A. D. 1192. Reg. 3.

Bishop Longchamp deposed, and flies to the King.

Longchamp's arbitrary Actions.

V O L. I.

X

But

^a The Author of *King Richard's Travels to Jerusalem* affirms, That 300000 Pilgrims perish'd in this Siege.

^b These Assassins were a precise Sect of *Mahometans*, dwelling together in six Cities near *Antaradus*, in *Syria*, being about 40000 in Number; govern'd by one Chief Master, a *Saracen* Emir, whom they call'd, *The Old Man of the Mountains*. At his Command they were ready to undergo any dangerous Attempts, and would stab any Prince whom he appointed them to Death. *Full. Holy War*, out of *M. Paris* and *Paul Emilius*. These Assassins were two young *Saracens*, whom he kept in his Service.

^c He came from a mean Original, being only a Farmer's Son, and in his great Dignity affected a very unbeseeming Grandure; for he had 1500 in his Retinue, as *Walsey* had a 1000, and had all things else proportionable.

^d Whom Dr. Brady calls a *Traiterous Faction*. *Comp. Hist.* p. 434.

A. D. 1192. But *Richard* was not so intent upon Victory over the *Infidels*, but that he was as careful to keep what he was in Possession of; wherefore hearing of the Proceedings in *England*, and that the King of *France* had taken *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexin* contrary to his Oath, he embrac'd *Saladin's* Proffer of a Truce for three Years, upon Condition, That he should restore *Ascalon* to the same State wherein he found it before the Siege, which was done by the Advice of the *Templars*, and the whole Army; and presently leaving his Wife, Sisters and People, to come after him as fast as they could conveniently, he took Ship^a in three Galleys with some few Attendants, and hasten'd into *England*: In their Passage they pretended themselves to be Pilgrims; but the King was soon discover'd by his lavish Expences, and began to be valu'd by the Masters of the Vessels as a Prize; which when he had notice of, he left his Company, and with one Man only pass'd on Horseback through wild Deserts, and a Rocky Country, Day and Night into *Austrich*; where Fame having given notice of his coming, he was taken in a poor Inn asleep, by means of his Companion, and brought before *Leopold* the Duke of *Austrich*; who glad of this Opportunity, to revenge the Disgrace he had receiv'd from *Richard* at the entring of *Acon*, seiz'd upon him, and sent him (or rather sold him for sixty thousand Marks) to the Emperor *Henry VI.* whom likewise he had anger'd by assisting *Tancredi*, the base Son of *Roger*, in the Usurpation of the Crown of *Sicily* against *Constantia*, the lawful Daughter of the said *Roger*, whom this Emperor had married. The News of *Richard's* Misfortune was soon dispers'd into the adjoining Countries. The Emperor sent Word to the King of *France* of it, that he might rejoice with him; because as he said, *He had gotten the Enemy of the Empire, and Disturber of the Kingdom of France into his Power.* *England* much lamented the Captivity of their Magnanimous King, and endeavour'd all ways possible to obtain his Release, but it could not be effected for a whole Year and six Weeks; tho' he clear'd himself of the Scandals laid on him for the Death of *Conradus*, the Emperor's Kinsman, and other his Actions in the East, and resign'd his Kingdom of *England* to the Emperor, in the Presence of the *German* and *English* Nobility, to hold it of him by the Annual Tribute of 50000 *l.* Sterling to obtain his Freedom; because *Earl John*, his Brother, and the King of *France*, offer'd the Emperor great Sums to keep him Prisoner, and intended by their continual Bribes to keep him in perpetual Imprisonment, that *John* might be establish'd in all his Dominions with no small Advantage to the King of *France*: For to that End *Earl John* did Homage to the King of *France* for *England*, *Normandy*, and all the rest of the Transmarine Provinces, resign'd *Gisors* and the Country of *Vexin* to him, and swore to marry his Sister *Alice*, and to be divorc'd from his other Wife the Earl of *Gloucester's* Daughter; and the King of *France* on the other side, covenanted to give him with his Sister that Part of *Flanders*, which he had taken from that Earl-dom, and swore to assist him in gaining *England*, and the other Dominions of his Brother. After this, *John* went over into *England* with an Army of *French* and *Flemmings*, had the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor* surrender'd to him present-

ly; and coming to *London*, requir'd the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Commissioners for the Kingdom of *England*, to do Homage and Fealty to him; affirming, That his Brother was dead: But they not giving Credit to his Words, and denying his Desire, provok'd his Passions so much, that he fortified his Castles, and with Force of Arms invaded the Revenues and Lands of the Crown, finding many to joyn with him in the Attempt. The Queen-Mother, Justices of *England*, and all the King's faithful Subjects guard and defend the Ports against the Invasion of the *French* and *Flemmings*, who came over in great Numbers to aid and help *Earl John*, and more earnestly sought to redeem the King; for whose Ransome the Emperor requir'd an hundred thousand Marks, and to find fifty Galleys and two hundred Men to attend his Service in the Holy Wars for one Year. Nor did the Officers and Subjects of the King in *France* defend his Dominions in *Normandy* with less Courage and Fidelity against the King of *France*, who with all his Power labour'd to subdue them, and by large Offers to the Emperor to prolong his Redemption and enhance his Ransome: Yet such was the good Opinion that his Subjects had of him, and their Love they bear to him for his Valour and Piety, that by their Importunities they brought the Emperor to a Composition for his Freedom in this manner. 'That he should send his Commissioners to *London*, and receive an hundred thousand Marks of pure Silver of *Cologne* Weight, to be seal'd up and convey'd to the Bounds of the Empire at the Hazard and Charge of the King of *England*, and that seven Months after he should pay fifty thousand Marks more of Silver (of which twenty thousand were for the Duke of *Austrich*, and thirty thousand for the Emperor) and Hostages to be given in the mean time, sixty to the Emperor, and seven to the Duke: And *Richard* swears to send his Niece, the Sister of *Arthur* Earl of *Britain*, to be married to the Duke of *Austrich*. And on the other side, the Emperor granted to the King of *England* by his Charter the Sovereignty of *Province*, *Vienna*, *Viennos*, *Marseilles*, *Narbon*, *Arles*, *Lyons*, and all his Dominions in *Burgogne*, with the Homages of the King of *Arragon*, the Earls of *Dijon* and *S. Gyles*, in which Countries were five Archbishopricks and thirty three Bishopricks: And tho' the Emperor had only a Titular Dominion over those Provinces himself (for he never made any Governor over them) yet they did *Richard* this Service, that he seem'd not to part with so much Treasure for nothing. For which Reason it was, that he sent over into *England* to *Hubert*, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was lately made his Vicegerent in *England*, this News by his Letter wrote to him^b in these Words. 'Being very sure, That you much desire our Deliverance, and will greatly rejoyce at it, we have thought fit to impart the joyful News of it, and to signifie to you, that the Emperor hath fix'd the Day for it, to be upon *Monday* after the Feast of the Nativity; and the Sunday after we shall receive the Crown of the Kingdom of *Provence*, which he hath given us, as by his Letters Patents herewith sent, you may perceive. Ordering you in the mean time, as much as in you lieth, to comfort all those you know, as our Friends and Well-willers, to love us

King Richard taken by the Emperor.

Earl John assumes the Kingdom.

A. D. 1192. Reg. 2.

King Richard redeemed, and the Sum paid for his Redemption.

^a Aboard a great Buss bound for the Isle of *Corfu*, where he arriv'd about the latter end of *October*, and from thence sail'd partly in a small Ship, and partly in certain Galleys to *Ragusa*, in *Dalmatia*, on the *Adriatick* Gulf; from *Ragusa* he intend'd to travel over-land, thro' *Sclavonia* and *Austria* into *Germany*, and so home into his own Dominions on the Continent.

^b The Letter is in *Roger Howeden*, p. 413. directed to Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, and to his Justices, and all other his faithful Subjects. 'Tis dated from *Hagenow*, (a City in the *Lower Alsace*) the 10th of *April*, 1193.

A. D. 1193. Reg. 4. us and desire our Promotion. Witness Our self at *Spira*, 22. Sept. The Emperour also wrote at the same time to the Bishops and Barons, and other the King's Subjects in *England*, how he purpos'd to advance, and magnificently to honour his especial Friend their King: And thus were the *English* recompensed for the large Expences they had been at in redeeming their King. The King then sent for his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, Archbishop of *Roan*, and many others, to come unto him about the Time and Business of the Deliverance; for which there was imposed upon every Knight's Fee twenty Shillings, the fourth part of all Lay-mens Revenues and Clergy-mens, with a fourth part of their Goods. The Chances, and Treasure of all Churches, are taken to make up the Sum, and the like was done in all the King's Territories beyond Sea: So dearly did the King's Voyage into the East, in going and returning, cost his People. Nor did the Queen *Berenguela* escape her part of Affliction in this Journey; for she with her Sister-in-Law, the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, fearing the Emperour's Malice, were an whole Year travelling from *Palestine*, and were at length conducted into *Poitou*.

The Queen's return home.

Earl John's treasonable Actions against his Brother.

1194.

A Parliament at Nottingham, and the Affairs.

The King of *France* hearing of the Conclusion made between King *Richard* and the Emperour, wrote immediately to Earl *John*, That the Devil was got loose, and desired him to look to himself; which shewed, That the King of *France* was not less disappointed of his Hopes, then Earl *John* himself. Upon this News, Earl *John* leaving his Castles in *England* well fortified, and encouraging his Soldiers to hold out valiantly against all Reports, departed into *Normandy*; where, with repeated Promises and Solicitations, he and the King of *France* labour'd to detain King *Richard* in Imprisonment, proffering the Emperour an hundred fifty thousand Marks, or a thousand Pound a Month so long as he would keep him his Prisoner. But all they could do prevailed not, tho' it stagger'd the Emperour in his Design a little; but at length, he shew'd *Richard* his Brother's Letter: And having receiv'd the Pledges, viz. the Archbishop of *Roan*, Bishop of *Bath*, and several Noblemens Sons for the Security of that part of his Ransom, which was to remain unpaid, releas'd him from his Captivity, after a Year and six Weeks, in the fourth Year of his Reign, and deliver'd him to his Mother Queen *Eleanor*. Immediately after his Release he return'd into *England*, where he found that the Bishops who continu'd firm in their Fidelity to him, had excommunicated the Earl *John*, and all his Adherents, and taken his Castles of *Marlborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fort at *S. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, defended by *Henry de Pomeroy*. But his Castle of *Nottingham*, tho' strongly assaulted by *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, and Earl *Ferrers*, and the Castle of *Titchil* by the Bishop of *Durham*, held out for the Earl, and cost the King a great deal of Blood and Labour to reduce them into his Power; and that at last upon Condition, That their Persons and Goods should be saved, and all Acts of Disloyalty pardon'd,

Richard having thus settled his Kingdom of *England* in Peace, call'd a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where Queen *Eleanor* was present, and sat upon his Right Hand. On the first day of the Session he depriv'd *Gerhard de Canville* of the

A. D. 1194. Reg. 4. Possession of the Castle of *Lincoln*, and his Office of Sheriff in that Shire, and *Hugh Bardolph* of the Castles of *York* and *Scarborow*, and the Custody of *Westmorland*, and his Office of Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, and expos'd them to Sale. The Archbishop of *York* bought the Sheriff's Office of *Yorkshire* for three thousand Marks down, and an Annual Rent of an hundred Marks. On the second day the King demanded Judgment against his Brother *John*, for having contrary to his Oath of Fealty, usurp'd his Castles, and enter'd a Confederacy with the King of *France* against him; as also against *Hugh de Navant*, Bishop of *Conventry*, for adhering to him and his other Enemies; and it was determin'd, That they should both appear upon a day fix'd, to answer according to Law: Which if they refus'd to do, the Earl should be banish'd, and the Bishop undergo such Punishment both from the Clergy and Laity as his Crime deserv'd: But the Bishop, within two Years after, was restor'd to the King's Favour, and his Bishoprick for two thousand Marks. On the third day, the Parliament granted to the King two Shillings from every Plough-Land in *England*; and besides, the King requir'd a third part of the Service of every Knight's Fee for his Attendance in *Normandy*, and all the Wool that Year of the *Cistercian* Monks, which being a very grievous Tax to them, he compounded with them for it. The fourth and last day was spent in hearing and determining of Grievances and Accusations, and so this Assembly brake up, after a Resolution taken up, That to nullifie the Act done to the Emperour, he should be crown'd again, which accordingly was perform'd the Easter following at *Winchester*.

Whilst the King remain'd about *Nottingham*, after the Parliament was broke up, *William* King of *Scots* came to him to require the Dignities and Honours, which his Predecessors had of Right enjoy'd in *England*, and withal the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland* and *Lancaster*. The King reply'd, That he could not satisfy him, till he had taken the Advice of his Council, which he intended shortly to call at *Northampton*. Where after Consultation had, he told him, That he could not grant his Petition with Reason then, because most of the Princes of *Europe* were his Enemies at that time; and if he should part with so much of his Country then, 'twould be thought rather an Act of Fear, than Love or Justice; and so put him off with fair Words and Promises, but granted by the Consent of his Parliament under his Charter to *William* King of *Scots*, and his Heirs for ever, That if at any time being summon'd, they should come to the King of *England*'s Court, the Bishop of *Durham*, and Sheriff of *Northumberland* should receive them at the River *Tweed*, and bring them under safe Conduct to the River *Teis*, and from thence the Archbishop of *York* and Sheriff of *Yorkshire* should convey them through that County; and so the Sheriffs of other Shires, till they came to the King's Court, being allow'd all along their Passage, and so at their return, an hundred Shillings a day, and when they were at the Court thirty Shillings a Day, twelve Loaves of fine Bread, and twelve Simnels of the King's; four Quarts of the King's best Wine, and six of ordinary Wine; two Pounds of Pepper, and four Pounds of Cinnamon;

The King of Scots comes to King Richard.

^a This Occasion so clear'd the Church of Plate, that the Priests celebrated the Sacrament in Tin and Latin Cups, by the Pope's Order and Allowance, as they continu'd to do a good while after.

^b He gave him his safe Conduct to *Antwerp*, where he was under the Protection of the Duke of *Louvain*, and he arriv'd at *Sandwich* on the 13th of March, 1194.

^c *Hoveden* p. 419. says, *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sat on his Right Hand, and *Jeffrey* Archbishop of *York* on his Left.

A. D. 1194. Reg. 4. two Pounds of Wax, and four Wax-Lights; forty large Perchers of the King's best Candles, and twenty four of Ordinary; and at his return to be safely conducted as he came, and with the same allowance.

King Richard crown'd again, and his Resumptions at that time.

From Northampton both Kings went to Woodstock, and from thence to Winchester, where the Coronation was sumptuously solemnized on the 17th of April, 1194. When the Ceremony was over, he resumed the two Manours he had sold to the Bishop of Winchester when he went to the Holy War, with the other Sales of the Country and Castle, and all other the Demesnes belonging to the Crown; alledging, That it was not in his power to alienate any of his Revenues, whereby his Dignity was to be maintain'd. The Bishop of Durham, observing this, voluntarily deliver'd up the Castle of Durham, with the Country of Northumberland, which the King order'd to put into the hands of Hugh Bardolph. Hugh Bishop of Lincoln at the same time gave for the liberty of his Church a thousand Marks of Silver, redeeming thereby the Custom of giving to the King of England every Year a Cloak lined with Sable Furs. Hither also were all such as had sided with his Brother John, and defended his Castles, summon'd to appear; of whom the Richer were fined, and the Poorer set at liberty, but by giving Sureties of an hundred Marks a-piece to appear in the King's Courts whenever they should be call'd. The King of Scots seeing the King of England make use of all means to bring Money into his Treasure, offer'd him fifteen thousand Marks for Northumberland, with the Appurtenances; alledging, That King Henry II. gave the same to Henry his Father, and that Malcolm after him enjoy'd it five Years. This large proffer of Money tempted King Richard so, that he consulted his Parliament about it again; and in conclusion was contented to yield it to the King of Scots, with a Reservation of the Castles to himself; but the King of Scots would not accept it, and so in a discontent pass'd into his own Country. Richard two Years after sent Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, to York to treat with the King of Scots about a Marriage between Otho^b his Nephew, and Margaret that King's Daughter, with whom he was to give all Lenox for her Dower; and would give with his Nephew Northumberland, and the Earldom of Carlisle, with all the Castles: But in the time of this Treaty the Queen of Scots being found to be with Child, it took no effect. From Winchester, after the King had gotten as much Money as he could out of his Subjects in so short a time as he stay'd, which was but from the end of February to the tenth of May^c, he hasten'd over into Normandy, in an hundred Ships, to spend it in his Achievements there, which took up all the remaining part of his Reign, which was but nine Years in all, of which he spent not above eight Months in England. Nor do we find that his Queen Berenguela was ever there, or had any Honour or Dower, or was of any great Regard with him, however Deserving she was in her self.

He resides in Normandy all the rest of his Reign.

And now by the King's Residence in Normandy was the Charge and Labour of the English much greaten'd; all Affairs, which either con-

cern'd the State in general, or the People in particular, being to be dispatch'd there. The first Action that Richard undertook at his entrance into his Territories there, was to relieve Vernoul, then besieged by the King of France, which he soon rais'd, and by the Mediation of his Mother was reconciled to his Brother John, who abjured the French Party, and adhered to him. His next business was to strengthen himself in those Countries against his potent Enemy the King of France, which he did first by giving his Sister Joanna, Queen-Dowager of Sicily, to Raymund Earl of Tholouse, who was his nearest Neighbour of Power to his Dutchy of Guien. Then he made a League with Baldwin Earl of Flanders, from whom the King of France had taken away Artois and Vermandois; and so on all sides seeks to vex his Enemy. Four Years at least did these two great Princes continue their furious Assaults one against another, invading, surprizing, spoiling and ruining each other's Estates and Dominions; making shews indeed often of Peace and Reconciliation by frequent Leagues and Truces, but they lasted no longer than some Advantages offer'd of either side. The King of France, on the other side, to strengthen himself with Shipping, that he might oppose the English, marry'd Botilda the Sister of Canute or Knute King of Denmark; but this Match, which he sought not through Affection, but for his Politick Ends, created him greater Trouble; for he put her away the next Day after his Wedding, upon a pretence of too great nearness of Blood, and so made both the Church, and King of Denmark his Enemy. The Emperor at the same time sent to the King of England a massy Crown of Gold, and offers to assist him against the King of France, and invade his Kingdom; but Richard was not willing to have him engage in this Quarrel, either because he saw that the Emperor sought to add the Kingdom of France to his Empire, or because he fear'd the King of France might win him over to him by his Money to joyn against himself, return'd only a Compliment of Thanks for his Tender.

A. D. 1194. Reg. 4.

Earl John reconcil'd to the King.

1195.

But tho' Normandy was the Stage of Action, England was the Treasury, from whence the King fetch'd Monies for all his vast Expences; which to supply, he sought all manner of ways of raising Taxes and Fines upon the People^d. And first he gave out his Commission to certain Itinerant Justices, whom he sent into every Shire of England, to raise and exact Sums of Money upon Pleas of the Crown for Escheats, Wardships, and Marriages, to improve his Demesnes, to take an account of Men's Estates, and especially of the Jews, on whom he would have none to pray but himself; to raise an Impoison upon his allowance of Turnaments, viz. twenty Marks of Silver for every Earl, ten for a Baron, four for a Knight having Lands, and two for a License for such as had none; the Collection of which the Archbishop left to his Brother Theobald Walters. He order'd also a new Seal to be made, because the old one was lost by his Vice-Chancellor at the taking of Cyprus, which was a means for another Exaction. But the Proceedings in the Pleas of the Crown, and extorting of Penalties, Ann. Regni 9. by Hugh Bardolph, Roger

His means of raising Money.

^a At this Coronation William King of the Scots bore one of the three Swords carr'd on that occasion before King Richard.

^b Otho Duke of Saxony.

^c He landed the 13th of March, and sail'd from Portsmouth the 12th of May.

^d He return'd into England to raise this Tax for Turnaments. Matt. Paris. But his Charter or Proclamation for them is dated at Ville Le Veske in Normandy. These Tiltings were to be held at five Places:

In Wiltshire, between Salisbury and Wilton.

In Warwickshire, between Warwick and Kenilworth.

In Lincolnshire, between Stamford and Warrnsford.

In Northamptonshire, between Brackly and Miesburgh.

In Nottinghamshire, between Blis and Tickhill.

A. D. 1195. Roger Arundel, and Jeffrey Hatchet, Itinerant Justices for *Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Lancaster*, were intolerable, being manag'd with gradual Tryals of the People's Patience and Abilities. So that (as *Hoveden* saith) all *England*, from Sea to Sea, was reduced to extream Poverty. Yet did not his Extortion stop here; but *Hugh Nevile* Chief Justice, *Hugh Wac* and *Ernise de Nevile* Justices of the Forest brought a greater Trouble upon the Subjects, by the severe Execution of the cruel Forest-Laws, introduced by the Conqueror; which, being only fit to be damn'd to eternal Oblivion, shall not be particularly mention'd. Besides in the same Year this King imposed a Tax upon every Hide, or Plough-land, (which contains about an hundred Acres) of five Shillings, which was levy'd with great Cruelty. Likewise he required by his Vicegerent, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, That the People of *England* should find three hundred Knights for one Year in his Service, or so much Money as would maintain them at three Shillings a Day: Which *Hugh Bishop of Lincoln* opposed, and said, 'He would never yield to the King's Will in this, because of the Damage it might bring to Posterity by so ill an Example, which might give them cause to complain, and say, *Our Fathers have eaten four Grapes, and the Childrens Teeth are set on Edge*, and turning himself to the Archbishop, desired him to do nothing, of which he might afterward be ashamed. But the Archbishop could desert this, and yet pretend to have well merited of the King for his other Services in this kind; for in the seventh Year of his Reign, he gave up an account to him, that he had levy'd of the Kingdom within the space of two Years an hundred thousand Marks of Silver, which at that time was an admirable Sum.

The King's Death, and the Occasion. And now, as the first Act of this King was his violent Proceedings with *Stephen Turnham* Seneschal of *Normandy*, his Father's Treasurer, about his Treasure: So was likewise his last, and the cause of his Destruction; for *Widamore* Viscount of *Limoges*, having found a great Treasure of Silver and Gold in his Ground, sends a great part of it to the King, but he refused it, laying claim to the whole; *Widamore* deny'd it. And so the King laid Siege to the Castle^b, where he imagin'd the Treasure was hid. They in the Castle being unable to defend themselves, offer'd to surrender the same, upon Condition, that their Lives, Arms and Members should be secured; which the King would not yield to, but swore that he would storm the Castle, and hang them all: Whereupon they desperately resolv'd to stand to their defence. King *Richard*, with *Merchard*, alias *Markadey*, General of the *Barbançons*, his mercenary Soldiers, going about the Castle to observe what place was fittest for an Assault, *Bertram de Gurdon* from the Walls shot a Barbed Arrow at the King, and gave him a mortal Wound on the Arm. The King was immediately carry'd to his Lodgings, but gave Commandment to his Forces to prosecute the Siege without Intermision, which they did; and taking the Castle, put all the Defenders of it to Death, except *Bertram*, who was reserved by the King's Command. The Arrow

was drawn out with great Torture, and much mangling of his Flesh, by an unskilful Chyrurgeon belonging to *Merchard*, which caused him to despair of Life^c, and by Will to dispose of his Estate, three parts to his Brother *John*, and one to his Servants^d. Before his Death he call'd for *Bertram de Gurdon* to be brought to him, and demanded of him, what hurt he had done him, which provoked him to do him this Mischief? *Bertram* replied, 'Thou didest kill my Father and two Brothers with thy own Hand, and now orderest me to be slain; Take what Revenge thou wilt upon me, I willingly endure any Torment thou canst inflict, since I have slain thee, who hast done such, and so much mischief to the World. The King, notwithstanding this rough and desperate Answer, caused him to be set at liberty, not only forgiving him for his Fact, but commanding an hundred Shillings to be given him; but *Merchard* after his Death caused him to be slay'd alive, and afterward hang'd. Thus dy'd this Lion-like King, when he had Reigned nine Years and nine Months^e; wherein he exacted and consumed more of the Wealth of this Kingdom than all his Predecessors from the *Norman* Conquest had done, and yet with very little Noise and Trouble, because of his undertaking of the Cause of Christ (as it was then esteemed) in the Holy War; the Clergy feeding the People's Opinion of the Merit of that Expedition with strange Relations both of his Valour and Success; and his Ministers at home being very careful and zealous for him to keep their place, and so doing perhaps more for him in his absence than he could have done with his presence. But the insolent Oppressions of the Nation in these Times made the future more careful and audacious to provide for themselves: Excesses usually procure Alterations. So that his Successors have reason to blame his and his Brother's Oppressions and Irregularities for those Limitations of their Power, which have been extorted rather from them, than voluntarily granted by them. Yet what this Prince would have been, had his Days been prolong'd to a time of Peace, is uncertain: But that his Temper was very pliable and yielding to good Counsel, is manifest from the good effect that little which a poor Hermit bestow'd upon him wrought; advising him in a Sermon to think seriously upon the Destruction of *Sodom*, and to abstain from things unlawful, otherwise the deserved Vengeance of God would come upon him. For not long after falling sick, he call'd to mind this Advertisement, and made a Vow to reform his Life; which after his recovery he was so careful to perform, that he rose early every Morning to hear Divine Service. Upon which Action *Hoveden* makes this Reflection: *How Glorious is it for a Prince to begin his Actions in him, who is the Beginning without beginning, and judges to the ends of the Earth*. Moreover he grew very Charitable to the Poor, and made Restitution of many of the Church's Goods, which had been sold for his own Ransom.

Tho' this King had no Children^f, yet was he told by a Priest in *France*, that he had three evil Daughters, and admonish'd to bestow them elsewhere, that he might avoid the Judgments of God.

A. D. 1199. Reg. 9. *Bertram de Gurdon, who kill'd Richard, his Courage and Reward.*

His good Temper.

His Affair.

^a *Holinshed* says, He was a Viscount in the Dutchy of *Bretagne*; and that the Treasures which he found were the Images of an Emperour, his Wife and Children, all in fine Gold.

^b The Castle of *Chaluz*, near *Limoges*.

^c He lay eleven Days in great Torment.

^d And the Poor.

^e He dy'd on the 6th of April; his Body was bury'd at *Font-Everard*, at the Feet of his Father, his Heart at *Roan*, and his Bowels at *Charron* in *Poitou*.

^f *Holinshed* writes, He was in the forty fourth Year of his Age: But he was born in 1117, and dy'd in 1159. So he could be no more than forty two Years of Age.

^g He had a Natural Son, nam'd *Phillip*, who in the Year following kill'd the Viscount of *Limoges* for the Death of his Father. *Hol.*

God. The King gave him the Lye, and said, *He knew none he had.* Yes, Sir, replied the Priest, *Three Daughters you have, which are these, Pride, Covetousness, and Letchery.* The King apprehending his Meaning, call'd the Lords and great Persons who were attending upon him, and having told them what the Priest had said to him, re-

quir'd them to bear Witness how he did dispose of his three Daughters. *My Pride I give to the Templars and Hospitallers, my Covetousness I give to the Cistercian Monks, and my Letchery to the Clergy.*^a This sudden Repartee shews us his great Quickness of Wit, and what kind of Men were then out of Favour with him.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Richard I.

IN the 2d Year of his Reign, on *Midsummer-Eve*, the Sun was eclips'd for three Hours, and the Stars appear'd in the Heavens at ten a Clock in the Forenoon.

In the 5th, 6th, and 7th Years of his Reign there was so great a Dearth in *England* and *France*, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for almost twenty Shillings, as much as six Pound now; which was follow'd by a severe Mortality, that carry'd off innumerable Multitudes of People by a Pestilential Fever. It lasted five Months, and during that time, the dead were bury'd in Pits a great many at once; for they dy'd so fast, that those who surviv'd had not Leisure to bury them singly. About *Whitsunday* two Suns appear'd, the true Sun and another, and were so like each other, that the Astronomers were forc'd to take a View of them with their Instruments to distinguish them.

Men Eminent in his Time for their Courage were

Robert Earl of Leicester, Hugh Bardolph, and his Brother Henry, William Marshal Earl of Chepstow, Gerard de Glanville, Hugh de Gourney, William de Borrez, Walcline de Ferrers, Roger de Toonie, William de Barrs, William de Tarland, Drogo de Merlo, Robert de Neale, Henry Fitz-Nicholas, Robert de Newburgh, Ralph de St. Mary, Arnald de Bois, Henry de Grey, Stephen de Turnham, Manfer de Lisle, Alexander Darcie, Stephen de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Glanville, Bartholomew de Mortimer, Gerard Furnivall, William de Pool, Hugh de Nevill, and William Teutch the

King's Standard-Bearer, who all shew'd their Valour in the Holy Land.

The most Famous for Learning were

Daniel Morley a famous Mathematician, Richard Prior of Hagulstad or Hexam, William Fitz-Stephens, who wrote the Life of Becket, Richard of the Devises, John Brompton, Historians; Robert de Bellofoco an excellent Philosopher, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, who dy'd at Tyre in Phoenicia, and wrote several Treatises of Divinity; Hubert his Successor in that See, William Bishop of Ely a great Politician, Richard the Abbot of the Order of *Præmonstratensis*, and Nicholas Walkington.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF King JOHN.

Earl John
secures the
Crown.
A. D.
1199.
Reg. 1.

JOHNN, the Brother of Richard, and youngest Son of Henry the Second, being at his Brother's Death with his Army in the Field, and among all his Servants and Followers, had as good an Opportunity as he could have desir'd to secure his ambitious Aims of the Crown of *England*, by making his Interests with them; which he did by large Promises of Gifts and Rewards. Hubert, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was then in *Normandy* about some Business, and John knowing him to be a Man of great Power and Interest in *England*, engages him to his Design, and

presently dispatches him into *England* with William Marshall Earl of Strigul, Jeffrey Fitz-Peter^b, and others, to prepare the People to receive him for their King. These Agents^c for John, upon their Arrival, began to treat with those whom they knew were most likely to oppose his Aim; and by their confident Promises, That he should restore their Rights, and govern the Kingdom with all due Moderation, so prevail'd with them, that they were content upon those Conditions to swear Fealty to him against all Men, and so an Entrance to the Crown was cleared for him among

^a My Letchery I give to the Prelates of the Church, who have most Pleasure and Felicity therein. Hol.

^b Lord Chief Justice.

^c They held an Assembly of the States at *Northampton*, who agreed to accept of Prince John for their King. Hol.



KING JOHN.

A. D. 1199. among the *Engliſh*; which becauſe they ſaw the King of *Scots* only could intercept and hinder, they ſend him word, That upon *John's* Settlement in the Throne, he ſhould receive Satisfaction for his Claim in *England*, and ſo ſtopp'd him from any preſent Attempts. In the mean time, *Arthur*^a Earl of *Anjou*, Son of *John's* elder Brother *Jeffrey*, who had the Right of Succeſſion by his Birth, was not unactive with the Nobility of *Anjou*, *Main*, and *Tureine*, to maintain and recover his Inheritance: And his Mother *Conſtance* put him under the Protection of the King of *France*, who receiv'd him, and undertook the Defence of his Right. *John* was not inſenſible of the Cloud that was gathering over his Head; and tho' he had reaſon to fear a violent Storm from it, yet judging it beſt to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of *England* firſt, he having receiv'd the Inveſtiture of *Normandy* with all the Rites of it, paſſed preſently into *England* with his Mother *Eleanor* (who was a forward Aſſiſtant in this her Son's Promotion) and by way of Election, receiv'd the Crown upon *Aſcenſion-Day*, the 26th of *May*, at the hands of *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who in his Oration (as *M. Paris* relates it) before the Aſſembly of Nobles met at that Solemnity ſaid, 'That by all Reaſon Divine and Humane, none ought to ſucceed in the Kingdom, but he who for his Vertue and Worthineſs was unanimouſly choſen by the State, as this Man was, &c. which he then urg'd to put a fair Pretence upon that Action, becauſe he ſaw the Right of Succeſſion was againſt him; but after being queſtion'd for it, he confeſs'd to his Friends, That he foreſaw, that *John* would in the end obtain the Crown, whatever Blood and Trouble it coſt; and therefore he thought it the beſt way to prevent Confuſion, rather to make him King, than that he ſhould make himſelf, and that their Election would be a tie upon him to rule them well. Thus did *John* get the Crown of *England*, which he govern'd with as much Injuſtice as he got it, and involv'd the Kingdom in thoſe Miſeries and Troubles, which after produced deſperate Effects, and made thoſe Alterations in Government, which follow'd.

John goes againſt Philip King of France. *England* being thus ſecur'd, *John* returns into *Normandy*, having receiv'd Information of a general Revolt of his Dominions beyond Sea, procur'd by *Philip* the French King, who had conferr'd the Order of Knighthood upon *Arthur*, and taken his Homage for *Anjou Poictou Main, Nureine*, and alſo *Normandy* it ſelf, becauſe (as he pretended) King *John* had neglected to come and do him Homage for the ſame. King *John* being unwilling to engage in ſo ſudden a War, ſo ſoon after his new and doubtful Admiſſion to the Crown, mediated for a Parley with the King of *France*, but to no purpoſe; for that King well underſtanding his own Advantage, and *John's* Circumſtances, requir'd ſuch unreaſonable Conditions, as *John* could not with Honour comply with, and ſo they proceeded to decide the Quarrel with the Sword. The King of *France* had the better of *John*, and gain'd ſeveral Parts of his Dominions; but it was ſo plain that what he did was for himſelf, not for *Arthur*, as he pretended, that *Arthur* and his Mother *Conſtance* were induc'd (by the Perſuaſion of their Chief Miniſter *William de la Roche*) to commit themſelves to the Protection of King *John*. But neither here could they find a ſafe Repoſe; for either through ſome

ſecret Jealouſie, or (as ſome ſay) having Information of *John's* Purpoſes to imprifon them, they got away the next Night after their coming ſecretly, and fled to *Algiers*. And ſo this young Prince, born to be cruſh'd between theſe two Potent Monarchs, (who only intended their own Ends and not his Advantage) gave an occaſion to both to become his Enemies. The two Kings continu'd their Conteſt a while, but having made many Attempts on both ſides with little Gain, they by the Mediation of the Pope's Legates came to a Treaty, wherein *John* buys his Peace upon theſe yielding Conditions; viz. That *Lewis*, the eldeſt Son to King *Philip*, ſhould marry his Niece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, and have with her for her Dower the City and County of *Eureux*, with ſeveral Caſtles in *Normandy*, and thirty thouſand Marks in Silver: And farther promiſes, To leave him all his Territories in *France*, if he dy'd without Iſſue; and that he would not aſſiſt his Nephew *Otho* (lateſt elected Emperour) againſt *Philip* Brother to the late Emperour *Henry VI.* whom the King of *France* favour'd in Oppſition to Pope *Innocent*, who took *Otho's* part.

After the Conclusion of this Peace, *Otho* taking it ill that his Uncle *John* had thus forſaken him, ſends his two Brothers *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* and *William* of *Winton* (ſo call'd, becauſe he was born at *Wincheſter*) to require of him the City of *Eureux* and County of *Poictou*, and two parts of the Treſure, which his Uncle King *Richard* had given him by Will, beſides other of his Moveables: But they came too late. The Obligations of Kindred, and rendring of Dues, muſt give place to the preſent Neceſſities and Interests of State, and ſo they are ſent away without any Answer to their Deſires. To this unkind and unnatural Act he ſoon after added another, viz. The Divorce of his Wife, who was Daughter to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; alledging, that ſhe was too near a Kin to him in the third Degree of Conſanguinity, and marry'd *Iſabel* the Daughter and Heireſs of the Earl of *Angolifme*, who was before affianced to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, (a Peer of a great Eſtate and Alliance in *France*) by the Conſent of King *Richard*, in whoſe Cuſtody ſhe then was. Having finiſh'd theſe diſtaſtful Buſineſſes, he return'd into *England* to do as ungrateful things there; for he impos'd three Shillings upon every Plough-land, to diſcharge the great Dower of thirty thouſand Marks which he had promis'd with his Niece *Blanch*. *Jeffrey* the Archbiſhop of *York* oppos'd the Collection of it within his Province, and the King being before angry with him for not coming upon his Summons to his Treaty in *France*, immediately cauſes the Sheriff of the County of *York* to ſeize upon all his Temporalities. The Archbiſhop interdicts the whole Province of *York*, and excommunicates the Sheriff. But not long after, the King made his Progreſs into the Northern Parts as far as *Scotland*, exacting great Fines of ſuch as had offended in his Foreſts, and in his Paſſage through *Yorkſhire* was by his Brother the Archbiſhop deny'd Wine, and the Honours of the Bells of *Beverly*; but by the Mediation of four Biſhops and four Barons, and a great Sum of Money, a Reconciliation was made between them, and a Reformation promis'd on both ſides.

Upon the *Eaſter*^b after his Progreſs into the North, the King was crown'd again at *Canterbury* with his Queen *Iſabel*, by *Hubert* Archbiſhop of

A. D. 1200. Reg. 2.

A Peace concluded between the Kings of France and England.

Otho the Emperour claims part of Richard's Treſure.

1201. Reg. 3.

A Quarrel between John and the Archbiſhop of York.

His ſecond Coronation

^a Duke of Bretagne.

^b Holinhead ſays, Queen *Iſabel* was crown'd on the 8th of October, and that King *John* was crown'd again by himſelf at *Canterbury* on the 14th of April 1202. by Archbiſhop *Hubert*.

A. D. 1202. Reg. 4. of that See, and there he summon'd the Earls and Barons of *England* to be ready with Horse and Armour to go over with him at *Whitsuntide* into *Normandy*; but they meeting at a Conference at *Leicester*, with one consent sent him word, *That unless he would restore them to their Rights and Liberties, they would not attend him out of the Kingdom.* But the King (saith *Hoveden*) using ill Council, took their Castles from them; and beginning with *William de Ailvenie*, demanded his Castle of *Beauvoir*, which he refused, delivering him his Son as a Pledge of his Obedience. But notwithstanding this Refusal of his Lords, having settled the Government here, he sailed into *Normandy* with his Queen, where his Presence, with his great shew of Preparations, caused the Rebels to give over their Attempts for that time; and a farther Ratification of the Peace, with as strong Covenants and Cautions as could be devised, was made with *Philip* King of *France*; who thereupon feasted the King of *England* at *Paris* with all outward Demonstrations of real Friendship. And here both Kings, being solicited to it by the Pope's Legate, granted a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all their Subjects Revenues for one Year (by way of Alms) for the Relief of the Christians in the Holy Land; for the levying whereof *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, then Chief Justice, sent out his Writs by way of Request and Persuasion, avoiding in it all Terms of Coaction or Due, lest it should be drawn into a President afterward.

A Conspiracy against John, and the King's Victory over the Authors of it.

Not many Months after this a Conspiracy broke out, which was begun and carry'd on by *Hugh le Brun*, who being greatly incensed at the taking away his Wife (a Wrong which makes the deepest Impression on Man's Nature) joyn'd with Duke *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poitou* and *Britain*, and they made a strong Party against him. The King of *France* (notwithstanding all the former Obligations of Amity) combined with them out of hopes of Interest, declared himself for *Arthur*, to whom he marry'd his youngest Daughter, requires King *John* to deliver to him all his Territories in *France*, and upon a certain Day to appear in Person at *Paris*, to answer such Accusations as should be brought against him, and abide the Judgment of his Court; which *John* refusing, was by Sentence of Court adjudged to lose all that he held of that Crown. Then were his Dominions assaulted on all sides, by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, by Prince *Arthur* and the Barons in *Anjou*, who laid Siege to his Castle in *Mirabel*, defended by *Eleanor* the Queen-Mother; but near taking, when *John*, with greater Force and Expedition then was expected, came and defeated the whole Army of the Besiegers, taking *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun*, the Barons of *Poitou*, and above two hundred Knights, and Men of Command, Prisoners; all which he carry'd away bound in Carts, and dispersed into several Castles both in *Normandy* and *England*. This Victory, which might seem to have Establish'd him in his Throne, was his Undoing; for by the ill use of it he lost himself and his Reputation for ever. For Prince *Arthur* was shortly after (by his means, as was thought) murder'd in Prison, and many of the Prisoners and Hostages cruelly executed; which so exasperated the Nobility of *Britain*, *Anjou*, and *Poitou*, that they took up Arms against him, appealed

for Justice to the King of *France*, and summon'd him to appear in his Court; which he refusing, he was condemn'd to lose his Dutchy of *Normandy*, which his Ancestors had held three hundred Years, and all his other Dominions in *France*, which either through his own Negligence, or Treachery of his Ministers, who were disaffected to him, was brought about, and he wholly dispos'd of them^b.

In this miserable Condition he returns into *England*, and charges the Lords and Barons with his Losses in *France*, and fines them to pay the seventh part of all their Goods for refusing their Assistance, not sparing the Church it self. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* exacted this rigorous Tax of the Clergy, and *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, Chief Justice of *England*, of the Laity. But all this Treasure was not sufficient to supply his Wants, and furnish him with Assistance to recover his Losses, (which was the end of raising it) and therefore in less than a Year he was forced to call a Parliament^c at *Oxford*, to obtain in a more satisfactory way another Tax, and by it got a Grant of two Marks and an half upon every Knight's Fee for a Military Aid, and a proportionable Contribution of the Clergy. But no sooner was this Money gather'd, but an Occasion was offer'd of spending it in *France*, that devouring Gulph of the *English* Treasure, by a Revolt begun in *Britain* by *Guido*, the Husband of *Constance*, *Arthur's* Mother, *Saveri de Malleon*, and *Ahnaric Lusignian*, with many other Confederates; who not receiving that Satisfaction they expected from their new Master, call'd in the old one again; shewing us, that only Men's private Interests sway their Affections, though they often pretend Honour and Justice. King *John* hearing of it, hastened over into *Normandy*, and by the Forces he carry'd and found there, won the Castle of *Mont-alban*, and a little after the City *Angeirs*, and was in a fair way of recovering more; but the King of *France*, by the Fortune of one Day, (wherein he overthrew and took Prisoners the chief Confederates, *Guido*, *Almeric*, and *Saveri*) forced him to accept of a Truce for two Years, and return into *England* for more Supplies, which he took his old methods to obtain, by imposing a Tax of the thirteenth part of every Man's Moveables, and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. But his Subjects now seeing their Estates consumed without success, and likely to be a continual Prey to his extravagant Designs, began to bethink themselves of recovering their ancient Immunities, which had been usurped by their late Kings, and ease themselves of those Burthens indirectly laid upon them. The Archbishop of *York* was the first Man that began the Quarrel between the King and his Subjects, by opposing the Collection of the Imposition, and solemnly Cursing the Receivers of it; and then conveyed himself out of the Kingdom, choosing rather to live in Banishment abroad, than under Oppression at home. And here began the miserable Breach between the King and his People, which cost more Noble Blood to make up again than all the foreign Wars since the Conquest. For this Contest (tho' it had several Intermissions) did not fully cease till the *Great Charter* (which was first obtain'd of this King *John*, and confirm'd by his Son *Henry III.*

A. D. 1202. Reg. 4.

1203.

John is angry with the Barons, and fines them.

1205. Reg. 7.

Civil Wars between John and his Subjects, and the Cause of it.

^a It is not certain that Prince *Arthur* was murder'd, tho' perhaps King *John* was charg'd with it: Kings themselves, if not lov'd, can't escape foul Aspersions. *Arthur* was King *John's* Prisoner of War, and such an one as it seems Adversity could not humble; for when the King in Prison promis'd him his Favour, if he would renounce his Amity with the King of *France*, and live peaceably, he was so far from compliance, that he threaten'd him; which oblig'd the King to keep him in straighter Imprisonment. And *Matt. Paris* says, To escape this tedious Confinement, he ventur'd to swim over the River *Seine*, and was drown'd. Others write, that he dy'd of Grief.

^b *Roan*, the Capital City of *Normandy*, and the last that held out for King *John*, was taken in the Year 1204.

^c *Matt. Paris* calls it a Colloquium.

A. D. 1207. Reg. 9. but was never observed by either) was freely ratified by that judicious King, *Edward I.* in the 27th Year of his Reign, which was above eighty Years after. This was the first Civil Dissention between the King and his Nobles that we find upon Record since the Establishment of the *English* Kingdom; and to understand the Causes and Occasions of it, I shall take a View of the posture of Affairs at that time.

The Norman Nobility. It was about an hundred and forty Years since *William the Conqueror* planted the *Norman* Nobility here, whose Posterity being now become meer *English*, were at this time very numerous, rich, and of great Spirits, being exercised in the Wars of *France*, where most of them were Commanders of Castles, and had great Estates, as well as in *England*. But being under this violent and unsuccessful King depriv'd both of their Employments and Estates abroad, they contriv'd all they could to preserve what they had left, and enrich themselves at home; which because they could not do so long as they were perpetually harassed at the King's Will, they resolv'd to make use of their own Martial Courage, and the Privileges of the Nation to do it. Their Cause was much better than their Prosecution of it, which filled all things with Injustice and Disorder. The strange Corruption of the Times contributed much to the Mischief. An ambitious Clergy, polluted with Avarice, brought in a feigned Piety to be a Party in it. The Occasion of their Interposition in this Affair began about the Election of a new Archbishop of *Canterbury* after the Death of *Hubert*, after this manner: The Monks of that Convent pretending, that it belong'd to them by their ancient Privileges to elect an Archbishop, met in the Night and chose one *Reginald* their Sub-Prior, on purpose to prevent the King's Nomination, and taking an Oath of Secrecy of him, dispatch'd him to *Rome* to be install'd. But his great Joy for his Preferment soon brake out, and his Election was openly discover'd at his arrival in *Flanders*; which the Monks hearing, and fearing the King's Displeasure, they sent to crave leave to elect a fit Person for their See. The King thereupon nominates to them *John Gray*, Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he favour'd much, and persuaded them to prefer; which, after long Debate, they yielded to: And so *John Gray* was advanced to the Chair, wherein (saith *Matt. Paris*) their last Error was worse than their first; and began that Contest, which proved an irreparable Damage to the whole Kingdom.

Both Elections null'd and Stephen Langton chosen by the Pope. This Election being made, the King sends to *Rome* some of the Monks of *Canterbury* (among whom was *Elias de Branfield*, a trusty Servant of the King's) with a plentiful Provision for their Journey, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of it. The Suffragan Bishops of the Church of *Canterbury* sent also their Complaints against the Monks, for Electing without their Concurrence, which by Right and Custom they ought to have; alledging, that three Archbishops had been by them elected. The Monks oppos'd their Allegation, and offer'd to bring Proof, that they only, by the special Privilege of the *Roman* See, were accustomed to elect. The Pope appointed a certain Day for the deciding of this Controversie; and upon hearing of both sides fully, pronounced both Elections void, by the Advice of the Cardinals; the first, because it was made in the Night, and not in a fit Season; and the other, because the first, tho' irregular, was not juridically made null: And then propounded unto the Monks a third Man, which was *Stephen de Langton*, an *English*-

man born, and a Cardinal of an high Spirit, whom he persuaded them to elect; alledging, that it was in their Power by his Prerogative to make good his Choice. *Stephen Langton* being thus chosen, and after consecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope dismisses the Monks and the King's Agents with Letters to King *John*, exhorting him to receive this Archbishop favourably, who was canonically elected, a Native of his Kingdom, a Doctor of Divinity, and Learned in all the Sciences, and which exceeded his Learning, of a good Life and Conversation, every way fit to hold so great a Place, &c. He wrote also to the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*, charging them by Virtue of their holy Obedience to receive the Archbishop for their Pastor, and obey him in all Spiritual and Temporal Matters. The Letters being brought to the King, with an Account of what had been done at *Rome*, so enraged him, that in heat of Passion he sent *Fulke de Cantlo*, and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce Knights, with some armed Men, to expel the Monks of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdom, and seize upon all they had, which was as hotly executed as commanded, and the Prior and all the Monks fled into *Flanders*, (except such as were not able through Sickness to remove.)

Then he wrote a sharp Letter to the Pope, accusing him, that he had done him wrong in making the Election of the Bishop of *Norwich* void, being a Man he greatly favour'd, and advancing *Stephen Langton*, a Person unknown to him, and bred up in the Kingdom of *France*, among his Enemies; and which was more to his Prejudice, and against the Prerogative of his Crown, he had prefer'd him without his Consent, which should first have been required. So that he much wonder'd, that the Pope and Court of *Rome* so little valued his Friendship; and did not consider, that his Kingdom of *England* yielded them more Advantage than any Kingdom on this side the *Alps*. He also added, That he would vindicate the Liberties of his Crown to Death, and would not recede from the Election of the Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he knew every way fit for the Place. And in the Conclusion threatens, that if he were not gratified in the Premises, he would hinder all resort to the Court of *Rome*; and that, if Necessity required, he had in his Kingdom of *England*, and his other Dominions, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, of so great Learning as could do the business of his Nation, without going to beg Justice of Strangers.

The Pope having received this Letter from the King, return'd answer to it, beginning with these Words: 'Whereas we wrote to you concerning the Business of the Church of *Canterbury*, exhorting and persuading you, humbly, earnestly, and mildly; you have written again to us (as I may with your leave say) in a contumacious manner, reproving and threatening us; and tho' we took care to give you more than your Right, you have not been careful to give us ours; respecting us less than becomes you: And if your Devotion be most necessary for us, ours is no less fit for you. And whereas we have honour'd no Prince so much as you, you have derogated from our Honour more than any other Prince in the like Case would have done; alledging certain frivolous Pretences, why you can't consent to the Election of our beloved Son *Stephen Langton*, Cardinal of *S. Chrysogonus*, made by the Monks of *Canterbury*, because he hath been bred among your Enemies, and his Person is altogether unknown to you. To which he replies:

A. D. 1207. Reg. 9.

John offended at the Pope's Election, writes to him.

The Pope's Answer to the King.

A. D.
1207.
Reg. 9.

plies: That it was for his Reputation, not his Fault, that he had liv'd so long at *Paris*, where he had made so great Progress in his Studies, as to be created a Doctor not only of the Learned Sciences but of Divinity; and for his Life, agreeable to his Learning, obtain'd a Prebend at *Paris*. Wherefore he could not but wonder, that a Man of so great note, and a Native of his Kingdom, should be unknown to him, at least in Fame; especially since (saith he) you have written thrice unto him, since he hath been made a Cardinal by us, alluring him, That tho' you had a Desire to call him to your familiar Attendance, yet you rejoiced that he was exalted to an higher Office. Then he makes an Excuse to the King, that his Consent was not requir'd; altho' (saith he) in Elections celebrated at the Apostolick See, the Consent of Princes is not to be expected, yet were two Monks deputed to go unto you, to ask your Consent, who were stopp'd at *Dover*, so that they could not deliver the Message enjoyn'd them, with many other things. So that at length (saith he) we resolv'd to do, as the Canonical Sanctions order'd, without declining to the Right Hand or to the Left; that there might be no farther Delays to our pious Designs, lest the Lord's Flock should be without Pastoral Cure, and therefore it can't be revok'd. And in the Conclusion he useth these Words; As we have had more Respect to your Honour, than we were oblig'd in Duty, do you give us that Honour which is our Due, that you may deserve God's Favour and ours; lest by doing otherwise, you bring your self into so great Troubles, as can't easily be remov'd. For he in the end must overcome, to whom all Knees bow, both in Heaven and Earth and Hell, whose Vicegerency here below we (tho' unworthy) do exercise: Yield not therefore to their Counsels, who desire to involve you in Confusions, that themselves may fish in troubled Waters, but submit your self to our Pleasure, which will tend to your Praise and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to oppose God and the Church, for which the Blessed Martyr and Eminent Bishop *Thomas* lately dy'd; especially since your Father and Brother, of Glorious Memory, late Kings of *England*, have by the Hands of the Legates of the Apostolick See, abjur'd that impious Custom: We, if you behave your self well, will sufficiently take care, that no Prejudice shall arise to you, or yours hereby. Dated at the *Lateran* in the 10th Year of our Pontificate. Thus did these two great and powerful Princes defend their Prerogatives with Words: But when the Pope understood with what Severity the King had proceeded against the Monks of *Canterbury*, he sends presently his Mandate to the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, commanding them to treat first mildly with the King, and exhort him to reform his Actions; but if he obstinately persisted, to interdict the whole Kingdom, and if that would not prevail, he would deal more severely with him himself: And withal charged the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, by Virtue of their Obedience, to receive their Archbishop *Stephen*, and to obey him with all Respect. The Bishops, according to the Pope's Injunction, went to the King, and shewing him the Pope's Mandate, besought him, For the Love of God, to recall the Archbishop and Monks of *Canterbury*, and to use them with Kindness

The Pope's Command to the Bishops upon the Banishment of the Monks, and the King's Answer to it.

and Respect, that he might avoid the Trouble of an Interdiction, &c. The King interrupting the Bishop's Speech, broke out into a violent Passion against the Pope and Cardinals, swearing by God's Teeth, That if they or any other should dare to put the Kingdom under Interdiction, he would send all the Clergy of *England* immediately to the Pope, and confiscate their Goods: And if any Person sent from *Rome* for that end were found in any part of the Land, he would have their Eyes put out and Noses cut off, and so sent home, that by these Marks they might be known of other Nations, charging the Bishops to depart his Presence immediately, as they tender'd their own Safety.

The Bishops soon after give the Pope an Account of the Success of their Message, and the Kingdom was thereupon interdicted, the Ministration of Sacraments ceased (except of Confession, Extremum Unction, and Baptism of Children) the Dead was buried without Priest or Prayer^b. The Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, fled secretly out of the Kingdom. The King to requite this Severity, sends his Sheriffs and other Ministers, to command all the Bishops and their Servants to depart forthwith out of the Kingdom, puts the Bishopricks, Abbies, and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, confiscating all their Revenues; but the Bishops got into the Monasteries, and would not depart, unless expell'd by Force, which the Officers would not do, because their Commission did not reach so far; wherefore they seiz'd on their Goods for the King's Use. The Monkish Writers of those Times give us a Tragical Account of the barbarous Usage the Clergy and Religious Men met withal from the King's Servants at this Time, and 'tis probable the incensed King might encourage Men to injure and abuse them, from whom he suffer'd so much, but their rebellious Obstinacy deserv'd such Severities, that their credible Relations will pass for Forgeries.

The King not having been able to prevent this Curse, sets himself to hinder the ill Consequences of it. He was sensible, that this Breach with the Church would endanger his Peace, and probably cause a Defection among his Subjects; and therefore to avoid it, he sent a Body of Soldiers to all the most potent Men in his Kingdom, to require of them Hostages for their Fidelity, which many of them yielded to, sending some their Sons, other their Nephews, and others their nearest Kin. *William de Brause*, a Nobleman, being requir'd to deliver his Hostage, was prevented in his Answer by his Wife, who told the Commissioners, That the King should have none of her Sons to keep, because he kept *Arthur* his own Brother's Son so ill. Which rash Speech the Baron sharply reproving his Wife for before the King's Servants, told them, That he was ready, if he had offended, to satisfy the King without any Pledge, according to the Judgment of his Court, or that of his Peers at any Time or Place whatsoever. But his Wife's Answer was taken more notice of than his, and reported to the King, who sends immediately to apprehend the Baron; but he having notice of it, or fearing what would follow, got away with his Wife and Children into *Ireland*, where this afflicted Lady sought all ways to pacify the King's Wrath, and presented the Queen with four hundred Milk-white Cows and a Bull: But this would not procure her Pardon. The King at length apprehended her and her Sons, the Baron himself

A. D.
1207.
Reg. 9.

The King's
dom inter-
dicted.
1208.

The King
takes Plea-
ges of his
Nobles.

^a His usual Oath was, *By God's Feet*, and he swore so now.
^c Their Concubines, *Focariae*, are particularly nam'd by *Paris* to be taken from them, and the Priests and Clerks were forc'd to pay great Compositions to recover them.

^b As *M. Paris* says, in the Highways and Ditches.

escaping

A. D. 1208. Reg. 11. escaping into *France*) and imprison'd them in *Windsor Castle*; where both she and her innocent Children were famish'd to Death, a sharp Punishment for a rash Tongue.

The King displeased with the *Londoners*, removed his Exchequer to *Northampton*, and with a great Army marches towards *Scotland*, to make War upon that King for harbouring his Enemies, and assisting them against him. But by mediation a Peace was agreed upon, on these Conditions: That the King of Scots should pay eleven thousand Marks of Silver, and deliver up his two Daughters Hostages to secure the Peace. In his Return he caused all the Inclosures of his Forests to be beaten down, to the great Grief of his Subjects; whom, though he never minded to satisfy, yet he sought all Means to fasten them in their Obedience, (whereof Love, not Rigour, is the fastest Tye) and therefore took Homage of all Free-Tenants, yea even of Children of twelve Years old throughout the Kingdom.

King John Excommunicated. After the Interdiction had lain upon the Kingdom two Years, to the Distraction of the People, but without the Effect intended upon the King, the Pope thinking to bring him to compliance, proceeds to the Excommunication of his Person; a Piece of Rigour, which his Predecessor *Alexander*, being better advised, would not use against *Henry II.* tho' accus'd of a more heinous Crime upon the Person of *Thomas Becket*; but this Method failed also, and the King grew only the more enraged against the Clergy: So that, notwithstanding the Pope's Mandate, they durst not execute it for many Days after, but kept it close from his knowledge; but at length it came to his Ears, by the Means of *Jeffrey Arch-deacon of Norwich*, an Officer in the King's Exchequer, who conferring with his Fellows about the Sentence, affirmed, That it was not lawful for any Beneficed Men to remain in the Service and Obedience of an Excommunicated King; and so without leave withdrew himself from his Place to his own House. The King hearing of this Action was very angry, and presently sent Sir *William Talbott* with armed Men to apprehend him, and lay him in Fetters in close Imprisonment; and afterward, at the King's Command, he was put into a Sheet of Lead^a, in which, with the Weight, and want of Victuals, he perish'd.

Otho the Emperor Excommunicated. The Excommunication of the King of *England* was accompany'd the same Year with another, of the Emperor *Otho*, his Nephew, which like his Uncle's was look'd upon as a Strain of the Pope's Pride and Injustice; because it was done in a Case of the Pope's own private Interest, seeking to extend his Authority beyond the Bounds of a Spiritual Jurisdiction, which reaches only to their Souls, not Estates. For tho' the Pope had been very instrumental in raising him to the Imperial Dignity, and opposing the Election of *Philip*, Son of *Fredericke Barbarossa*, for his own Ends, because in the Vacancy of the Empire he had seized certain Parts of *Italy* belonging to it, and hoped so to keep them; yet when *Otho* sought to recover his Right, he procured the Pope's Displeasure, who sent him divers Messages to desist from the Prosecution of his Design, both in respect to himself, and *Fredericke King of Sicily*, who had put himself under the Protection of the Apostolick See. To these Messages the Emperor reply'd, That if the Pope desires unjustly to usurp any thing that belongs to the Empire, he must absolve me from the Oath which he caused me to take at my Coronation, which was, That

A. D. 1209. I should recall and recover the Rights which had been rent from the Empire, and I will desist. But the Pope refusing this, and the Emperor not desisting from his Claim, the Pope issu'd out his Excommunication against him, and absolved all the States of *Germany* from their Obedience to him. And thus were two of the greatest Princes in the World left to the Mercy of their Subjects, so far as lay in the Pope's Power; but the Ligaments and Sinews of Government were not so wholly dissolved, especially in *England*, but the Kingdom continued still in some tolerable Order and Quiet, the Natural Affections of some, Sense of Duty and Obligations of Interest in others, keeping them firm to their Loyalty and Allegiance; so that most of the Nobles adhered to their King.

But because Ease and Idleness would probably corrupt his Loyal Subjects, and make them ready to hearken to the Suggestions of the Pope against him, therefore the King resolv'd to keep them in Employment; and having receiv'd an Intelligence of a Revolt of the *Irish*, he undertakes an Expedition into *Ireland* to secure his Dominions there. At his first arrival, all the great Men, which held the Castles and Champion Country near the Coasts, came in, and did their Homage and Fealty to him at *Dublin*; but those that lived in the more remote Parts, and held the Forts, refused to come; of which *Catalus King of Connaught* was the strongest, and the Confidence of the rest. King *John* therefore attack'd and conquer'd him, and soon became absolute Master of the Country; which to reduce into better Order, he commanded to be govern'd by the Laws and Customs of *England*, caused *English Money* to be coined there, of equal Value and alike Current as in *England*, with many other Constitutions, which if they had been as carefully kept as they were wisely settled, might have kept that Kingdom in entire Obedience ever after, and saved all the Pains and Expence which it cost in after-Ages to preserve it. After three Months stay, having made *John Gray Bishop of Norwich* Chief Justice there, he return'd home, and presuming upon his strength, summon'd all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him at *London*, where he extorted from them for the Redemption of their Sees from the Laity, an hundred thousand Pound Sterling. With this Sum he was enabled to go on with his Expedition into *Wales*, which then rebelled under *Llewelin King of North-Wales*, and reduced it to his Obedience in the twelfth Year of his Reign, taking twenty eight Children of their best Families for Pledges of their future Subjection. At his return, he exacted two Marks of every Knight that attended not upon his Army in that Expedition; and by the way at *Northampton* is pleased to receive the Pope's Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandus*, who came from the Pope to make Peace between the Kingdom and Clergy, and found the King so pliable to their Proposals and Advice, in Consideration of the State of the Kingdom, that he consented that the Archbishop and Monks of *Canterbury*, with all the exil'd Bishops, should return to their Places, but refused to make good their Estates which he had confiscated: At which the Agents of the Pope departing unsatisfied, brought greater Troubles upon the King. For the Pope finding him a little yielding, grew more intolerably Imperious, and would force him to what he pleased; and for that End absolved all his Subjects, of what Condition soever, from their Obedience, strictly forbidding them, under pain of Excommunication, the King's Table, Counsel

King John's Expedition into Ireland. 1211.

Wales rebels, and is reduced to Obedience.

1212.

^a 'Twas a Leaden Cope. Matt. Paris.

A. D. 1212. and Conference; which notwithstanding prevail'd not so much as to keep his Subjects from paying their Service to him; tho' it caused a Revolt of the *Welsh*, and a Conspiracy of some of his People against him. The *Welsh* he hastid to subdue, and hang'd up their twenty eight Hostages for Breach of Peace; but before he could effect it, the Conspiracy against his Person being discover'd, he was obliged to return to *London* to suppress the suspected Nobles, of which he got Pledges; but *Eustace de Vesey* and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, the Leaders of it, escaped, the one into *France*, and the other into *Scotland*. The Pope being thus again disappointed of his Designs, proceeded to his last Efforts, and pronounced the greatest and most imperious Sentence that ever was given against any Sovereign Prince, viz. an absolute Deposition from the Royal Government of *England*; and wrote to the King of *France*. 'That as he desired to have Remission of his Sins, he should undertake to expel King *John* out of the Kingdom of *England*, and possess the same for himself and his Heirs for ever. And to the same effect he sent his Letters to other Princes, and great Men of other Nations, 'That they should assist the King of *France* in ejecting the Contumacious King of *England*, who had done so great Injury to the Universal Church; granting them the same Remission of Sins, as if they undertook the Holy War.

The Pope deposes the King, and gives his Kingdom to the French.

King of France's Preparations to invade John's Dominions.

With the former Commission were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other banished Bishops, with *Pandulphus*, dispatch'd to the King of *France* for the Execution thereof; which notwithstanding the Pope seems to have done, rather to terrifie King *John*, than greaten the King of *France*, whom the Pope desired not to make more powerful; for he order'd *Pandulphus* to condition thus with him apart: 'That if upon the Preparations gather'd by him against King *John*, he could bring the King of *England* to such Conditions as he should propound, he should be absolved and restored. The King of *France*, upon this Request and Order of the Pope, and Solicitation of his Ministers, commands all his Nobility and Princes within his Dominions to assemble their Forces, with Horse, Armour, and all Amunition, to assist him in this business, and be ready in the Spring under pain of being depriv'd of their Estates; preparing also a great Navy for their Transportation into *England*. King *John* having Information of these Designs against him, sends to all the Ports of his Kingdom, commanding, That all the Ships, which could possibly be gotten, be ready against the Spring for this Expedition; and summoning 'all Earls, Barons, and all Persons of every Condition whatsoever, that could bear Arms, to be ready at *Dover* immediately after *Easter*, furnish'd with Horse, Armour, and all other Military Provisions, to defend themselves and his Kingdom against the intended Invasion, under pain of Culverage (*i. e.* being branded for Cowards) and perpetual Servitude. Whereupon so great numbers of People resorted to *Dover*, *Feverham*, *Ipswich*, and other places suspected for their Landing, that sufficient Arms and Provision could not be got for them; so that Multitudes were sent home again as unnecessary, and only the choice

and abler Sort reserved, which amounted to the number of sixty Thousand, well provided for Battle, besides the Navy, much greater than the King of *France's*^a. King *John* thus prepared, stood in Expectation of his Enemies, when privately two Knights Templars, sent over by *Pandulphus*, came to propound a Treaty to him about a Pacification, which, notwithstanding all this Preparation, the King accepted. *Pandulphus* being presently advertised of it, withdraws himself out of the *French* Army, and came over to treat with him; whom he so terrified with the Forces bent against him, and the Danger he was in, that he yielded to any Conditions whatsoever; and not only grants a Restitution and Satisfaction of whatever had been taken from the Archbishop and Monks of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Lincoln*, who were fled to the Archbishop, but also^b lays down his Crown, Scepter, Mantle, Sword and Ring, the Badges of his Royal Dignity, at the Feet of *Pandulphus*; delivering up therewith the Kingdom of *England* to the Pope, and submitting himself to the Judgment and Mercy of the Church. Two Days (some write, six) it was before the Legate would restore him his Crown; and at the receiving of it he swore, (his Earls undertaking for him) That he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of *England*, and the Lordship of *Ireland*, of the See of *Rome*, at the Yearly Tribute of a thousand Marks of Silver. And this, with his Homage and Fealty, he confirmed by his^c Charter at an House of the Templars near *Dover*. The weighty Reasons which moved King *John* to condescend to such dishonourable Terms are said by the Historians of those Times to be these: 'The Sense of his own Sins against God, having lived five Years excommunicated, and the Troubles the Kingdom was in by the Interdiction. 2. The Greatness of his Enemies, the King of *France*, and his Adherence. 3. The doubtful Allegiance of his Nobility, whom he had offended. 4. The Approach of Ascension-day, after which one *Peter*, an Hermite and Southsayer, had prophesied, he should be no more King of *England*; which, tho' mistaken in the manner, was in some sort fulfilled by this Resignation. But the Southsayer and his Son was put to Death not long after for his otherwise interpreted Divination. But notwithstanding this Submission of King *John*, the Interdiction of the Kingdom continu'd, and his own Absolution was deferr'd, till full Restitution was made to the Clergy, for whom eight thousand Marks of Silver was presently deliver'd to *Pandulphus*, who at the receiving thereof trampled it under his Feet, as contemning the base Matter in respect of the Grace conferr'd upon the Transgressor; and so return'd with it into *France*, where he declared what had passed in *England*; and forbids the King of *France*, upon pain of Excommunication, to proceed any farther in this Expedition, since King *John* had so much submitted himself to the Church.

A. D. 1213. Reg. 15.

John's Submission to Pandulphus the Pope's Legate, and the Reason of it.

The King of *France* being in a Readiness for this great Invasion, and full of hopes of Victory, flew into a great Passion at the Receipt of this sudden and unexpected Message, and was hardly diverted from his Intentions, by reason of the great Charge he had been at^d, and through the Dishonour

The King of France disappointed of England, invades Flanders, and is beaten.

^a Tho' that was seventeen hundred Sail.

^b Many of the Peers, who were present at this Act of Resignation made by King *John* to *Pandulphus*, were much displeas'd, not only with the King for so much debasing himself, but more with *Pandulphus* for his insolent Behaviour in accepting and detaining his Regalities; and particularly *Henry* Archbishop of *Dublin* protested against it, as an illegal Inchoachment upon the Crown of *England*.

^c This Charter is extant at large in Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 230.

^d Sixty thousand Pounds.

A. D. 1213. Reg. 15. Dishonour of the thing; but at last, seeing his Confederates all discouraged by the Menaces of the Church, he gave it over, tho' unwillingly; but for his own Reputation, and through Desire of Revenge, having so great Forces a-foot, and his Navy ready at the Mouth of the *Seine*, he resolv'd to undertake something that might give Satisfaction to the Adventurers, and his own People, who had embark'd in that Action. And because *Ferrard* Earl of *Flanders*, who was in Friendship with King *John*, refused to follow him in this Expedition, he falls upon him, who was next him, and enters his Port of *Dam*, vowing, *That Flanders should be France, or France Flanders.* *Ferrard* seeing this Tempest coming on him, sends to King *John* to assist him, who being glad that he had escap'd a defensive War at Home, was eager to enter into an offensive one Abroad, both to employ his Navy and keep his People in Action, who would be unsatisfied (he knew) if he dismiss'd them without Action; and therefore sends away five hundred Sail of Ships, with seven hundred Knights, unto *Flanders*, under the Conduct of his base Brother *William Longespee* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Reginald* Earl of *Bologne*; whom being driven out of *France* for some Demerit, he had entertain'd in his Court, and allow'd him a Pension. These arriving at the Port of *Dam* found the *French* Navy in great Disorder, and without Defence (the Forces being gone out of it to invade the Country) and setting upon it defeated it wholly; and afterward, joyning their Power with *Ferrard's*, drove the King of *France's* Army home with great Dishonour and exceeding great Loss.

John endeavours to recover his lost Dominion in France. King *John* being elivated with this Victory, and his Peace with the Church, resolves upon great Designs; and taking the Opportunity of this Overthrow of the King of *France*, contrives to recover all his Dominions on that side the Sea, by assaulting that King on all Sides, engaging his Nephew *Otho*, the Emperor, to joyn the Earl of *Flanders* and invade the East Parts of *France*, while he with all his Forces would enter the West; for the Execution of which purpose, he sends first a Supply of Money to his Captains in *Flanders*, and then assembles a great Army at *Portsmouth* to pass the Seas: But all his Contrivance was delay'd and spoil'd by the Revolt of his Nobility, who refus'd to assist or attend him in it till he were absolved, and had confirm'd their Liberties to them. This unexpected Opposition to his Affairs in hand much enrag'd him, but seeing no way to avoid it, he sends immediately for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops who were yet in *France*, and promis'd them Restitution and Satisfaction under the Hands and Seals of twenty four of his Barons, and Earls who undertook for the Performance thereof according to the Form of the Charter made on this account before. *Pandulphus*, with the rest of the exil'd Bishops, came over forthwith and find the King at *Winchester*, where he came forth to meet them, and on his Knees with Tears receiv'd them, beseeching them to have Compassion on him and of the Kingdom of *England*. He was absolv'd with great Repentance, and Compassion of all the Beholders express'd with Tears, and swears upon the Evangelists, 'To love, defend, and maintain Holy Church, and the Ministers thereof, against their Adversaries, to the utmost of his Power: That he would bring into Use again the good Laws of his Predecessors, and especially of King *Ed-*

'ward, abrogating all unjust Laws: That he would judge all his Subjects according to the just Judgment of his Court; and that immediately after *Easter* next following, he would make a full Satisfaction of all that had been taken from the Church. Which being done, he return'd to *Portsmouth* with an Intention to pass over into *France*, committing the Government of the Kingdom to *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, injoyning them to order all Affairs and Businesses by the Counsel of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And here a great Company of Soldiers repair'd to him, complaining, that by their long Attendance their Money was spent, so that they could not follow him, unless he would supply them out of his Exchequer; which the King refusing to do, he took Ship in a Rage, with his Family, and sail'd to the Isle of *Fersey*, expecting that his Nobles would follow him: But seeing none of them come, and the Season for Action being over, he was forced to return again into *England*, where he gather'd an Army to chastise his Barons, who had forsaken him. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* follows him to *Northampton*. Urging, 'That it was against his Oath, taken at his Absolution, to proceed in that manner against any Man without the Judgment of his Court. To whom the King in great Passion replied, 'That he would not lay aside the Business of the Kingdom for his Pleasure, seeing the Judgment of the Laity did not belong to him, and so in a Fury marches to *Nottingham*. The Archbishop still pursues him, and plainly told him, 'That unless he would desist from his Intention, he would excommunicate all such as took up Arms against any Man, before he releas'd the Interdiction, and would not leave him till he had obtain'd a convenient Day for the Lords to come to his Court, which he at length granted. And a Parliament was soon after called, and met in *St. Paul's* Church, at which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* produced a Charter of King *Henry I.* by which he granted to his People their ancient Liberties (which had been violated by his Predecessors unjust Exactions) according to the Laws of King *Edward*, with those Amendments, which his Father by the Council of his Barons did ratifie. This Charter (which is extant in *M. Paris*) being read among the Barons, they much rejoiced at it, and swore in the Presence of the Archbishop, That for these Liberties they would, if need requir'd, spend their Blood; and making an Agreement with the Archbishop to that end, the Parliament brake up.

Shortly after this dy'd *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, Chief Justice of *England*, a Man of a generous Spirit, learn'd in the Laws and skilful in Government; the only Man, who in those divided Times kept himself disengag'd, performing the Part of an equal Counsellor and Officer between the King and his Subjects; whom tho' the King most used, he most feared and least loved, as bad Princes do their worthiest Ministers, whose Gravity and Judgment keeps them in Awe. The King hearing of his Death, was much pleas'd, and said, *When he comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop Hubert, whom he will certainly find there;* and turning to those that attended, he swore by the Feet of God, *That now at length he was King and Lord of England, being now at Liberty* (as he imagin'd) to free himself from the Oath he had made to his great Men against his Will, and to

A. D. 1213. Reg. 15.

John threatens his Barons, and the Archbishop forbids him to use Severity against them.

The Death of Fitz-Peter, Chief Justice.

^a The French Historians affirm the Expedition against the Earl of *Flanders* was before *Pandulph* came over.

^b They came to *Winchester* the 20th July, 1213. Hol.

^c 'Twas a Synod of that Clergy, with some Barons among them. *M. Paris.*

A. D. 1213. to break the Peace he had lately concluded. And
 Reg. 15. first to make himself an absolute Master of his
 Subjects (of whose Combination against him he
 had gotten Intelligence) it is said, That he sent
 an Ambassage by *Thomas Hardington*, *Ralph Fitz-*
Nichols, Knights, and *Robert of London*, Clerk,
 his Commissioner. to *Mirumumalin* the Moor,
 the great King of *Africa*, *Morocco*, and *Spain*;
 who was then the Terror of all *Christendom*,
 with his mighty Army, promising him to resign
 his Kingdom to him, and hold it ever after by
 Tribute from him, as his Sovereign Lord, to
 forsake the Christian Faith (which he held vain)
 and become a *Mahometan*, if he would lend him
 a sufficient Aid to accomplish his Designs; but
 they return'd with an ineffectual Answer, either
 because (as his Enemies the Monks relate) he
 disdain'd the Baseness and Impiety of the Offer,
 or he was made unable to do it by reason of the
 Overthrow of his great Army with the Death
 of his Son, which soon after happen'd. The King
 being disappointed in this Attempt, takes ano-
 ther way to bring about his Design, and try
 Pope *Innocent* (a Person easie to be induc'd to
 do any thing for Money) with great Sums, and
 a repeated Assurance of his Subjection, which
 he shortly after confirm'd by a fresh Oath and
 a new Charter to the Pope's Legate, the Bishop
 of *Tusculum*, who was sent over by the Pope
 for that purpose, with a full Authority to com-
 pose all Differences between the King and the
 Church. Several Assemblies were had in divers
 Places to settle this Agreement, and in the end
 the King having promis'd, and given Security
 to pay thirteen thousand Marks more in full Sa-
 tisfaction for the Damages done to the Church.
 The Interdiction was releas'd, which had con-
 tinu'd six Years, three Months, and fourteen Days,
 to the inestimable Loss of the Church and Church-
 men, and the King recommended to the Court
 of *Rome* for a most tractable, obedient, and in-
 dulent Son of the Church; and the Clergy, in
 stead of a Satisfaction for their particu-
 lar Damages which they brought in to the Legate, re-
 ceiv'd a sharp Reprimand for their Obstinacy in
 opposing him.

1214.
The Inter-
diction
taken off.

John's
Success in
Poitou.

The King having referr'd the Determination
 of this whole Controversie to the Legate and
 some of his own Ministers (being fully assur'd of
 the Pope's Favour) was gone into *Poitou* to at-
 tack the King of *France*, according to his Design
 and Agreement with the Emperor *Otho*, who
 was to invade him by the way of *Flanders*. He
 landed at *Rochel* with his Queen, and having re-
 ceiv'd the Fealty of many of the Barons of *Poitou*,
 marched forward into the Country, and recover'd
 many Castles and Places of Importance (as appears
 by his Letters from *Parthenas* to the Justices of the
 Exchequer, in which also he says, that he had
 promis'd his Daughter *Joanna* in Marriage to the
 Earl of *Marche*'s Son, tho' the King of *France*
 had desir'd her for his Son, but fraudulently.)
 From thence he goes into *Britain*, takes the City
 of *Nantz*, and prepar'd to encounter *Lewis* the
French King's Son, who was come into those
 Parts with a mighty Army to stop his Proceed-
 ings. But the *Poitevins* having discover'd the
 Force of the Enemy, refus'd to fight: Where-

upon the King to his extream Grief, forsook the
 Field, and was forced to come to a dishonoura-
 ble Peace with the King of *France*, and so irreco-
 verably lost his Dominions there. But his Forces
 in *Flanders*, which were joyn'd with the Empe-
 rour's, and *Ferrand*'s, had far worse Luck; for
 the King of *France* having gather'd all his
 Forces he could together, encounter'd them at
Bovines Bridge, and overthrew the Emperour
 with all the Confederate Army, which consisted of
 one hundred fifty thousand Foot, besides Horse;
 of which fifteen hundred Knights were slain, and
Ferrand Earl of *Flanders*, the Earls of *Salisbury*
 and *Bologn*, and (as the *Annals of Flanders* re-
 late) the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Lemburg*, and
 the Earls of *Savoy* and *Luxembourg* were taken
 Prisoners, the Emperour *Otho IV.* himself hard-
 ly escaping, who lived not long after.

A. D.
1214.
Reg. 16.

The Battel
of Bovines
Bridge.

The Barons of *England* hearing of the King's
 Misfortunes, and fearing his outrageous Anger at
 his return, assembled themselves at *St. Edmonds-*
bury; where after a long Conference about the
 late produced Charter of *Henry the First*, they
 swore to one another upon the high Altar, That
 if King *John* refused to restore and confirm to
 them their Liberties, and the Rights of the King-
 dom contain'd in it, they would make War upon
 him, till he had given them Satisfaction therein;
 and agreed, That after *Christmas* next they would
 petition him for the same, and in the mean time
 furnish themselves with Horses and Arms to be
 ready (if the King should recede from his Oath
 made at *Winchester* at the Time of his Absolution,
 for the Confirmation of these Liberties) to com-
 pel him to ratifie their Demands. After *Christ-*
mas accordingly the Barons came in a Military
 manner to the King, who then lay in the new
 Temple, urging their Desires with great Vehe-
 mency. The King seeing their Resolution and
 Inclination to War, made them Answer, 'That
 'the Matter they desir'd being of Importance,
 'he would take time to consider of it till *Easter*,
 'and in the mean time takes upon him the Vow
 'of the Cross rather through Fear than Devo-
 'tion; thinking himself safer among Infidels
 'than Rebellious Subjects. The Lords continu-
 ing their Resolution, and foreseeing that the
 King would grant them nothing but by Force
 of Arms, summon'd their Army to *Stamford*,
 wherein 'tis said were two thousand Knights be-
 sides Esquires among the Foot; and from thence
 marches towards *Oxford*, where the King ex-
 pected their coming, according to the time ap-
 pointed for Answer to their Demands. The
 Barons being come to *Brackley* with their Army,
 the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Wil-*
liam Earl of *Pembroke* his Marshal, with other
 grave Counsellors, to demand of them what
 were those Laws and Liberties: To whom they
 gave a Schedule, or List of them, to deliver to
 the King; which when the Commissioners read
 to the King, he asked them in great Anger, 'Why
 'the Barons did not likewise demand the King-
 'dom? And swore, That he would never grant
 'those Liberties whereby himself should become
 'a Slave. The Barons having receiv'd this An-
 swer, and being as hasty as he was averse, resolve
 to seize upon the King's Castles; and having
 made

The Barons
League.

1215.

The Barons
rebel, seize
the King's
Castles,
and possess
themselves
of Lon-
don.

* This Embassy to *Mirumumalin*, the *Moorish* Emperor, is judg'd by our *English* Historians a Monkish Lye, invented to blacken the Memory of this King, because he had been so severe to them; for it was the common Calumny of the Monks, that they had no Religion who lov'd not their Orders. *Mat. Paris* is the only Author that relates this Story; yet it seems improbable, that he who liv'd and wrote in the Reign of this King's Son, and by his particular Encouragement, should dare to report such a scandalous Embassy if it was not true.

^b Archbishop *Langton* (tho' a great Friend to the *Roman* See) and all the Nobility protested against this Act of King *John*, in subjecting his See to the Pope; and the Nobility declar'd, That one of the chief Causes of their making War upon him was, because he had illegally alienated his Kingdom: And upon this account it was, that this Subjection to the Pope was recall'd by Parliament. 3 *Edw. 1.* and 40 *Edw. 3.*

^c The Interdiction was taken off in *St. Paul's Church* the 19th of *June*, 1214. *Hol.*

A. D. 1215. Reg. 17. made Robert Fitz-Walter their General, whom they entitled, *The Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church*, they presently march towards Northampton, which they besieged; but finding it in vain, departed to Bedford, where William de Beuchamp surrendered to them; and the Londoners sent a private Message to them to invite them into their City, which they would deliver up to be ruled by them. The Barons glad of this news, repair immediately thither, and are joyfully accepted. And now being in Possession of the greatest Strength of the Kingdom, they not only increased daily in their Party, but grew bolder with the King; making another solemn Protestation, never to give over the Prosecution of their intended Design, till they constrain'd the King (whom they held perjurd) to grant them their Rights. The King seeing himself in a manner wholly forsaken, having scarce seven Knights faithful to him, counterfeits the Bishops Seals, and writes in their Names to all Nations, 'That the English were turn'd Apostates; and whosoever would come to invade them, he, by the Pope's consent, would confer upon them all their Lands and Possessions.' But this Device taking no effect, because of the small Confidence they had either in him or his People, a Parly by the Mediation of the Earl Marshal and others was obtained with the Barons, to be had between Windsor and Stanes, in a Meadow call'd a *Running-Mead*, (a Place anciently used for such Conferences) where, after many Meetings and much Debate, the King freely consented, for the Glory of God and Benefit of the Kingdom, to confirm those Laws and Liberties formerly restored, and in part ordained by Henry the First (contained now in the *Great Charter*, and *Charta Foresta*.) And that there might be no Differences in this kind for the future, he granted them a Security for the firm and long Enjoyment of these Laws and Liberties in this manner: 'That there should be twenty five Barons chosen out of their Number, whom they would, who to the utmost of their Power should cause the same to be observed. And if the King, or his Chief Justice, should break any Article of those Laws, and their Offence be discover'd, four Barons of the twenty five should come to the King, or in his Absence out of the Kingdom, to his Justice, and signify the Offence, requiring a Redress without delay; which if it were not made within forty Days after notice given, then those four should refer the Cause to the rest of the twenty five, who with the Commons of the Land, may compel and force him by all means they could, viz. by seizing his Castles and Revenues, (his own, Queen's and Childrens Persons excepted) till redress be made according to their Arbitration. And that whosoever would, should take their Oath for the Execution of it, and obey the Command of the twenty five Barons without Prohibition; and if any of them dissented, or would not assemble, the major part shall have the same power of proceeding. And for the greater Caution, the four Governors of the Castles of Northampton, Kenelworth, Nottingham, and Scarborough, should be sworn to obey the Command of the twenty five Barons, or the major part of them, in whatsoever they thought fit concerning those Castles, and none should be placed in them, but such as were faithful, and would observe that Oath, &c. That several Strangers, of which divers are expressly nam'd, should be

Magna Charta first granted, and sworn to be observed.

banish'd the Kingdom, and a general Pardon for all Persons concern'd in this Difference and Contest from first to last: That both Parties should engage by Oath to keep this Agreement inviolable in all its Articles.' The King also sends his Letters Patents to all the Sheriffs of his Kingdom, to cause all his Subjects, of what Degree soever, within their several Shires, to swear to observe those Laws and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

After this manner, and no better, were the Rights of the Kingdom recover'd; whereof, tho' the Nobles and People seem'd to have had the Livery, yet they wanted the *Seisin*. For the King being among evil Counsellors, who told him, that by this Grant he had made himself a King without a Kingdom, a Lord without Dominions, and a Subject to his Subjects; presently pretends, that what he had done was by Force, and therefore he had no Obligation to perform it, and resolv'd that he would not; and so withdraws himself into the Isle of Wight. From hence he sends his Agents to Rome (where he could do almost any thing) to complain of this forced Act to the Pope, who by his definitive Sentence first condemns and makes void what had been done, and after excommunicates the Barons. During the King's absence in this Retreat, the Barons knowing the Violence of his Nature, and sensible of their own Danger, kept themselves in and about the City of London, and under a shew of Tournaments, and Exercise of Arms, retain'd with them such a number of Men as was sufficient for their own Defence; neither seeking to surprize his Person, nor intercept his Agents, both which they could easily have done, had they acted as Enemies, and not as Subjects, who sought not the Destruction of their Prince, but Restitution of their own Liberties, and the Rights of the Kingdom. Nor was the King idle in this his Retreat in the Isle, tho' he seem'd so; but in order to put his Designs in Execution, he dispatch'd the Bishop of Worcester, then Chancellor of England, the Bishop of Norwich, and others, with his Seal to procure him Forces from such foreign Princes as held Correspondency with him, appointing them to repair to Dover about Michaelmas following. In the mean time, without any Equipage, (except a few Servants, and Mariners) he spent his time in Fishing and Excursions at Sea; insomuch that the common Reports ran, That he was a Fisherman, Merchant or Pyrate. But at the appointed time he meets at Dover, with those Forces which had been gather'd for him out of Poitou, Gascony, Lowain and Brabant, under the Conduct of Savarie de Malemon, Jeffrey and Oliver Buteville, Brothers, Walter Bucke, and others, all desperate Adventurers, leading as desperate a Multitude of Soldiers, whose low Fortunes made them forward in any the most hazardous Attempt. With these the King sets upon his Subjects, who could hardly be call'd rebellious; and had not Hugh de Boues, who was come from Calis with a farther Addition of forty thousand Men, been drowned in the Passage, he had no doubt made a more general Conquest of England than the Norman did, considering what he effected with the Survivors. For after he had recover'd the Castle of Rochester (which William de Albines with memorable Courage held out three Months against him, and was forced to resign, because the Barons dare not relieve him) he marched over the whole Kingdom almost, and within half a Year got in all the Castles of the Barons

A. D. 1215. Reg. 17.

The King revokes his Grant of the Magna Charta.

The Barons again arms.

John with foreign Forces conquers the Barons.

^a In Runnemede, which (as Matt. of Westminster observes) signifies the Mead of Counsel.

^b Matt. Paris says, These wicked Counsellors were the Officers of his standing Army of Mercenaries, Raptarii, Brabanders, and Flemish Horse.

A. D. 1215. Reg. 17. Barons, as far as the Borders of Scotland, and was absolute Master of all England, except the City of London, on which he was afraid to adventure, because of the united Power of the Barons, who had vow'd to die together in the defence of it: But dividing his Forces, with one part he cut off all ways of Supply, that he might annoy them; himself with another part marching Northward, and laying waste the Countries as he went, as far as Berwick. He was intended to have invaded Scotland, as appear'd from his threatening *Alexander* King of the Scots, *That he would hunt the Fox out of his Hole*; alluding to his red Hair: But the news of some fresh Designs plotted by the Barons brought him back from those Parts. For they seeing themselves depriv'd of their Estates, (which were given to Strangers) their Wives and Daughters ravish'd, and all their Substance consum'd, desperately fall upon another Extream, and send for assistance to *Lewis* the French King's Son, promising him by their free Election to invest him with the Crown of England, and engaged to give him Pledges for the Performance; being persuaded, that upon the Approach of the French, King *John's* French Forces would forsake him. *Lewis* gave a good Entertainment to the Message, and in a Parliament call'd for that Purpose by his Father *Philip*, it was resolv'd upon, and a Message sent to the Barons, that he would speedily send them Relief, and be not long behind them himself in Person, having hopes of the Crown of England, not only from their proffer'd Election, but also upon the Title which he pretended from *Blanch* his Wife, King *John's* Sister's Daughter^b. The Intelligence of this Design soon flew to Rome, and got to the Pope's Ears, who presently sends his Agent to the King of France with Letters to intreat him not to suffer his Son to invade or disquiet the King of England, but rather to defend him, in regard he was a Vassal of the Roman Church, and the Kingdom, as to the Dominion of it, did belong thereunto. The King of France answers: 'That the Kingdom of England never was, nor is, nor ever shall be, the Patrimony of St. Peter; and that King *John* was never lawful King thereof, and if he were, he had forfeited it by the Murther of Prince *Arthur*, for which he was condemned in his Court; neither could he give away the Kingdom without the Consent of the Barons, who are bound to defend the same: And if the Pope would maintain this Error, 'twould be a pernicious Example to all Kingdoms.' With this Answer the Pope's Agents depart, but unsatisfied; and *Lewis* first having dispatch'd Commissioners to Rome, to declare his Right, and justify his Undertakings, sets forth from Calis with six hundred Ships, and eighty other Vessels, and lands^c at Sandwich with his Army. King *John* waited at Dover for his landing, with purpose to encounter him; but upon notice of his great Forces, and distrusting the

Lewis goes into England with a great Army.

Faith of his Mercenaries, forsook the Field; and having committed the keeping of the Castle to *Hubert de Burgh*, flies first to Winchester, and after to Gloucester, and leaves all to the Will of his Enemy *Lewis*; who, after he had gotten the Submission of all Kent, (except of Dover-Castle, which he never could obtain) he march'd to London, where he is received by the Barons with great Joy; and upon his Oath to restore their Laws, and preserve their Rights, hath Homage and Fealty done to him as their Sovereign Lord. To him also came the Earls *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, and *William Marshall*, the younger, with many others, forsaking King *John*, and render'd themselves to him. *Guallo*, the Pope's Agent, pursu'd *Lewis*; and tho' he passed through many Dangers by *Lewis's* Party, got to Gloucester, shews King *John* the Pope's Care and Zeal for him, and in a solemn manner pronounces the Sentence of Excommunication against *Lewis*, and all his Adherents: Which, tho' it brought some little Comfort to *John* for the present, yet did his Enemy little or no harm, nor could confirm his hired Soldiers in their Fidelity to him: For soon after most of them left him, and either went over to *Lewis*, or return'd home with the Spoils they had gotten; yet was he not so utterly forsaken, but he had Forces enough to annoy, tho' not to encounter his Enemy, and some Ministers at a distance from him, that stood firm to him. Dover-Castle held out with a small Company against all the Forces *Lewis* could bring against it; and Windsor-Castle, with sixty Men, stood out against all the Barons could do; and Nottingham and Lincoln-Castles made a resolute Resistance, and could not be gain'd. Nothing was effected almost, but the Ruine and Destruction of the open and undefended Country, and that in the most fruitful and plentiful parts of the Nation, viz. about Gloucester, the Marshes of Wales, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and London, which were the Seat of the War. But this Mischief, which had continued all that Summer, came to an end about the latter end of October, when a burning Fever seized upon this fiery King. The Cause of it was thought to be from the extream Grief he had conceiv'd by the loss of his Carriages, which passing over the Sands between Lin and Boston, were lost^d, and was increased by a Surfeit of Peaches and New Ale, gotten at the Abby of Swinhead; from whence he was convey'd in great Weakness to Newark, where, after he had receiv'd the Eucharist, and taken Order for the Succession of his Son *Henry*, he died in the one and fiftieth Year of his Age, having reigned eighteen Years, five Months, and four Days^e. The Abbot of Crockeston, a Person well skill'd in Physick, and at that time the King's Physician, disbowell'd him, and would no doubt have given notice to the World, had his Master (as it was afterward reported) been poison'd^f by a Monk of Swinhead-Abby; but

His Death

^a This French Parliament unanimously declar'd, That no King or Prince, by his single Authority, had Power to give away, or make over his Kingdom, and thereby enslave his People.

^b Daughter to *Eleanor* Queen of Castile, Wife to *Alphonso VIII*.

^c He landed at Stanmore in the Isle of Thanet on the 12th of May, 1216.

^d *Matt Paris* writes, That the Earth open'd, and Men, Horses and Carriages sunk down into the Gulph. The Abbot of Cogshall says, They were overtaken by the Tide in the Washes, and lost in the Water and Quicksands.

^e He dy'd on the 18th of October, 1216. He was elected King the 27th of May, 1199. He Reign'd therefore seventeen Years, four Months, and three Weeks; or reckoning from the Death of King *Richard* on the 6th of April, 1199. seventeen Years, six Months, and twelve Days.

^f *Mr. Daniell* seems to be of Opinion, That the Relation that King *John* was kill'd by Poison, which is follow'd by most of our modern English Historians, as *Mr. Fox*, *Speed*, and *Fuller*, is forg'd, depending upon the Authority of *Matt Paris*, who liv'd in those Times, for the Truth of what he says. But since many ancient Historians, both Printed and Manuscript, which are quoted by *Mr. Speed*, assert it, and *Paris* himself relates a Passage in King *Henry* his Son's Life, which intimates as tho' the King himself believ'd his Father was poison'd by the Monks, tho' perhaps he could get no clear proof of it; it is more reasonable that *Matt Paris* should conceal so dangerous a Crime in the Son's Life, than the other Monks, who wrote afterward, should so grossly bely their own Order by an Invention, which became so famous, that it must needs meet with great Contradiction. *Caxton* was the first that told the Story of his being poison'd, in English; and no Author who liv'd within sixty Years of the time ever mention'd it. *Caxton* also writes, That the Monk poison'd himself to poison the King, drinking first of the same Bowl. *Walter Hemingford* relates, He was poison'd by a Dish of Pears. And their Difference in the Report, adds to the Discredit of it.

A. D. 1216. but the Writers of those Times report no such Matters. Reg. 18. He had by his Wife *Isabel* (Daughter to *Aymer* Earl of *Angolism*) two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Joanna*, *Eleanor*, and *Isabel*. *Henry* succeeded him in his Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwall*, and crown'd King of the *Romans*, and had Issue, *Henry*, and *John* that dy'd Childless, *Edward* Earl of *Cornwall*, and others. *Joanna* the eldest Daughter, who was marry'd to *Alexander* II. King of *Scots*, dy'd without Issue. *Eleanor*, the second Daughter, marry'd first to *William* the Mareschal, and afterwards to *Simon* Earl of *Leicester*, by whom she had these Children, *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almerick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* was slain before he had a Child; *Simon* was Earl of *Bigorr*, and the Founder of a Family of the *Mountford's* in *France*; *Almarick* was first a Priest, and secondly a Knight; *Guy* was Earl of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Founder of the Family of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscany*, and

of the Earls of *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; *Richard* remain'd privately in *England*, and changing his Name from *Mountford* to *Wellesborn*, was the Original of the Family of the *Wellesborns* in *England*; *Eleanor* was brought up in *France*, but marry'd to *Lewin ap Griffith*, a Prince of *Wales*; *Isabel* the youngest Daughter, was married to the Emperor *Frederick* II. and had Children; *Henry* was made King of *Sicily*; and *Margaret*, who was Wife to *Albert*, Landgrave-*Thurin*, dy'd in Child-bed after she had been Empress six Years. He had two Natural Sons, *Jeffrey Fitz-Roy*, who transported Soldiers out of *France*, when *Hubert* forbade his Father to go thither; *Richard*, who marry'd the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover* (who built *Childham-Castle*) and had Children by her, which branched into several good Families, and one Natural Daughter *Joanna*, who was marry'd to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*, who had the Castles and Lordship of *Ellinsmore* with her.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of King John.

IN the 3d Year of his Reign, about *December*, five Moons were seen in *Yorkshire*, one in the East, the second in the West, the third in the North, the fourth in the South, and the fifth in the middle of 'em, having many Stars about it: Which Wonder was in those days, observ'd to precede a violent Season for Cold and Rain afterwards. The next Year the Floods were so high, that Bridges were thrown down, the Corn and Hay spoil'd, and Cattel and Men drown'd in several Places. In that which follow'd, after an extraordinary cold Winter, there happen'd grisly Tempests, terrible Storms of Thunder, Lightning and Hail, the Stones as big as Hens Eggs; Spirits were seen in the Air in the Shape of Birds, flying up and down with Fire in their Beaks, which they dropt on several Houses, and set them on fire. *Holinshed*.

[If these Miraculous Events are not true, they serve at least to give us an Idea of the Superstition and Ignorance of those Times.]

In the 6th Year of his Reign, the Fishermen of *Orford* in *Suffolk* took a Sea-Monster in the Nets, resembling a wild Man in Shape. They presented him to Sir *Barth. de Glanville*, Governour of the Castle of *Orford*, who kept him several Days. He was naked, and like a Man in all his Limbs and Members; he was hairy in those Parts of the Body where Hair grows, except the Crown of his Head, which was bald; his Beard was long and rugged, and his Breast hairy; he greedily devour'd whatever Meat was set before him, Fish, or Flesh, raw or boil'd; the raw he press'd in his hand, till he squeez'd out the Moisture, and then he swallow'd it. He wou'd not or cou'd not speak; tho' to force him to it, the Knight's Servants ty'd him up by the Heels, and cruelly tormented him. He lay down on his Couch at Sun-set, and rose at Sun-rising. They carry'd him one Day to the Sea, and suffer'd him to go into it, having secur'd him from getting from them, as they thought, by spreading three rows of strong Nets; but the Monster div'd down below them all, past them, and came up again beyond them. He there shew'd himself to the Country Fellows that waited for him on the Shore; he pop'd up and down in the Water as if he mock'd them for suffering him to deceive them; and having sported some time, when they gave him over for lost, he voluntarily return'd to them: But two Months after he grew weary of Land, and watching his Opportunity stole away to the Sea. *Ralph*, Abbot of *Coggeshall*, and *John Stow*, both tell this very odd Story; and *Caxton*, who wrote above two hundred Years ago, has it at large, but he places it in this King's Reign, and the two former Historians in the 33d of *Henry* the Second. If the Authority of these Writers can warrant for the Truth of it, 'tis the most remarkable Adventure that ever History transmitted to Posterity.

In the Winter, this Year, there was a hard Frost from *January* to *April*, which produc'd a Dearth, and in the next Year was a dreadful Storm of Wind, that blew down abundance of Houses; and driving the Snow which then lay on the Ground about in Drifts, overwhelm'd great Numbers of Sheep and Cattel.

In the Year 1208, the 10th Year of this King, the Citizens of *London* had a Charter from him to chuse their own Mayors, whom the King nam'd before himself; and on *Michaelmas-day* they chose *Henry Fitz-Alwin*, who as *Stow* reports, had that Office in the first Year of *Richard* the First, to be their Mayor. On the same Day, the Title of the Bailiffs of *London* was chang'd into that of Sheriffs, and *Peter Duke* and *Thomas Neal* were sworn Sheriffs, the first who bore that Office under that Name in *London*.

In his 11th Year the Students at *Oxford* being terrify'd at the hanging of three of their Fellows, remov'd to *Cambridge* and *Reading*, and were not soon perswaded to return to their old University. In the same Year one *Alexander Cementarius*, surnam'd *Theologus*, preach'd against the Pope's meddling with Temporal Affairs; affirming, No Power was granted to St. *Peter* but in Matters only relating to the Church.

In his 14th Year, on the 10th of July, St. Mary Overy's Church in Southwark was burnt with London Bridge, and a great Part of the City; three thousand People were suppos'd to be burnt and drown'd in the Confusion the Inhabitants were in upon the Fire taking both Ends of the Bridge at once.

Men Illustrious in Arms in his Time were

Robert Fitz-Walter, General of the Barons, *Eustace Veseie*, *Peter de Breause*, *William de Albanie*, *Hugh de Lacy*, famous Assertors of English Liberty. *William Marshal* Earl of Pembroke, who was always on the King's side, and many other Barons who were on both sides, animated by Passion or Interest, did brave things in the Civil War. *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, King John's chief Minister, was reckon'd one of the ablest Politicians of his Age.

In his Time flourish'd also *Jeffrey Vinesauf*, *Gervaise* of Canterbury, *William Petit* or *Parvus*, a Monk of Newburgh in Yorkshire, *Roger Hoveden*, *Gervaise* of Tilbury, *Nicolas de Ely* Bishop of Durham, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Radulphus de Diceto* Dean of St. Paul's, *Hugh White* of Peterborough, *John Gray* Bishop of Norwich, *Walter* of Coventry, *Radulphus Niger*, *John* of Oxford, Historians; as also *John* of Tilbury, a London Divine, *John Braklow*

a Benedictine Monk, *Stephen Langton*, who wrote the Life of Becket, and *Alain* Abbot of Tewksbury, *Heribert de Bosham*, *Joannes Carnotensis*, and *William* of Canterbury, which last four joyn'd together to write the *Quadrilogium* of Becket. *Joseph* of Devonshire a Poet, *Simon Thury* a Philosopher, of whom 'tis said, that he was miraculously seiz'd with a Fit of Oblivion or Forgetfulness, and turn'd Fool, as a Judgment upon him for his high Opinion of his own Wit, and his Contempt of the Deity. *Hubert Walter*, and *Langton*, Archbishops of Canterbury; *Walter* Bishop of Lincoln, *Coleman* surnam'd *Sapiens*, *Simon Ash*, *Richardus Canonicus*, *William Peregrine*, *Gervaise* of Dover, *John Hanvil*, *Nigell Woreker*, *Gilbert de Hoiland*, *Benet* of Peterborough, *Alexander* surnam'd *Theologus*, *Walter Mapis*, *Gilbert Lesley*, *Maurice Morgan*, *John de Fordham*, *William Leicester*, *Joceline Brackland*, *Roger* of Crowland, *John de St. Omer*, and *Adam* of Barkin, Divines and Mathematicians.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY III.

A. D.
1216.
Reg. 1.
Hen. III.
crown'd
King at
Glocester.

HENRY, the eldest Son of King John, a Child of about ten Years old, was immediately upon the Death of his Father crown'd King of England at Glocester, October 28. nine Days after his Father's Death; and being, by Reason of his Age, unable to manage a Kingdom, especially in such Trouble, he was committed to the Care and Guardianship of the great Marshal, *William* Earl of Pembroke, a Man eminent both for Courage and Council; who as he had been the grand Supporter of his Father in his Right, so was he the chief Preserver of the Crown to this his Son. *Lewis* still held his Hopes, and with his Party stood up as his Rival in the Kingdom, which this Loyal Earl made it his first Attempt to remove; and to that end, joyning with *Wallo* the Pope's Legate, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Bath*, and *Worcester*, used all

means to draw the Barons, and others the most powerful Men of their Party, to their new and natural King, from the Excommunicated Stranger and his Adherents. The Proposition was received with some Hesitancy at first, because they had obliged themselves by Oath to adhere to *Lewis*, tho' most of them thought it their Duty to return to their Allegiance, when their old King, the Cause of their Quarrel, was dead, and his Successor gave them such Hopes. But at length, observing the Insolence of the French, and how *Lewis*, contrary to his Oath to them, had subjected all Places to Spoil and Plunder to enrich himself and his Nation, and it being discover'd to them by the Viscount *Melun*, a Frenchman, upon his Death-Bed, that *Lewis* had vow'd utterly to extinguish the English for their rebellious Humour, when he was compleat Master of the Kingdom;

A. D.
1216.
Reg. 1.

^a He was not immediately crown'd King; the Earl of Pembroke brought him to Glocester, and summon'd the Barons, who were on the late King's side, to meet him there; when they were met, he made a Speech to them in behalf of the young Prince, and was oppos'd by the Earl of Chester: But at last they all agreed, that he should be their King, crying (says the Author of this Passage) as if divinely inspir'd, *Fiat Rex, Fiat Rex*; Let him be made King, Let him be made King. *Walter Hemingsford Chron.* He was crown'd with a plain Circle or Chaplet of Gold, for want of a Regal Diadem.

^b The Pope had been very zealous for King John in his Life-time, against *Lewis* and the Barons, and had Excommunicated them with wonderful Solemnity, to deter the People from joyning with them; and after his Death, *Wallo* the Pope's Legate us'd the same Methods to secure the Succession to the young Prince Henry, causing *Lewis* and his Party to be anathematiz'd in all Churches every Sunday and Holiday, and interdicting *Wales* for assisting him; in which, tho' the Pope shew'd his Good-will, yet the Spiritual Sword would have done this young Prince little good, had not the Temporal joyn'd with it, in the Hand of that Noble, Loyal, and Courageous Person, the Earl of Pembroke.

^c Other Historians say, That *Lewis*, and sixteen of his greatest Lords, swore, That if he got the Crown of England, he would banish all those that fought against their King, and seize their Estates; and the Viscount *Melun* was one of them.



A. D. 1216. Reg. 1. dom; they took up such an aversion against him, that many of them relinquished their sworn Fidelity, and left him; as many more would have done, had it not been for the Fame of Inconstancy, and the Danger of their Pledges which remained in *France*. Of those that came over to Henry from *Lewis*, the chief Men were *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's Uncle, who brought over a considerable Party with him; the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warren*; and *William* the Son and Heir of the Great Marial, who having been six Months in the Service of *Lewis*, more out of Policy than Disaffection, return'd again to their Fidelity to their Natural King. Yet *Lewis* found Assistants enough to keep *London*, with all the Countries about, a whole Year after: So that the young King was obliged to remain about *Glocester*, *Worcester* and *Bristol*, till his vigilant and politick Ministers could find out ways to break their united Forces, and draw them from their strong Hold, the Head of the Kingdom. And this they did first by besieging the Castle of *Mont-sovel* in *Liecestershire*, which belonged to *Saer de Quincy*, Earl of *Winchester*, a principal Man of *Lewis's* Party, to relieve which a considerable Body was sent from *London*, and the adjoining Parts, who after went to *Lincoln*, and possessed themselves of that City, all but the Castle, which was defended against them for a whole Year by a Noble Lady named *Philippa*, a Woman of Masculine Courage; tho' of what Family she was, Time hath depriv'd us of the Knowledge.

Lewis and his Party overthrown. The French Forces having here posted themselves, the Earl Marshal, the Protector of the King and Kingdom, with his Son *William*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, and *Chester*; the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albermarle*; *William de Albinet*, *John Marshall*, *Jeffrey Lucy*, and many other Barons and great Captains, with all the young King's Army (which increas'd daily in their March) came to a Place call'd *Stow*, within eight Miles of *Lincoln*, where *Guallo* the Legate (to inspire the Army with Courage and Resolution) caused, upon the Confession of their Sins, the Eucharist to be administer'd to them, and gave them a plenary Absolution of all their Sins; and having afterward accursed *Lewis*, with all his Adherents, as separated from the Church, they set forward to besiege the City, and assaulted it so violently on all sides, that notwithstanding they made a gallant Defence (in which the Earl of *Perch* was slain, valiantly fighting) the City was taken^a, and all their principal Men made Prisoners; of which these are named, *Saer* Earl of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gant*, made Earl of *Lincoln* by *Lewis*, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, *Richard Montfitchet*, *William Mowbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Maudit*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Robert Cressy*, *William Coleville*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropsley*, and *Ralph Chanduit*, Barons, besides four hundred Knights, or Men of Arms, with their Servants, Horse and Foot; by which Victory the King gave *Lewis* such a Blow, that it was the last Battel he ever fought in *England*. The Spoiles of the City, which fell to the King's Party, were very great, it being at that time a Place full of Rich Merchants; whom, while they pillaged, they term'd it in Derision *Lewis's Fair*. Some of the Besieged escap'd out of

the Overthrow, but were most of them slain by the Country People in their Passage towards *London* to *Lewis*, who upon this Loss sends for more Men into *France*, and summons all his Party in *England* to *London*. The Earl Marshal, with the young King, bend all their Forces immediately thither, intending either to assault the City in their Distraction and Trouble for their Loss, or bring *Lewis* to some Agreement to relinquish the Kingdom. At their approach, the first being found difficult and dangerous, the latter was propounded; but would not at all be listen'd to by *Lewis*, untill he had received the News, that his Recruits coming out of *France* were beaten by *Philip de Albenie* and *Hugh de Burgh*, with the Forces of the Cinque Ports; and then being void of all hopes of any future Success, or staying with Safety, he came to this Agreement^b, 'That upon the Payment of fifteen thousand Marks for his Voyage he would abjure his Claim to this Kingdom, and procure, as far as in him lay, that the King his Father should restore the Provinces of *France*, which belong'd to the Kingdom of *England*; and when himself came to the Crown of *France*, to restore them in a peaceable manner, which he promis'd by Oath to perform. On the other side, *Henry* takes his Oath, and the Legate and Protector for him, to restore unto the Barons of this Realm, and all his other Subjects, all their Rights and Inheritances, with those Liberties, for which the Contest between the King and People began. A general Pardon is granted, and all Prisoners released on both sides; *Lewis* is honourably dismiss'd, and attended as far as *Dover*, from whence he pass'd out of *England*^c about *Michaelmas*, two Years after his first arrival, having been received for the most of that time as King, and more likely to have establish'd himself, and made a Conquest of the Kingdom, than the *Norman*, because he was invited hither by a strong Party, and maintain'd by others Arms: But God, who is the wise Disposer of all things, order'd it otherwise, and sav'd us from a foreign Enemy. Thus were the Destructions wrought among the *English* by the Violences and Oppressions of an unruly King again compos'd, and the Son, notwithstanding the Father's Faults, received by the People, who are naturally given to love and obey their Princes, unless forced by Oppression, and despair of Redress, to vindicate their own Rights and Privileges. In this Settlement *Guallo* was a chief Instrument, tho' more for his own Ends, and the Pope's Interest, than the real Advantage of the Kingdom; and so what he did was less worthy of Thanks or Reward: Yet, because his Service was advantageous to the King, he was well paid for his Pains; and notwithstanding the great Distress of the Kingdom, carry'd away with him to *Rome* twelve thousand Marks.

The Nation being thus eased of the principal Cause of her Disturbance, began to hope for Days of Peace and Quietness; but this could not be effected, so long as many troublesome Members, who had no way to live but in Wars and Confusion, remain'd in it. For many of the Nobles, who had sided with the King, being unsatisfied in their Expectations, and having no Estates to maintain their Greatness, fell to Mutiny, surprising

A. D. 1217. Reg. 2.

Lewis his Agreement to depart the Kingdom. 1218.

Wallo rewarded for his Service.

An Expedition into the Holy Land, to ease it of Malecontents.

^a On the 19th of May, 1217.

^b The *Welsh*, who had assisted *Lewis*, were not included in it, nor the Clergy, because *Wallo* assum'd the Power of punishing them; which, having made strict Enquiry after the Guilty, he did by Deprivation and Fines, viz. He fin'd the Bishop of *Lincoln* a thousand Marks to the Pope, and an hundred to himself, and others proportionably.

^c On one side King *Henry*, the Legate, and the Marshal met, and Prince *Lewis* and the Barons on the other, in an Island in the *Thames* near *Stains*, where the Peace was made on the 11th of September.

^d Having first borrow'd five thousand Pounds of the City of *London* to pay his Debts.

A. D. 1218. Reg. 3. surprizing Castles and making Spoils in the Country; of which were the Earl of *Albemarle*^a, *Robert de Vespont*, *Fulke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, *Hugh de Baliol*, and many others, but these were also appeased: And because 'twas not likely they would continue long from Wars, who had always been bred in them, therefore an Expedition into the Holy Land was set on foot by the Protector, and *Ralph Earl of Chester*, *Saer de Quincy Earl of Winchester*, *William de Albany Earl of Arundel*, *Robert Harcourt*, and many others, sent with great Forces thither; by which means, together with an Order, which was put out at the same

1219. time to command all Strangers, except Merchants, to depart the Land, the Nation was at once rid of all the troublesome and burthensome Members of it. Things being thus composed and settled by the Vigilance and Care of the Protector the Earl of *Pembroke*, the State receiv'd a fresh Calamity by his Death, which happen'd immediately after, to the great Loss and Sorrow of the whole Kingdom, leaving behind him a great Name for his admirable Courage, Policy, and Love of his Country and King. ^b The Bishop of *Winchester* was immediately upon his decease chosen Protector of the young King, and together with such of the Nobility as he thought fit to joyn in Council with him, administred the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom. While the King was under his Care, he was again crown'd; and had by a Parliament granted to him for Escuage two Marks of Silver of every Knight's Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom and the Recovery of his Dominions beyond the Sea, which was now design'd; and *Malleon de Savery* the *Poictouine*, with *William Longsword Earl of Salisbury*, sent over into *Guien* to try the Affections of that People to the King of *England*, and found them inclinable to yield Obedience to him. The King of *France* also was requir'd to make Restitution of what he had usurped from the *English* Crown, but returned Answer, 'That what he had got-

The King again crown'd. First Parliament. 1220.

The Welsh rebel.

1221. 'ten by Forfeiture and Law of Arms, he would keep's 'To hold Friendship with *Scotland*, and secure Peace at home, *Joanna* the King's Sister, was marry'd to *Alexander* King of *Scots*; and *Margaret*, *Alexander's* Sister^d, to *Hubert de Burgh* Chief Justice of *England*, and the Chief Person that manag'd the great Affairs of the Kingdom. At this time likewise the *Welsh* under their Prince *Leweline* revolted, and gave the Nation some Trouble and Charge, till not long after they were subdued wholly. *Hugh Lacy* also rais'd a Commotion in *Ireland*, but it was soon appeased by *William Earl of Pembroke*, Son to the late Great Marshal; and so the Kingdom remain'd quiet for some Years, saving that *Fulke de Brent*, with certain Governours of Castles (the Dreggs of War) having fortified the Castles of *Bedford*, and some other Forts, committed several Outrages to the Disturbance of the Peace, till they were taken by Assault.

The King come to Age of Mangement. 1222. Second Parliament.

The King being now arriv'd at Years of Understanding (*viz.* An. Regn. 7. and the 17th Year of his Age) was now in a Parliament assembled at *London*, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Stephen Langton*, put in mind of his Oath made by himself, and taken by others for him at the Con-

clusion of the Peace with *Lewis*, to confirm the Liberties of the Kingdom; for which there had been such bloody Contentions with his Father, and without which the Peace now settled would not hold, advising him timely to prevent the miserable Inconveniences of such Contests, and ratifie their Ancient Laws and Liberties. Some of his Ministers oppos'd the Proposition (of whom one *William Brewer* a Counsellor was one) and urged, That his Promise and Oath was constrain'd, and ought not to be perform'd; but their Advice prevail'd not so far as to hinder it: For the King promis'd to ratifie them, and to that end twelve Knights, or other sufficient Men, of every Shire were sent into the Nation, and charged to examine the Laws and Liberties, which the Kingdom enjoy'd under his Grandfather, and return the same by a certian Day. This Delay shew'd too great a Compliance with those that counsell'd him against it, and was look'd upon as a Shift by several of the Nobility, whose Affections towards him cooled upon this Denial: For presently the Earls of *Chester* and *Albemarle*, with many other great Men and Officers, met at *Leicester* to consult upon removing from the King *Hugh de Burgh*, Chief Justice, and other Officers about him, who were suppos'd to hinder this Motion. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with his Spiritual Power, and the rest of the Nobility, who were careful to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom, stood up in the Defence of the King, and would not suffer any violent Proceedings in that kind as yet; and so the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were constrain'd to come in and submit themselves. At this Parliament the King by an Act resum'd such Lands as had been alienated from the Crown by his Ancestors^e, that he might have Revenue sufficient to maintain his Kingly Dignity without pressing his Subjects; but these were not enough to do it, for in the next Year another^f Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein he requir'd the 50th part of all moveable Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Recovery of those Countries in *France*, which *Lewis* the present King, contrary to his Oath and Promise, made in *England* before his Departure, with-held from this Crown: And tho' this Motion much concern'd the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom (being the Inheritance of the King, and most of his Nobility, which no doubt they were very desirous to recover) yet they would not grant this Subsidy until their Liberties were confirm'd; which in the end they obtain'd in the same Words and Form as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters aforesaid, and twelve Knights or sufficient Men were chosen in every Shire, and sworn to part the old Forests from the new, and all such Forests as had been made since, or Lands added to Forests, since the first Coronation of *Henry II.* to be disforested and disposed to such Persons as were the lawful Owners of them. Whereupon they were plowed, and improved to the great Comfort and Advantage of the Subjects, and Men better maintain'd by the Use of those Lands, which before were left to the wild Beasts, Industry making those Places fruitful, which Pleasure had caused to lie barren.

A. D. 1222. Reg. 7.

His Resumptions.

Third Parliament.

The Liberties of the Nation confirm'd.

I

Two

^a They did not revolt till the Year 1221. M. Paris.

^b Peter de Rupibus. For Queen *Isabel* was marry'd to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, in *France*, and other Kindred he had, none fit to manage so great a Charge.

^c On the 17th of May, 1220. By *Stephen Langton*.

^d These Marriages were not celebrated till the Year 1221. The King began with the Earl of *Chester*, and demanded Restitution of certain Lands that had formerly belong'd to the Crown, the Earl being too weak to stand out against the King, now the Nation was in Peace, resign'd them, and other Barons follow'd his Example. Hol. p. 205.

^e In this Parliament the Barons granted the King the Wards and Marriages of their Heirs, which prov'd what it was call'd at first by such as had a large Prospect into the Consequences of things, *Injuria Mali*.

A. D. 1225. Two Years were these Liberties enjoy'd by the Kingdom with general Peace and Content, where the King called a Parliament at Oxford, and there declaring himself to be of Age and free from a Guardianship, to dispose of the Affairs of the Kingdom, he disannuls and cancels the Charter of Forests, as being granted in his Nonage, when he had no Power of himself or Seal, and therefore of no Force; and causes Proclamation to be made, That the Clergy and all others, that would enjoy their Liberties, must come and have their Charters renew'd and confirm'd again under his new Seal; for which they were forc'd to pay, not according to their Abilities, but as the Chief Justice *Hugh de Burgh* pleased, who bore the Blame of the Fact, and the Hatred of all the People; but this bred a new Insurrection of the Nobility against the King upon this Occasion. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, had the Castle of *Barkamsted* belonging to his Earldom, which the King seiz'd upon without the Earl's Consent, and put it into the Custody of one *Walleran*, a Dutchman. The Earl returning out of *Gascoigne* with Forces, flush'd with Honour, seizes upon his Castle, and turn'd out *Walleran*. The King hearing it, commands his Brother to restore the Castle to *Walleran*, which he had given him for his good Services, or depart the Kingdom. The Earl answers, *That he would do neither, without the Judgment of his Peers*; and so departed to his House, leaving the King much disturb'd at his Answer. *Hugh de Burgh*, Chief Justice, fearing a Disturbance of the Peace, advises the King to apprehend the Earl, and commit him to close Custody; but the Earl either guessing at the Effect of the King's Anger, or having notice of his Design, flies presently to *Marlborough*, where he finds *William* Earl *Marshal*, his Friend and Confederate by Oath, with whom he went to *Stamford*. While he remain'd here, the Nobility, who were lately under a great Discontent for his cancelling of their Liberties and Charters, flocked to him, and seem'd to abett his Quarrel. The Heads and Leaders of them were the Earls of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Ferrers*, and many others; who being attended with a considerable Force of arm'd Men, send to the King to advise him to desist from injuring his Brother, of which they accus'd *Hugh de Burgh* of being the Cause and not himself, and require Restitution to be made immediately of the Liberties of the Forests, which he had lately cancell'd at Oxford; which if he refus'd to do, they would compel him to it by the Sword. The King, to avoid this impending Danger, appoints them a Day to meet them in a Parliament at *Northampton*, where they at length came to an Agreement; and the King to satisfy his Brother, restor'd to him his Castle, and gave him besides, his Mother's Dower, and all the Lands that the Earls of *Britain* and *Bologne* held in *England*, and so the Parliament was dismiss'd. After the Dissolution of this Parliament, there was a Motion made for the Holy War, which found so great Entertainment in that credulous and zealous Age, that sixty thousand able Men are said to have undertaken that Voyage under the Command of *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *William* Bishop of *Exeter*.

About this time the King receiv'd a fresh Invitation by *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, who

had marry'd his Mother, from the Nobles of *Gascoigne*, *Poitou*, and *Normandy*, to come over in Person into *France* to recover his Right, upon the great Alterations which happen'd there on this Occasion. *Lewis* VIII. the Son and Successor of *Philip* II. being dead, after his great Siege of *Avignon*, and his War with the *Albigenses* in *Provence*, left his Son *Lewis*, a Child of twelve Years old, to inherit his Throne; who being too young to manage the Affairs of a Kingdom, his Mother *Blanch* took the Regency of it upon her in his Minority. This Action so discontented the Princes of the Blood, that they rebell'd, as holding it both dishonourable and dangerous, that a Woman and a Stranger should by the Counsel of the Spaniards (whom she entertain'd and prefer'd above the Natives of the Kingdom) govern all according to her Pleasure, and therefore joyn'd in a League against her. The Chief of them were *Philip* Earl of *Bologne*, the King's Uncle by Father side, *Robert* Earl of *Champagne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Brittain*, and *Robert* Earl of *Dreux* his Brother, and with them *Hugh* the Earl of *March* took part, being instigated to it by his Wife the late Queen of *England*, who was angry with the Queen Regent for requiring her Husband to do Homage to her Son *Alphonso* lately made Duke of *Poitou*, by which she thought her Greatness would be much lessen'd, and drew in his Brother the Earl of *Lusignan* into that Conspiracy: But not thinking themselves able to oppose the Power of the Queen, they invited the King of *England* over to assist them. *Henry* readily accepts their Desires; and having supply'd himself with Money for this Occasion, by exacting great Sums of the Clergy, and City of *London* for their Liberties; and by taking a third part of all the Goods of the Jews, pass'd over with a great Army, lands at *St. Maloes*, and is there met by many Nobles of *Poitou*, who with the Earl of *Brittain* did him Homage, and assisted him in making great Preparations to obtain his Provinces, which had been gotten from his Father by the King of *France*. The Queen Regent raises a powerful Army to stop the Proceedings of the King of *England*, and much Mischief was done by both sides in *Poitou*, *Xaintonges*, and *Angoumois*, as well to their Friends as Enemies; but at length they were both weary of their fruitless Quarrel, and came to a Peace. The King of *England* having expended a great Mass of Treasure, and lost divers of his Nobles and valiant Men in this Expedition, returned home; bringing with him the Earl of *Brittain*, and many of the chief Men of *Poitou* to receive their promis'd Reward, for which farther Sums must be wrung from the poor People of *England*. And first to the Earl of *Brittain*, by whose Counsels he was now chiefly directed and dissuaded from a Mariage with the King of *Scots* Sister, which he had entertain'd with great dislike of his Nobility, he gave five thousand Marks, and to the *Poictovines* the Preferments which he got by displacing his Officers, Receivers, and such as he thought fit to call to an account, and cast out under a Pretence of defrauding him; of whom the chief were *Ralph* *Bretton*, Treasurer of his Chamber, whom he imprison'd and fin'd, and *Hugh de Burgh* his Chief Justice, who had been a principal Man with him, was cast out of his Office, and *Stephen de Segrave*, a worse Minister

The King revokes the Charter of Forests. Fourth Parliament.

The King invited to recover his Dominions in France.

1230.

Henry calls his Officers to account.

The Nobility revolt.

1226.

Fifth Parliament.

* At this Parliament it happen'd, that *Fulke de Brant* took Judge *Brailbrooke* in his Circuit, and imprison'd him in *Bedford* Castle, which was look'd upon as so bold an Affront to the Justice and Authority of the Nation, that as soon as it was known to the King and Parliament, they all went down in Person, besieg'd the Castle, and having after three Months Siege taken it, levell'd it with the Ground, banish'd *Fulke*, hang'd his Assistants, and so freed the Judge. This Parliament met the 3d of August, 1227.

† He gave the Citizens at this time a Privilege of passing Toll-free thro' all *England*.

‡ On the 3d of May, 1230.

A. D. 1228. Reg. 13. Hugh de Burgh's Feal. Minister a great deal for the Kingdom put in : But no sooner was this great Man fall'n under the King's Displeasure, but whole Loads of Accusations were brought against him. The Citizens of London charge him with the Murther of one *Constantine*, who was slain in a Riot in *St. James's Fields* some Years before, and crave Justice for his Blood. Others bring all the Crimes that Malice could invent or urge against him : So that to avoid the Rage of his Enemies^a, he was forced to fly to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, but the Sacredness of the Place could not protect him from his Enemies; for being pursu'd by arm'd Men he was drawn out by Force, and committed to Prison. This Breach of Privilege of Sanctuary being heard of by the Bishop of London, in whose Diocese it was; he made his Complaint to the King, and prevail'd so far with him, that *Hubert* was brought back again to the same Chapel. But this would not secure him from the King's Displeasure; for the King commanded the Sheriffs of *Hartford* and *Suffex* to set a strong Guard about the Chapel, that no Sustenance could be brought to him, and so starv'd him into a Compliance: So that he came out and submitted himself to the King's Mercy, and by him was sent Prisoner to the *Devises*; and his Money, then in the Custody of the *Templars*, seiz'd upon for the King's Use, as stol'n out of the Exchequer. *Walter*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, was put out of his Office of Treasure; and *William Rodon*, Knight; deprived of his Place of Marshal of the King's House, and all the Counsellors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom, were removed for Distrust, and Strangers put into their Places; *Peter*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis* being blam'd as the Authors of these Changes.

The Lords assembling for the Defence of the Kingdom, and refuse to come to a Parliament at Oxford.

These injurious and arbitrary, Actions in the King so exasperated the Nobility, that many of them under the Command of *Richard Earl Marshal* enter'd into a League for the Defence of the publick Liberties, boldly shewing the King his Error, and unadvised Actings, in preferring Strangers to be the chief Officers about him to the Disgrace and Injury of his own Natural Subjects, contrary to their Laws and Liberties; and telling him, That unless he would reform these Abuses, whereby his Crown and Dignity was in imminent Danger, they would withdraw themselves from his Council. The Bishop of *Winchester* return'd them Answer; That it was lawful for the King to employ what Strangers he pleas'd, about him, for the Defence of his Crown and Kingdom, that he might by that means bring his proud and rebellious Subjects to their Duty and Allegiance. This Reply bred such Dissatisfaction in the Lords, that they went away in great Anger, and vow'd, That in a Cause of that general Concern to all *Englishmen*, they would spend their Lives. The King fearing what might follow, immediately sent for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withal summon'd the Lords to a Parliament in *Oxford*, to try whether they would come or no to it;

but the Lords seeing themselves despised at Court, and not thinking it safe to venture themselves among such Multitudes of Strangers as the King had about him, refused to come; nor would be persuaded to it by a second and third Citation. And now the Signs of a publick Breach became so evident, that *Robert Bacon*, a Preaching Friar, from the Pulpit in a grave Discourse, and *Roger Bacon* in a jesting way, told the King plainly, That he would make Shipwreck of his Kingdom, if he did not avoid what the Seamen chiefly feared, *Petra & Rupes* wittily alluding to the Advice of *Peter de Rupibus*, Bishop of *Winchester*, by whom he was misled at this Juncture. But the King proceeded in other Methods, and call'd another Parliament at *Westminster*, and summon'd the Lords to it; but they dealt now more plainly with him, and sent him word, That they would not come, unless he would remove the Bishop of *Winchester* and the *Poictovins* from his Court; which, if he refused to do, they would expel him and his evil Counsellors out of the Realm, and create a new King. These bold Threats, which sounded harsh in the King's Ears, caused him to require of all his Nobility Pledges of their Allegiance by a certain Day, and to issue out his Writs to all, who held any Lands of him by Knights Service to repair to him at *Glocester*; which being both refus'd by the Earl Marshal and his Confederates, the King without the Judgment of his Court, or their Peers, proclaim'd them Outlaws, and seiz'd upon their Lands, which he gave to the *Poictovins*, and sent out his Writs to attach their Bodies in any Place of his Kingdom. The Bishop of *Winchester* to weaken the Earl Marshal's Party, drew away from them the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* by a Gift of a thousand Marks, and the King by his Kindness won from them his Brother the Earl of *Cornwall*. The Lords being a little weaken'd by those Losses, withdrew into *Wales*, and there strengthen'd their Party by a Confederacy with *Lewelin*, and the other great Men of that Country; who with *Hugh de Burgh*^b, who was then lately escaped out of the *Devises* Castle, took an Oath one to another, that they would not come to any Agreement with the King. The King, soon after their Departure, pursues them with an Army into *Wales*, engages them, but with so much Loss, that he return'd with great Dishonour to *Glocester*; and tho' he sought to recover it by new Recruits of Strangers, yet he miss'd of Success. And now Force being found useless, another Stratagem was invented to heal the Difference, by sending a Friar of the Order of *Minors*, to confer with the Earl Marshal, and persuade him to come in and submit to the King's Mercy, who was inclinable to pardon him, restore him to his Estate, and give him so great a part of *Herefordshire* besides, as should maintain him in great State and Grandure. The Fryar pressed him very earnestly to submit, telling him, That as it was his Duty, so 'twould be his Advantage and Safety: But the Earl being nothing moved told him, That the King's Promises

A. D. 1228. Reg. 13.

Sixth Parliament. 1232. Reg. 17.

The King unsuccessful against the Lords.

Tenders of Peace rejected.

^a Mr. Daniel delivers this Story of *Hubert's* taking Sanctuary very confusedly and untruly; for the Sanctuary at *Merton* was not a Chapel, but the Abby-Church, nor was it in the Diocese of the Bishop of London, nor was *Hubert* taken out of the Sanctuary at *Merton* by Force: But the Course of this Affair was thus; *Hubert* having fled to Sanctuary to the Abby-Church at *Merton* in *Surrey*, the Citizens of London would have taken him by Force from thence, and were marching in a Body of twenty thousand thither, but were countermanded by the King; and so *Hubert* abode safe there. After some time *Hubert* left Sanctuary at *Merton*, and endeavour'd to get to *Bury* to his Wife. The King having Intelligence of it, sent Sir *Godfrey Crancunb* and his Soldiers to intercept him in his Passage; of whom *Hubert* seeing himself in Danger, took Sanctuary again in *Brentwood Chapel* in *Essex*, but Sir *Godfrey* took him from thence by Force. *Roger* Bishop of London, in whose Diocese it was, complain'd to the King of Sir *Godfrey's* Breach of Sanctuary, and procur'd that *Hubert* was return'd to the Chapel again; but being guarded by the Sheriffs of *Hartford* and *Essex* (not *Suffex*) so that no Provision could be brought to him, he was forc'd to yield himself to the King's Mercy. This Event happen'd in the Year 1232.

^b King *Henry* fought the *Welsh* about *Michaelmas*, and *Hubert de Burgh* was in Sanctuary in the Church of the *Devises* on the 15th of *October*, as appears by the King's Letter (on the Record of the Tower) to the Good Men of *Wiltshire*, informing them, That he had sent *Ralph de Mowbray* and *Ralph de Norwich*, his Justices, to take *Hubert de Burgh's* Abjuration of the Kingdom, if he would not come out of the Church and stand to the Law, and if he would do neither, to guard the Church and starve him there.

A. D. 1232. Reg. 17. Promises could not be depended upon so long as he had those evil Counsellors about him, who intended only Mischief to all Loyal Subjects. The Fryar farther urged the Danger he was in from the King's Power: But the Earl concluded, That he fear'd no Danger, and never would relinquish the Justice of his Cause to yield to the King's Will, which was guided by no Reason, and was the Cause of so much Injustice; for he valu'd Right and Honour more than all Worldly Possessions. This Negotiation therefore proving ineffectual, the War went on furiously on both sides with an Effusion of Blood, all the Borders of *Wales* as far as *Shrewsbury* being laid waft. But at length a way was found to draw the Earl Marshal into *Ireland* to defend his Estate there, which being very large, was seiz'd upon and spoil'd by the King's Commission: And here in recovering of his Estate, he lost his Life by Treachery, to the great Grief both of his Enemies and Friends; to whom the King disown'd his Commission, to excuse himself from the Blame of his Death. Two Years these Disturbances continu'd in the Nation, when the King called a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishop gravely advis'd the King, from the Consideration of his Father's Example, and the Mischief of these civil Dissentions, to come to an Agreement with his People, and remove those Strangers and others from his Person, who were the Cause of these Troubles, and made him disaffected to his Subjects; and besought him to govern his People by his own Subjects and Laws, as other well-govern'd Nations do, otherwise they would proceed with Ecclesiastical Censures both against his Counsellors and himself. The King seeing now no way to compass his Designs, yields and consents to call home his Lords out of *Wales*, and to restore them to their Places and Estates, to remove all the Strangers from him, and call his new Officers to an Account; whereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivallis*, and *Stephen Segrave*^a, took Sanctuary, but upon Mediation, and the Payment of great Fines, were restor'd to their Liberty, dearly paying for their two Years Preferment.

1235. The King having thus settled Affairs in Peace, gave his Sister *Isabel* to the Emperor *Frederick II.* who succeeded *Otho* in the Empire, and was Grandchild to *Frederick Barbarossa*. The Archbishop of *Cologne* and Duke of *Lorain* were sent for her; she was conducted to *Sandwich* by the King, with a thousand Horse, and was married at *Wormes*. Henry gave the Emperor with her thirty thousand Marks, besides an Imperial Crown^b, and other Ornaments of great Value, to furnish out which he had two Marks upon every Hide of Land, and propounded to himself great Advantages by the Alliance; but this Emperor was engag'd in such continual Wars abroad, with four Popes successively (*viz.* *Innocent III.* *Honorius*, *Innocent IV.* and *Gregory IX.*) who endeavour'd to extort from him his Hereditary Countries in *Italy*, with his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, besides the Troubles he underwent at home by Excommunications, that he was not able to assist his Friends. He left a Son and Successor *Conradus*, but with him dy'd all his Imperial Power in *Italy*. He had one Son by *Isabel* King *Henry's* Sister, to whom he gave the

Kingdom of *Sicily*, and a thousand Ounces of Gold; but he liv'd not to enjoy them. The next Year Henry himself marry'd *Eleanor* the Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, an Alliance necessary by reason of some private Promises made to her Father, but in it self disadvantageous, having no Dower with her and many poor Kindred to depend upon her: However, there was no Consideration of these Circumstances at first. The Marriage was solemniz'd with great Magnificence^c, and soon after a Parliament call'd to meet in the *Tower*^d; but because the Lords were not willing to assemble there, it was remov'd to a Place of greater Freedom. In this Parliament, after many things propounded for the Good of the Kingdom, it was order'd, That such Sheriffs as were found guilty of Bribery should be displac'd, and Men of abler Estates and Integrity should be put in, who should take an Oath, To receive no Gifts, but of Provision, and that but moderately. In it also he removed his Steward, and some other of his Counsellors, and offer'd to take the Great Seal from the Bishop of *Chichester* his Chancellor; but the Bishop refus'd to deliver it, alledging, That it was entrusted to him by the Common Council of the Kingdom, and without the Consent of the same he would not resign it; and having carry'd himself well in his Office, he was much favour'd by the People. *Peter de Rivallis*, and *Stephen Segrave*, were again received into Favour, a great Argument of the mutable Temper of this King, which begat no good Opinion of him among his People. At this time also he would have revok'd some Grants, by the Pope's Authority, which he had made formerly; because they were done, as he pretended, without the Consent of the Church, and beyond his Power, which increased the Displeasure of the People, before taken up against him.

In the twenty first Year of his Reign another Parliament was held, or rather the same met by Adjournment at *London*, where in Consideration of his own and Sister's Marriage, he requir'd a 30th Part of the Moveables both of the Clergy and Laity: But he met with great Opposition from the whole Assembly, who recounted the several Taxes he had already receiv'd of 20th, 30th, and 40th Parts; and alledged, That it was unreasonable to suffer a King, who never did any good to the Kingdom, either by driving out or subduing an Enemy, or enlarging its Dominions, but had rather lessen'd it and made it subject to Strangers, to extort so many great Sums from his People. The King hearing this, and being desirous to pacifie this general Murmur, promised by Oath, That he would never injure the Nobles of the Kingdom, if they would relieve his present Wants, since he had exhausted his Treasure by the Marriage of his Sister and himself; but they plainly reply'd, 'That both were done without their Advice, and they ought not to bear the Punishment of that, which was not their Fault. Yet after four Days Consultation, the King having promised to use the Counsel of his Natural Subjects only, and granted them an inviolable Observation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, he had the thirtieth part of every Man's Moveables granted him (reserving to them their ready Money,

The Earl Marshal slain in Ireland by Treachery.

Seventh Parliament.

1234.

1235. Isabel the King's Sister marry'd to the Emperor.

1236.

Eight Parliament.

Sheriffs removed for Corruptions.

Ninth Parliament.

1237.

A Tax refused the King, but after granted upon Conditions.

^a They took Sanctuary not to avoid their Accounts, but to avoid the impending Storm which was coming upon them for procuring a Commission to seize the Earl Marshal's Estate in *Ireland*; in the Defence of which he lost his Life.

^b She was marry'd to the Emperor about *March* 1235. and in *May* 1236. an Agent came from her Husband to demand the Money which was promis'd him with the Princess *Isabel*; for notwithstanding the Tax, it seems 't was not then paid.

^c On the 14th of *January* 1236.

^d The Assembly or Parliament was summon'd to meet at *London*, and at the opening of the Session the King remov'd to the *Tower*; but the Lords refusing to come thither, he was forc'd to go back to his Palace at *Westminster*.

A. D. 1237. Reg. 21. ney, Horse and Armour for the Service of the Common-wealth.) For the Collection of this Subsidy, four Knights of every Shire, and one of the King's Clerks were appointed, and sworn to deliver it, after they had gather'd it, either to some Abby, or Castle, to be reserved there; that if the King failed in the performance of his Grants, it might be restored to the Country from whence it was collected. Before this Parliament broke up, the King, to shew the Reality of his Intentions in performing that Promise, which he had frequently repeated, of using the Counsel of his own Subjects only, caused the Earls *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz-Jeffrey*, to be sworn his Counsellors; but after it was dismissed, he neither gave the Kingdom satisfaction concerning Strangers, nor observed such a method in levying the Tax as was easie and convenient for his Subjects. For he caused Men's Estates to be over-valued, and made *William Valentine*, the young Queen's Uncle, his Chief Counsellor; invited over the Earl of *Provence*, a poor Prince, to share in his Treasure; marry'd *Simon de Monford*, a Frenchman, secretly to his Sister *Eleanor*, (Widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Great Marshal) and by the Right of his Mother *Amice*, Daughter of *Blanchman* Earl of *Leicester*, made him Earl of that County. These Actions of the King much incensed the Nobility, and all the King's Subjects in general, and put them into a new Commotion, of which *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, an ambitious Youth, and Heir apparent to the Crown, was chosen the Head; it chiefly concerning him (as they said) to preserve the Good of the Kingdom, and remove all destructive Grievances from it. *Richard* accepts this Employment, and going to the King, represents the Discontents of his People to him, and reproves him for his lavish Expence of his Treasure upon Strangers, his heavy Exactions from his People, his impious Gains made of the Vacancies of Arch-bishopricks and Bishopricks, Abbies, Earldoms, Baronies, Wardship, and Monasteries; and yet his Treasure, which should be the strength of his Nation, empty. Moreover, he objected to him his Obsequiousness to the *Roman* See, and his Fondness of the Pope's Legate, without whose Advice and Consent he would do nothing: So that he seem'd perfectly the Pope's Feudary, which troubled his People at the Heart. The King upon this plain and severe Remonstrance of his Brother, fearing a Rebellion (after he had try'd the Affections of the *Londoners*, and found them averse to him, and by the Pope's Legate sought to draw his Brother over to him in vain) call'd a Parliament at *London*, where the Lords came arm'd, both for their own defence, and to constrain the King (if he refused) to observe his former Promises, and reform his Courses. In this Meeting, after several Debates, the King (having sworn) refers the whole Controversie to the Determination of certain Grave Men of his Kingdom, and Articles between both Parties are drawn, sealed, and publicly set up, with the Seals of the Legate, and several great Men. But

before any thing was agreed, *Simon de Monford* and the Earl of *Lincoln* having made their Peace with the Earl of *Cornwall*, he grew cold in the Business; and the other Earls being discouraged by his Indifferency, fell off from that Enterprize, and so nothing was effected, but the Miseries of the Kingdom continu'd as they had been.

Shortly after this, the King being displeas'd with *Gilbert* Earl of *Pembroke* (the third Son of *William* the Great Marshal) shut him out of his Court at *Winchester*, whereupon he retired into the North. And to shew his Inconstancy in disposing his Favours, he removed *Simon Norman*, the Master of his Seal, yea, as he was call'd, Master of the King, Court, and Kingdom, took his Seal from him with disgrace, and gave it to the Abbot of *Evesham*. Likewise he turn'd his Brother *Jeffrey*, a Knight-Templar, out of his Council, because they would not yield to grant to *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, the Queen's Uncle, a Groat upon every Sack of Wool; in which Action, tho' they lost the King's Favour, yet they regain'd the good Opinion of the Nobility and People of the Nation, who having often desired their Removal from the King's Council, as corrupt Officers, were found by this Deed better Friends to the Kingdom than they were imagined; and proved, that Officers under bad Princes are not many times so faulty as the World thinks them. But notwithstanding this, the King granted to the Earl of *Flanders* three hundred Marks to be paid annually out of his Exchequer.

Besides the great Exactions of this King, the Bishop of *Rome*, to maintain his Wars against the Emperor, extorted great Sums from the Kingdom through the permission of the King; which so encouraged the Pope, that he was so bold as to seize upon their Possessions, sending over three hundred of the *Roman* Clergy, and commanding by his Mandate that they should be prefer'd to the first Benefices that fell, which much amazed the Clergy in general, and especially *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who foreseeing that these Encroachments upon the Liberties of the Church would tend to his disgrace and damage, who should withstand it, gave over all, and retired into the Abby of *Pontiniac* in *France*, to spend his Life in Contemplation; but before his departure, he gave eight hundred Marks to the Pope as a Ransom for his Church. But the other Clergy bore not the Pope's Usurpations so cowardly; for besides their open and daily Exclamations against the Pope's Avarice, they made as strong an Opposition to his Rapine as they could; and that they might do it the most effectually, they repair to the King, and represent it to him, how prejudicial and derogatory it was to his Regal Power, and Liberty of the Kingdom, to suffer such Proceedings, which none of his Predecessors would ever endure, and would be of dangerous Consequence to his Successors. The King, either not apprehensive of the Mischief, or content to joyn with the Pope to punish and awe his Kingdom, not only refers all to the Legate, but offers to deliver up the chief Opposer

^a Younger Son of *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* in *France*, who left the *French* Court in Disgust, by reason of some Dispute with the Queen-Regent, Mother of *Lewis* the Ninth; the King himself gave him in Marriage to his Sister, and this Name and Family grew very Great afterwards in *England*.

^b He was Canoniz'd by the Council of *Lyons*.

^c The Students in *Oxford*, griev'd and incens'd at the Oppressions of the Church, assaulted the Legate's House in his abode there, and kill'd his own Brother; for which Fact the University was Interdicted, and could not be releas'd from that Infliction but by thirty Students going Barefoot to the Legate's House from *St. Paul's*, which was a Mile. *Matt. Paris* writes, He was honourably receiv'd by the Scholars, and that the Occasion of the Quarrel was this: A poor Irish Student begging Alms at the Kitchen-Door of *Osney*-Abby, where the Legate lay, his Cook threw a Ladle full of Boiling Water in his Face; a *Welsh* Parson or Clerk seeing this, and having a Bow in his Hand, shot the Legate's Cook through the Body with an Arrow, and a Fray ensu'd between his Servants and the Scholars; the King sent Earl *Warren* with some Soldiers to assist the Legate, the Earl brought him off; and with much ado the haughty Prelate was prevail'd upon to accept of the slavish Submission the Scholars were forc'd to make him.

A. D. 1239. Reg. 23. The Clergy oppose the Pope's Axioms.

posers of the Pope's Impositions to him; which so encouraged the Pope's Legate, the he more pre-emptorily urges them to supply the Pope's present Wants, and calls a Convocation at London for effecting the same. The Clergy, tho' deserted by the King, yet stood stoutly to the Privileges of their Nation, and told the Legate, 'That the Contribution now required of them by the Pope for the Destruction of the Emperor, and the Effusion of Christian Blood, was unlawful; he not being an Heretick, nor condemn'd as such by the Judgment of the Church, tho' Excommunicated: That it was against the Liberties of the Church of England, being required under pain of Ecclesiastical Censure, as a thing of Servitude and Compulsion: That they had heretofore given a Tenth to the Pope, upon Condition that he should not exact any thing of them for the future, lest it be drawn into a Custom; for as much as *Binus actus inducat consuetudinem*: That they should create an Enemy to themselves by it, and hinder their Passage to Rome through the Emperor's Dominions: That they should impoverish the King by it, who had many Enemies, and could not live without War long, which would not be safe for the Kingdom: That the Church having made divers Contributions for the furnishing out many Noblemen for the Holy War, was so poor as hardly to be able to sustain it self: That General Contributions were to be made by a General Council, &c. These Reasons somewhat stagger'd the Legate; but not daring to desist from his attempt, he first won the most powerful Opponents with Promises of Preferment, after which the rest were forced to yield: And so the Pope prevail'd in this business by Treachery, and Division of the Council.

Edward the Prince born.

1241. The King about this time had a Son born^a, whom he named *Edward*; and *Richard* Earl of Cornwall, having also issue, was at this time allow'd by the Nation to undertake the Cross, (which he was deny'd before) with whom his Uncle *William Longsword* Earl of Salisbury, and many other Noblemen, joyn in the Expedition. After their departure, *Peter* of Savoy, another of the Queen's Uncles comes into England, is feasted sumptuously, Knighted, and made Earl of Richmond, besides many Gifts bestow'd on him out of the Jews Pockets, who were compell'd by the King that Year to pay twenty thousand Marks: and *Boniface*, the Son of *Peter* of Savoy, the Queen's Nephew, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. After this the King made another Expedition into Wales, which had often put him to great Charge and Trouble, but all in vain, so long as *Llewellyn* the Prince or King of North-Wales liv'd; but he being dead, his two Sons, *David* and *Griffin*, among whom his State was divided, fell into Quarrels one with another, and so made themselves a Prey to their common Enemy. For *David* calling *Henry* to his assistance, did him Homage for his own part to assist him to conquer the other; and so without Labour or Charge (for *David* paid the Charges of his Journey) he became Master of that which he could not purchase before with much Blood.

Henry goes again into France to recover his Dominions.

Eleventh Parliament

The Earl of March, with his Wife, the Queen Dowager, and many other great Lords of Poitou, solicit the King again to undertake an Expedition into France, to recover his Dominions there, and by their Assurances of Success, so prevail'd with him, that he resolves upon it, and moves it to a Parliament for their Assistance: But the De-

sign met with a general Opposition, it being alledg'd, 'That it was a great Expence, and the last Attempt was very prejudicial to the Kingdom; and besides, That it was unlawful to break the Truce made with the King of France, who was now too strong for them to do any good, &c. Yet these Arguments did not deter many of the Nobility from listening to it, being allur'd by fair Promises, and hopes of Recovery of their Estates; and so the Action was resolv'd on, and an Aid demanded for it. But a Motion for Money, after so many Taxes as this King had from the beginning of his Reign, was very distasteful, and begat nothing but a fresh Memory of the heavy Impositions of Carucage, Hydage, Escuage, Escheats, Amercements, and several parts of their Moveables, which the King had received of them, besides the Exactions of the Pope, and their Expences for the Holy War, they would grant no more, especially considering, that the thirtieth part of their Moveables, which was levy'd about four Years before, and laid up in the Castles, and not to be deliver'd out but by the allowance of four Peers, could not be spent, the King to their knowledge having had no necessary occasion to employ it for the Publick. The King seeing this, comes in Person to the Parliament, and in a most submissive manner craves their Aid at this time; shewing them a Letter from the Pope to persuade them. But all he could do prov'd in vain, they had vow'd not to yield to any Sollicitations, and so they held out. Whereupon the King was forced to get what he could of private Men, either by Loan or Gift; with whom he found so much Interest, as that he carry'd over with him thirty Barrels of Money; and so taking the Queen along with him, he went over into France, leaving the Government to the Archbishop of York, having contracted for his greater Security an Alliance with the King of Scots, by the Marriage of his Infant Daughter *Margaret* to his eldest Son *Alexander*, to whom he committed the Government of the Marches. This second Expedition was as unsuccessful and unfortunate to him as the first; for in it he spent all his Treasure upon Strangers, discontented the English Nobility, (who for that reason left him) and being deceived by the *Poictovines*, whom he trusted, was after an whole Year's stay forced to make a dishonourable Truce^b with the King of France; nor could return home, till he had received Provision out of England, and a Tax of Escuage to defray the Charges of his Passage.

After his return he imposed another Tax upon the Jews for their Redemption^c, requires a Contribution of the Londoners, and was visited by his Wife's Mother, the Countess of Provence, who bringing with her her Daughter *Zanchia*, was sumptuously Feasted, and a Marriage shortly after solemnized between the young Lady and *Richard* Earl of Cornwall, the King's Brother, whose Wife was lately dead, and himself returned from the Holy Wars. The old Countess at her departure was presented with many Rich Gifts, besides the four thousand Marks which she had yearly from the King, upon an Agreement, that he should after her decease have the Earldom of Provence: which yet she disappointed him of soon after her return home, giving the same with her youngest Daughter *Beatrice* to *Charles* the French King's Brother, who was after King of Naples and Sicily: So that she liv'd to see all her four Daughters Queens, *Richard* Earl of Cornwall being elected King of the Romans.

A. D. 1241. Reg. 25.

1242.

His ill Success in France.

1243.

A Tax imposed upon the Jews and Londoners.

A 2

After

^a On the 16th of June, 1239.

^b For which he was to pay five thousand Pound Sterling every Year. *M. Paris.*

^c He took from one Jew, *Aaron* of York, four Marks of Gold, and four thousand Marks of Silver.

A. D. 1244. Reg. 28. After these large Expences of the King's in Marriages and Entertainments, there happen'd an occasion for farther Supplies for the necessary Defence of the Kingdom against the Inroads of the Scots and Welsh, who now revolted. The King had now no way to raise Money but by the Parliament, which was therefore assembled at Westminster this Year, Anno Regn. 28. and the King's just Occasions urged and pressed upon them, but nothing could be effected without an Assurance of a Reformation, and the due Execution of Laws, tho' the King came to it in Person; and to this end it was insisted on, That four of the most grave and prudent Peers should be chosen *Conservators of the Kingdom*, and being sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council, should see Justice duly administered, the Treasure frugally and wisely expended, and always attend upon the King: That the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Chancellor, two Justices of the Benches, and two Barons of the Exchequer, should be chosen by the Parliament: That as their Office was publick, so should their Election be. But while these things were debating, the Enemy of Mankind, and the Disturber of Peace, the Devil (saith *Matt. Paris*) hinder'd the Accomplishment of them by the coming of one *Martin*, a new Legate from the Pope, with a larger Power to exact Money upon the Kingdom than ever, which he supposed was now moulded so, as to yield to any thing; but he soon found himself mistaken: For the Parliament gave him a bad Reception, and sent him home with this unpleasant Message: 'That the Kingdom was poor, and involv'd in Wars: That the Church was in debt, and not able to give any thing: That these Impositions were of ill Consequence to the Kingdom, which would thus seem expos'd to the Pope's Pleasure; and therefore since a General Council was shortly to meet at Lyons, if the Church wanted any Relief, it is fit it should be done by a General Consent in that Council.' And indeed the Parliament were encouraged the rather to give this Answer to the Pope at this time, because they had received Letters from the Emperor *Fredericke*, which were read in the Assembly, desiring, 'That the Pope might have no Supplies out of England, which were only to uphold him in his Oppression of the Empire, whose Cities and Castles he had, contrary to all Justice and Piety, seized; and to detain them from him, had proceeded against him in all foul and hostile ways, to excommunicate and make War against him: That he had referred his Cause to the Arbitration of the King of England and France, and the Barons of both Kingdoms, and hoped that they would not take part with his Enemy, whom he had made his Judges: Adding, in the Conclusion, That if the King would be advised by him, he should free his Kingdom from that unjust Tribute which *Innocent III.* and other Popes had laid upon it.' The Interposition of this Affair took up so much time, that nothing was done in this Parliament more, besides a Tax granted to the King for the Marriage of his Daughter, twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and that with much Unwillingness, and a Repetition of all his former Taxes. Having obtained it, he undertook an Expedition against *Alexander King of Scots*,

and commanded all his Barons, both Laymen and Ecclesiastick, which held any Lands of him *in Capite*, to attend him with all Military Provisions, and *Thomas Earl of Flanders*, with sixty Knights, and an hundred Servants, came over to assist him; which was taken ill by the Barons, because it shew'd, that the Strength of the Kingdom was not thought sufficient for that Action; but it was suddenly ended by a fair Conclusion of a Peace with that King, who is highly commended by the Writers of those Times for a Virtuous Prince. Being arrived at London again, he calls another Parliament in the Winter, and moves for a Tax to enable him to go against the Welsh, and pay his other Debts, which, as he urged, were so great, that he could not stir out of his Chamber for the Clamour of such as he ow'd Money to for Wine, and other Necessaries of his House; but they told him unanimously to his Face, they would grant him nothing. Whereupon he fell upon violent Courses to supply his Wants, viz. He quarrel'd with the Londoners, and made them pay fifteen thousand Marks: He gives a Commission to one *Passeleve* his Clerk to enquire out all such as had encroached upon his Forests, and fine them severely; which he did with so much Rigour, that tho' he undid many of the King's Subjects, he filled the King's Treasure, and had gotten himself a Bishoprick, as a Reward of his Fidelity, (viz. the Bishoprick of *Chichester*) but that the Bishops opposed the King in it.

And now, that the King might be acquainted with the State of the Nation, and the Oppression of the Popes, it was appointed, that an Enquiry should be made throughout the Kingdom, what Revenues the Romans and Italians had out of England; and it was found, that they received sixty thousand Marks, which was more than the yearly Revenues of the Crown of England; which so moved the King, that he caused the same to be represented to the General Assembly at Lyons, with other the Pope's Exactions. This Complaint (with the ill Usage of his Legate *Martin*) so angered the Pope, that he is said to have utter'd these words; *It is high time that we make a quick End with the Emperor, that we may crush these petty Kings, (viz. of France and England.) For if the Dragon be once appeased or destroyed, the lesser Snakes will soon be trodden down.* This impious Speech from a Mouth which should have utter'd nothing but Words of Peace and Charity, gave great Offence, and awaken'd those Princes to secure themselves; but chiefly the King and Clergy of England, who were always most forward to vindicate the State and Church from his Oppression: For upon the Pope's rejecting the Consideration of the Grievances of England, particularly deliver'd to him by the King's Procurators at this Council at Lyons, and despising the King's Message, (who, he said, began to *Frederize*) it was peremptorily ordain'd, under great Penalty, That no Contribution of Money should be given to the Pope by any Subject of England; and the King so strenuously opposed these Exactions, as gave some Hopes that they would not cease. But being of a timorous and fickle Temper, he soon gave over the Pursuit of what he had bravely begun; and so the Pope continued his Rapine. And tho' through the Exclamations of the Clergy he promised

* An Elegant Epistle was written to the Council of Lyons in the Name of the General Body of the Kingdom; which Epistle was carry'd to the Assembly by the Earl Roger Bigod, John Fitz-Jeffrey, William de Cantilupe, Philip Basset, and other Barons, who, having no satisfactory Answer from the Council, made a solemn Oath or Protestation, That they would never pay, nor permit to be paid to the Roman See, that detestible Tribute granted by King John.

^b The King himself gave the Parliament a List of those Grievances which the Kingdom laboured under, and which requir'd a speedy Redress. 1. That the Pope extorted great Sums of Money from his Subjects without his Assent. 2. That he depriv'd Patrons of their Right of Presentations to Benefices by his Provisions. 3. That he oppress'd his Subjects by insufferable Pensions, by requiring Appeals, by dispensing with Oaths, Customs and Grants, and the King was zealous to have them reform'd by Law;

The Scotch
and Welsh
revolt.
Twelfth
Parliament.

The Pope
sends again
for Money
into England.

His Expedition
against
the Scots.

A. D. 1244.
Reg. 28.

Thirteenth
Parliament.

His violent
ways of raising
Money.

An Enquiry
into the
Pope's Revenues
in England.

1245:

An Order
against the
Pope's Exactions.

1246.

A. D. 1246. Reg. 31. mised never to send any more Legates into England, yet he employ'd other Ministers, under the Name of Clerks, who had the same Power, and wrought as mischievous things in this Realm.

The Queen's Friends provided for. And as the Church, so also the State, found great Cause of Complaint. For Peter de Savoy, Earl of Richmond, brought over several young Virgins to be marry'd to the King's Wards, young Noblemen of England, of which Edmond Earl of Lincoln had one, and Richard de Burgh another; and the same Year three of the King's Brothers, by Mother side, viz. Guy de Lusignan, William de Valence, and Athelmer Clerk, were sent over to be provided of Estates and Preferment in Eng-

land. Thomas of Savoy also (some time Earl of Flanders, in Right of his Wife) came with his Sister Beatrix, Countess of Provence, the Queen's Mother, and they were greatly Treated and Gifted at the Expence of the People. These things

Fourteenth Parliam-ment. were also represented to the King by the Parliament, which met in London in Candlemas-Term, and boldly reprov'd the King for his Breach of Promise (upon his requiring another Supply) having vow'd and declar'd (at the Grant of the last Tax) by his Charter, 'That he would never

The Parliam-ment reprove the King. injure the State again in that kind: They blame him also for taking up Provisions of Wine, Dyet, Silks, &c. of the Sellers against their Will, to the great Discouragement of Merchandize: That his Judges went their Circuits under a Pretence of doing Justice to fleece the People; and Robert de Passeleve had extorted great Sums from such as border'd upon his Forests, and therefore they wonder'd he could

1248. desire any Relief from the Commons he had so much impoverish'd, and advise him to take what he wanted of his Favourites, and resume the old Lands belonging to the Crown. They reprove him also for holding the Bishopricks and Abbies in his Hands vacant, contrary to the Liberties of the Church, and his Oath made at his Coronation. Lastly, They all complain'd in general, that the Chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurer, were not made by the Common Council of the Kingdom, as they had been in the Time of his Predecessors, as was convenient they should; but such were advanced to those places of Trust, as wholly sought how to please him, and profit themselves, without regarding the Advantage of the Kingdom. The King patiently endured all this Reproof, and gives them Promises of Redress, in hopes to obtain his Desires; but nothing was granted, because they were resolv'd to see how the King would behave himself towards them first, and accordingly obey and satisfy him; and after many Debates they were prorogu'd till Midsummer. But this Delay produced no good Advantage: The King grew more

The King grows severe. harsh and severe to his People, insomuch that at the next Session he made a Speech to them to this Effect: 'Would you curb your King and Lord at your pleasure, and impose a servile Condition upon him? Will you proudly deny him that which every one of you hath Power to do? It is lawful for every one of you to take whose Counsel he pleases, and for every Master of a Family to prefer whom he pleases to any Office, and remove him from it as he will; and will you rashly deny your Lord and Sovereign to do the like? Servants ought not to judge their Masters, nor Subjects their Prince, or hold them to Conditions: For the Servant is not above his Lord, nor the Disciple above his Master. Neither is he your King, but Servant,

who must submit to your Pleasure.' Wherefore he answers them plainly, That he would not remove the Chief-Justice, Chancellor, or Treasurer at their Desire; and so he replied to their other Objections, requiring positively a Tax, which he said concern'd their Right as well as his: And so the Parliament broke up in great Discontent. The King being now left to furnish his own Wants, sold all his Plate and Jewels, being told, That as Rivers return'd to the Sea, so they would revert to him again. The City of London bought them; which, when the King heard, he inveigh'd against it^b, and sought all ways to draw the Trade from it.

The Christmas following he passed without any Royal Magnificence, meanly requiring New-years Gifts of the Londoners; and shortly after writes to them imperious Letters to aid him with Money, which at length with much unwillingness they consented to do, to the Sum of twenty thousand Pound; for which, the next Year after, he craved Pardon of them, sending for them to Westminster-Hall. And notwithstanding his continual taking up all Provisions for his House, yet he so lessen'd his Hospitality, (introducing, say they, the Roman way of Living) that it was held very dishonourable, and unusual to the English Magnificence of their Kings. Then, whereas he could obtain nothing of his Parliament, he either sends for, or writes to every Nobleman apart, declaring his Poverty, and that he was bound by a Charter in a Debt of thirty thousand Pound to those of Burdeaux, and the Gascoignes, ever since he was last in France; notwithstanding which, he required nothing of them, but in Favour; which, where he found, he would return the like. But he could obtain nothing of them, no more than of the Bishops, to whom he address'd the same Requests. By much Importunity he got an hundred Pound of the Abbot of Ramsey; but the Abbot of Borough deny'd him the like Sum, tho' the King told him, That it was more Alms to give him, than to a Beggar that went from Door to Door. The Abbot of St. Albans was more yielding, and gave him sixty Marks. To such a lowness did the Necessities of the King, through his own Lavishness, bring him. But tho' his own Subjects felt not the weight of his Wants, yet the Jews did, whom he always polled at every low Ebb of his Fortunes. One Abraham, who was found delinquent, was forced to pay seven hundred Marks for his Redemption. Aaron, another Jew, protested, That the King had since his Voyage into France taken from him at times thirty thousand Marks of Silver, besides two hundred Marks of Gold, which he had presented to the Queen. And in like manner he used many other of the Jews.

The Lords meet again at London, and urge the King with his Promise made to them, That the Chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurer should be constituted by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by reason that Richard Earl of Cornwall was not present, which was thought to have been on purpose, they could not obtain their Desire; so that the Discontents of both sides still remained, to the great Distraction of the Nation, and great Strugglings were on both parts. But tho' the King could get nothing for himself, he was very zealous to gain something for others, especially to prefer his Brother Athelmar to the Bishoprick of Durham; and to that end, endeavours all he could to persuade the Covent to chuse him. But he could not prevail, because of his Youth and Insufficiency: Wherefore he tells them,

A. D. 1248. Reg. 32.

The King's mean ways of getting Money.

1249.

His Exactions on the Jews.

1250.

The King prefers his Brother Athelmar

^a He was marry'd to the Daughter of Guarin de Muntgenfil, and created Earl of Pembroke.

^b Saying, On my Conscience the City of London were able to purchase the Treasure of Augustus.

A. D. 1250. That he would keep it eight or nine Years in his hands, till he was grown to a greater Age. Shortly after the Bishoprick of *Winchester* became void, and thither he immediately sends his Agents to prepare the Monks of that Cathedral to elect his Brother; and that he might not meet with a Denial from them, he went down thither in Person, enters the Chapter-House, as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the President's Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes this Text, *Justice and Peace have kissed each other*; and thereupon uses these Words, 'To me and other Kings, and to our Princes and Judges, who are to govern the People, belongs the Administration of Judgment and Justice. To you, who are Men of Religion and Piety, Peace and Tranquility: And this Day I hear that you have for your own Advantage been favourable to my Request, and so Justice and Peace have kissed each other. I was angry once with you for opposing me in the Election of *William*, your late Bishop, a Man that I lik'd not; but now I am Friends with you for this Election, and will both remember and reward your Kindness. As by a Woman came the Destruction of the World, so by a Woman came the Remedy. I to satisfy my Wife, who was desirous to prefer her Uncle *William Valentine*, disquieted and damnified you; so now being willing to advance my Brother by the Mother, will reconcile myself to you, &c. Consider, that in this City I was born, and in this Church baptiz'd; and therefore you are bound to me in a straighter Bond of Affection, &c. Then he commended the high Birth and good Parts of his Brother, and what Honour and Benefit they would have by electing him, but concluded with some Threatnings: So that the Monks seeing him thus to require the Bishoprick, thought it in vain to deny him, and *Athelmar* is elected; but with this Reservation, If the Pope allow'd thereof. Soon after happen'd the Memorable Cause of *Sir Henry Bath*,^a one of the Judges of this Kingdom, and a great Counsellor to the King; who having gotten a great Estate in his Place by Bribery and Corruption (for he is said to have gotten 200*l.* per Annum in one Circuit) was at length accused by *Sir Philip D'arcy* of Injustice in his Office, and Treason; which so incens'd the King, that in the Parliament holden about this Time at *London*, Proclamation was made, That every Person that had any Action or Complaint against *Sir Henry Bath*, he might come in and should be heard; whereupon one of his Fellow Judges accus'd him of acquitting a Malefactor for a Bribe. But *Sir Henry* was so strong in Relations and Friends, who were at hand ready arm'd for his Rescue, that the King saw he could not be punish'd openly; and therefore he breaks out into a Rage, and said, That whosoever would kill *Henry de Bath*, should be acquitted for that Deed. But this Heat was soon after allay'd, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Cornwall* and Bishop of *London*, who urging the Danger of the Time, and the Discontents of the Kingdom, and that his severe Proceedings with one that had serv'd him in so great Business, would discourage others from serving such a Master; who upon malicious Accusations would forsake them, whose Places are ever expos'd to Detraction, so prevail'd with the King, that *Sir Henry* upon the Payment of two thousand Marks, was restor'd to his former Place and Favour. The King keep-

ing his Christmas at *York*, the Marriage between *Alexander* King of *Scots* and *Margaret* his Daughter was solemniz'd there with very great Collation of Apparel and Provision, the Archbishop giving sixty fat Oxen to be spent at one Feast, and four thousand Marks for other Charges, which shews that the Poverty of the Church was not so great as was pretended, seeing the Churchmen could find Money to shew their Greatness, tho' they deny'd it at other times.^b

The Pope, and *Alphonfus* King of *Castile*, sollicite the King to undertake the Cross, the latter offering to accompany him in Person to rescue the King of *France*; who having empty'd his Country both of his Treasure and Nobility, was taken Prisoner by the Sultan, and kept in miserable Captivity, out of which he could not easily be redeem'd; because the Money, which with much Difficulty had been collected for his Ransom, was lost in a Tempest at Sea. This made the Captive King seek other means, and offer the King of *England* to restore *Normandy*, if he would undertake to rescue him; which tho' the Nobility of *France* took ill, and blam'd the Weakness of their King for; yet upon the Pope's Solicitation, and a Grant of a Tenth both of the Clergy and Laity for three Years to come, the King of *England* undertakes the Cross; yet rather to get the Money (which had it been collected, would have amounted to 600000*l.*) than to perform the Journey, which he saw was nothing but a politick Device of the Pope's to impoverish his Kingdom, and the other Princes of *Europe*, that he might enlarge his own Power and Dominion. However the King, as if his Design had been real, first summon'd the *Londoners* to *Westminster*, and there by the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Chichester* declares his Intention to them, who added their Exhortations to the People to attend him, but few were moved by their Persuasions; only three Knights, and they of no great Note, are nominated, whom the King embrac'd, kiss'd, and call'd Brethren, checking the Backwardness of the *Londoners* in so pious an Action, and swearing to set forth on *Midsummer-Day*. After this, the Parliament was call'd at *London* to confirm the Tenth granted by the Pope, not by the People; and the Bishops Consent in this so pious a Work was first requir'd to induce the rest, but they absolutely refus'd the same: Which Example the Lords so closely follow'd, that the King in a Rage drove them out of his Chamber. Then the King tries to persuade them to it severally, and first began with the Bishop of *Ely*, and in a mild manner tells him, 'How many Favours he had receiv'd from his hands, and how forward he had formerly found him to supply his Occasions, and therefore intreats him now to give a good Example to others. The Bishop reply'd, 'That he was glad, that he had at any time done him good Service; but in this he besought his Highness not to expect a Compliance, since he thought it a dishonest Act to recede from the Universal Determination of the Nation, and therefore dissuades him from that Journey by the Example of the King of *France*, on whom he saw the Judgment of God fall'n for robbing his People to enrich his Enemies, who were grown fat with the vast Treasure that Christian Princes had transported thither.' The King hearing this positive Answer of the Bishop, commanded his Servants in a great Passion to thrust him out of his Palace; and judging

A. D. 1251. Reg. 35. Margaret the King's Sister marry'd. 1252.

Sir Henry Bath's Cause. 1251.

Fifteenth Parliament.

Sixteenth Parliament.

^a He was a great Lawyer, and the King's Favourite, yet his Master refus'd to take Bail for him when he was arrested.
^b When this Marriage was solemniz'd, King Henry would have had the *Scots* King to do him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as he had done for *Lothian* and other Places, which he held of the King of *England*; but *Alexander* evaded it, and King Henry was not in Circumstances to oblige him to do it.

A. D. 1252. ing by him what he was to expect of the rest, fell to his old Courses of raising Money by Violence and Extortion. During this Parliament (an ill time for Suitors) *Isabel* Countess of *Arun-*
del, a young Widow, came to him about a Ward detain'd from her by reason of a small parcel of Land held of the King *in Capite*, which depriv'd her of her Wardship for the rest. The King gave her a sharp Answer, and turn'd away from her : Whereupon she said to him, ' My Lord, Why turn you away your Face from Justice, that we can't obtain our Rights in your Court? You are God's Vicegerent, but you neither govern your self nor us wisely, but shamefully oppress your Nobles and the Kingdom. To this Speech the King reply'd in Disdain, ' Lady Countess, Have the Lords made you a Charter to be their Advocate, and sent you, being an eloquent Speaker, to defend their Cause? No, Sir, she said; I have no Charter, but that which your Father and you made, and have sworn so often to observe, that you might get Money from your Subjects, but you do unworthily transgress. Where are the Liberties of *England* so often granted and bought? I though a Woman, and with me all your Natural Subjects, appeal against you to the Tribunal of the most High Judge to avenge us. At these words the King being disturb'd, ask'd her, ' If she expected no Favour from him, being his Kinswoman? She said, ' How can I hope for Favour from you, when you deny me Right? I appeal to Christ against those Counsellors of yours, who have infatuated and bewitch'd you for their own Gain. As boldly, tho' in fewer words, did the Master of the Hospital of *Jerusalem* at *Clerkenwell* reprove him; who coming to complain of an Injury done them against their Charter, the King told him, ' That the Bishops, but especially the Templars and Hospitallers, had so many Liberties and Charters, that their Riches made them proud, and their Pride mad; and 'tis best for them, that those things which were unadvisedly granted should be revok'd; alledging, ' That the Popes had often recall'd their Grants by a *Non-obstante*, and why might not he disannul those Charters, which his Predecessors had inconsiderately granted? The Prior answer'd, ' God forbid you should do as you say: So long as you observe Justice, you may be a King, but if you violate it, you will cease to be a King. The Fryars, call'd *Minors*, when he sent them a Load of Freeze to cloath them, sent it back again, with this Message; ' That he ought not to give Alms of what he had extorted from the Poor, nor would they accept of such an abominable Gift. Such Affronts did this King meet withal from his Subjects, whose Duty should have taught them more Manners to a worse Prince; but when Princes have once lost the Love of their People, and their Reputation, every one will be ready to shake off their Power, and put off all Reverence to them.

This ill Behaviour of the *English* to the King harden'd him every Day more and more against them, and made him encourage the Insolencies of Strangers against his People; who proud of the King's Favour, were ready enough to gratifie his Anger, in committing many Roits and Oppressions upon them. Thus *William de Valence*, an hot and fiery Youth, going from his Castle of *Hartford* to a Park of the Bishop of *Ely*'s, which lay near his Mannour of *Hatfield*; he destroy'd the Game, and after entering the Bishop's House, where he found no other Drink but Ale, he caus'd the Cellar-door to be broken open by his Attendants, and when they had drank their fill,

let out the rest upon the Floor. The Bishop A. D. 1252. Elect of *Winchester* also did great Wrongs to an Official of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Guy de Lusignan* being entertain'd by the Abbot of *St. Albans*, violates all the Laws of Hospitality and Civility, and many others did the like Injuries to the *English*; insomuch, that their general Complaint was, ' Our Inheritance is given to Aliens, and our Houses to Strangers, which notwithstanding the King sought the more to prefer: For a Daughter of *Guy de Lusignan* Earl of *Angoulesme*, is marry'd to *Richard* (or *Gilbert de Clare* Earl of *Glocester*, an eminent Man, and much lov'd of the Nobility, learn'd in the Laws, and a great Patriot of the Rights of the Subject; from which this near Alliance to the King could not keep his Hands, but he would still defend the Liberties of the Nation. The King promis'd to the Earl five thousand Marks for a Dower, and sought to borrow it of many, but could not; wherefore he again compels the *Londoners* to contribute a thousand Marks.

The People of *Gascoigne* being about to revolt, unless a speedy Remedy were taken, the King caused general Musters to be made, and gave order, That whoever could expend 13 *l.* per Annum, should furnish out an Horse for that Expedition. This, with the extream Wants of the King, occasion'd another Parliament, wherein the States wisely considering, that all their Opposition did no good, the King's Wants must be supply'd one way or other; and that it was heavier for private Men to do it, than for the Kingdom in general, agreed to relieve him rather by the usual way, than force him to those extravagant Courses he took: Yet upon Condition, that he would reform the Government, and ratifie their ancient Laws and Charters, which (after fifteen Days Consultation about the Way of raising a sufficient Sum for this Expedition, which was at length agreed to be done by a Tenth from the Clergy for three Years, and three Marks of every Knight's Fee) was done after the most solemn Manner, and with as much Ceremony as Religion and State could devise; for the King, with all the Chief Nobility, and Bishops in their Robes, and with Candles burning in their Hands, being assembled, the Charters granted by King *John* his Father were openly read, and the terrible Sentence of Excommunication being pronounc'd against all the Breakers of the same in these Words; ' *Autoritate Dei Omnipotentis*, &c. they all threw down their Candles, which lay smoaking on the Ground, and all cry'd out, ' So let them who incur this Sentence, be extinct and stink in Hell. And the King, who laid his Hand on his Breast all the while the Sentence was read, said with a loud Voice, ' As God shall help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King crown'd and anointed, inviolably observe all these things. And at this the Bells rung out, and all the People shouted for Joy: So that never Laws were publish'd with more Ceremony than these, except those of God himself from Mount *Sinai*; and if Prayers could have procur'd the same Thundrings and Lightnings, it should have been done to make them reverently to be observ'd, and the Breach of them formidable. After this, the Business of *Gascoigne* was readily taken into Consideration, being the thing that requir'd their present Care; which to understand, we must look back a little to the Original. The King, by the Counsel of the Lords, had twenty seven Years before this, freely granted to his Brother *Richard* all that Province of *Gascoigne*, which thereupon receiv'd him as their Lord, and swore Fealty to him.

The People of Gascoigne ready to revolt.

Seventeenth Parliament.

The Charters solemnly ratified. 1253.

The Business of Gascoigne.

A. D. 1253. The Queen, after the King had a Son by her, solicits him to revoke his Grant to his Brother, and confer it upon his eldest Son *Edward*, which he immediately did. But *Richard*, tho' he were depriv'd of the Possession, would not yield to forego his Right; so that when the King was last in *Gascoigne*, the People were doubtful whom to attend. The King therefore in great Displeasure commands his Brother to resign his Charter, and renounce his Right; which he refusing to do, the King commanded the People of *Burdeaux* to take him and imprison him; but they considering his Greatness, and the Mutability of the King's Temper, would not venture to do it till he promised them a large Reward of Money; by which the Earl perceiving he was in danger, escaped from *Burdeaux*, and got into *England*. The King after his departure assembles the Nobility of *Gascoigne* at *Burdeaux*, where having much inveigh'd against his Brother, as a covetous Oppressor, and promised them not only a better Governor, but thirty thousand Marks, (which they required him to confirm to them by his Charter and Oath) he nulled the Charter of Donation to his Brother, and takes their Homage and Fealty to himself. In which, tho' they pleased him, yet by holding him to the Performance of his Oath, they afterward lost his Love; and to be reveng'd of them, he sent *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leicester*, a rough and warlike Man, to curb their Pride, gave him a Charter for six Years, and furnished him with ten thousand Marks, that he might execute his Command the better. *Montfort* by his severe Management so discontented the People of *Gascoigne*, that they after three Years Sufferings send over the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, with other great Men, to complain of his hard Dealings, and accuse of several heinous Crimes, who were heard before the King and Council. *Montfort* is sent for over to answer for himself; but was so abetted and befriended by the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Lords his Friends; that the King taking the People of *Gascoigne*'s part, more to curb his Nobles, than in favour to them. *Montfort* in an undutiful manner upbraided the King with his Expenceful Service and Breach of Promise, gave him the Lye, and threaten'd to make him repent of that Action, if his Regal Dignity did not protect him, called him no Christian, with many like Abuses; which caused the King to tell him, That he repented that he had admitted him into *England*, and so much preferred him. The *Gascoignes* after this were sent for privately by the King, who comforted them, and encouraged them against *Montfort*, whom he told them he would send over again to his Charge with clipped Wings, that they might be reveng'd of him; and confirmed the State of *Gascoigne* to his Son *Edward*, whom he promised shortly to send over to them, wherewith they were well pleased; and having done him Homage, depart. The Effect of this Contrivance was but bad. *Montfort* returns in Flames, plagues the *Gascoignes*, and they in like manner him; but he by his great Alliance in *France*, got so many Forces, as overmatch'd that People, and so spoil'd their Estates. The People being thus oppressed by a powerful Army, send over their Complaints again; alledging, That unless they were speedily reliev'd, they must of necessity put their Country into some other hands to protect them. In this State was *Gascoigne* at the meeting of this Parliament. Wherefore the King, as soon as he obtain'd the Supply (laying

aside his *Eastern* Design) goes over with three hundred Sail of great Ships, and lands at *Burdeaux* in *August*, in the 38th Year of his Reign, having first deposed *Simon Montfort* from his Government, and made void his Charter by Proclamation. *Montfort* retires, and is offer'd Entertainment by the *French*, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had pretty well appeased the Country, and taken those Castles which had long held out against him, and the late Governor. For they having put themselves under the Protection of the King of *Spain*, who was a near Neighbour, to maintain the Factions of the Country, the King was forced to be more quick in dispatching that Affair; and the rather, because the King of *Spain* pretended a Title to *Aquitain*; of whom, that *Henry* might be the more secure, he sends to him to treat of a Marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Sister *Eleanor*; to which the King of *Spain* willingly consented. After this the King kept his Christmas at *Bordeaux*, whither the Queen sends him a New-years Gift of five hundred Marks; and the next Summer she went over to him with the Prince, and the Marriage was solemnized at *Bourges*, where the King of *Spain* knighted the Prince, and by his Charter quits his Claim to *Aquitain* for him and his Heirs for ever. The King of *England* also invests the Prince and his Wife therein; and besides, gives him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristol*, *Stamford* and *Grantham*; which being dispatch'd, the King prepares for his Return, having consumed all his Treasure in these Journeys, which was reckon'd 2700000*l.* more than all the Lands which he had in those Countries were worth, had they been sold right out; which, when he was told of, he desired it might not be published to his Disgrace. The Seas being dangerous in the Winter, the King obtains leave of the King of *France* (lately released from his Captivity) to pass through his Country homeward; and in his Passage goes to *Paris* with a Retinue of a thousand Horse, besides Sumpters and Carts, where he staid eight Days, and was magnificently feasted by the King of *France*, which he returned with equal Charge and Pomp, in respect to the two Queens with him, and the Countesses of *Cornwall* and *Provence*. About Christmas the King arriv'd in *England*, and was presented by the *Londoners* with an hundred Pounds in Silver, which being receiv'd without Thanks, they gave him a piece of Plate of double the Value, which had a more kind Acceptance, though it could not excuse them from greater Sums afterwards.

The main Business of the King after his arrival being to recruit his Treasure, and ease himself of his Debts, which he had by his Prodigality contracted, and now lay heavy upon him, he studied all ways to raise Money. And first he begins to supply himself for the present with Loans, and borrows great Sums of the Earl of *Cornwall* upon Pawn. The *Londoners* were also compelled to pay him three thousand Marks for suffering a Prisoner to escape; and the poor *Jews* are again squeez'd, and then let out to farm to the rich Earl of *Cornwall* to make the best of them. At length he calls a Parliament in *Easter Term*, of which he expected large Contributions to his Wants; but instead of that, he meets with nothing but Complaints of Breaches of their Charter, and other Grievances from them, who insisted upon their pretended Rights of chusing the Chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurer: About which

A. D. 1254. Reg. 38. *Montfort deposed.*

King Henry keeps his Christmas at *Bordeaux*.

His ways to raise Money.

Eighteenth Parliament.

1275.

^a *Matt. Paris* says, 'Twas 20700*l.* and 30000 Marks, spent on his *Poitouin* half Brothers. He begg'd some that told him of it, not to mention it any more: Oh, for the Head of God (his Oath) say no more of it, lest the very Relation make Men wonder, and stand amaz'd.

A. D. 1247. which things, when there had been much Debate to no purpose, the Parliament was adjourn'd to Reg. 41. Michaelmas, without any Grant of Money to him; because, as was pretended, many Peers were not summon'd according to the Tenure of *Magna Charta*. But tho' the King got no Supplies, he had fresh Occasions for Charge. *Thomas* Earl of Savoy, the Queen's Brother, is at War with the City of *Thuren*, and must be supply'd with Money by the King and Queen, and *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Brother. The Bishop of *Toledo* Elect, the King of *Spain's* Brother, came over, with other Great Men of that Nation, stay at the King's Charge, and are richly presented. Shortly after *Eleanor*, the Prince's Wife, visits the King with a Multitude of *Spaniards*; and she must be met, and received by the *Londoners* in a costly Manner, and is after much Feasting sent home with rich Presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a Ring of Investiture to *Edmund*, the King's second Son, for the Kingdom of *Sicily* (with which *Innocent IV.* had deluded the King himself before) and he also was sent back with great Rewards. Then arrives *Rustandus*, with Power to collect the Tenths of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the use of the Pope and King, and absolve the King from his Oath for the Holy War, upon Condition that he should come to destroy *Manfred* the Emperor *Fredericke's* Son, who was now in Possession of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*, and put his Son *Edmund* in that Kingdom; which the King was so pleased with, that he vow'd to go presently upon that Expedition; being encouraged to it by a Report, that *Manfred*, had received a Defeat by the Pope's Power in *Apulia*, which proved false; for *Manfred* had conquer'd the Pope's Army, and was established in his Government by the general Consent of the *Sicilians*, who were angry with the Pope for giving away their Country without their Consent to Strangers. But *Rustandus* could not obtain that he came for of the Clergy, (tho' he got a rich Present at *York* of the King) who protested, That they would rather lose their Lives and Livings, than yield in this thing either to the Will of the Pope or King, who, they said, were as the Shepherd and the Wolf, who combined to destroy the Flock.

The Complaint of the Merchants of Gascoigne. The King this Year keeps his Christmas at *Winchester*, and here the Merchants of *Gascoigne*, who had their Wines taken from them by the King's Officers, without due Satisfaction for them, complain of it to the Prince, who was now their Lord, and tell him, 'That they had better Trade with *Sarazens* and *Infidels*, than the *English*, if they were thus used.' The Prince addresses himself to his Father, and begs a Redress; but was so far from gaining it, that he brought the Storm upon himself. For the Officers having preposessed the King, that their Complaints were false and unjust, he brake out in a great Rage at the Prince's Motion, and said, 'That his own Bowels, his Son, afflicted and opposed him, as his Brother had done; and the Miseries of his Grandfather *Henry II.* were come upon him.' But this Passion being allay'd by his Council, he gave order, That those Injuries should be redressed. However, the Prince fearing future ill Effects of his Father's Displeasure, enlarged his Train, and rode with two hundred Horse for his Guard. While the Prince, who was very young, rash, and unexperienced, remained in *England* with a Train of Strangers, most of them of no Estates, and of youthful and violent Spirits (said to be more ravenous than the Crew which *Lewis*

brought with him out of *France*) many Outrages were committed to the great Trouble of the King's Subjects; for they made every thing a Prey that they could get into their Power; yea, and the Prince himself is said upon the Road to have caused the Ear of a young Man to be cut off, and one of his Eyes put out, whom he met travelling about his Business; which foul Act made many to have no good Opinion of his Disposition, and fear what he would after prove. But long Experience in Travel, and an innate Nobleness of Mind, so suppressed his Vices, that he after proved a very worthy Prince. But for the present he suffered some Disgrace for his youthful Follies; which the *Welsh* not having that Patience to endure as the *English* had, broke out into open Rebellion against him, who was then their Governor. He craved the Assistance of his Father, Mother, and Uncle *Richard*, to suppress them: But the King's Treasure was gone over the *Alps* with *Edmund*, the Queen's to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Earl *Richard* had lent more already than he could get again; and so nothing was done, but only a rough Message sent him, That 'twas his Princedom, and he must find Ways to defend it. But the King used all the Shifts he could to supply his own everlasting Wants. He comes himself into his Exchequer, and with his own Voice order'd, 'That every Sheriff which appeared not yearly in the Oathes of *S. Michael* with his Money, as well of his Farms, as of Fines and other Dues, for the first Day he should be fined five Marks, for the second ten, for the third fifteen, and for the fourth at the King's Pleasure. In like manner, that all Cities and Free-Towns, which answer by their Bailiffs, should be fined for the same Defaults, and the fourth Day to lose their Freedom. Besides every Sheriff throughout *England* was fined five Marks, because they did not disfrain within their Countries all that held ten Pound Land *per Annum*, and came not to be made a Knight, or freed by the King.' Then he fell to the Examination of Measures for Wine and Ale, Bushels and Weights, which brought him in some small Sums; and every Year he had a Quarrel with the *Londoners* for one thing or another, and got something out of them. Thus by various ways supporting his great Charge.

But now happen'd a Business, which as it took up some time, so it was look'd upon by all the World as advantageous to the *English*, viz. The Election of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* to be King of the *Romans*, by the general Consent of all the Electors, who sent for him to receive that Crown. It was first debated in the Council, whether he should accept of the Offer: Some, who thought his Presence necessary for the Affairs of this Kingdom, were against it, and dissuaded him from it by the Examples of two lately elected to that Dignity, *Henry Landgrave* of *Turing*, and *William* Earl of *Holland*, who were miserably destroyed. But others, of which the King himself was one, persuaded him to it, judging him too great for a Subject, and very useful if a foreign Prince: This the Earl yielded to, tho' with a seeming unwillingness. But the *German* Writers (who are best Witnesses of their own Affairs) give a different Account of it, and say, That after the Murther of the Earl of *Holland* the Electors were divided about a Successor; some were for their old Custom of electing a Native, others were for a Stranger, who might support their declining State, which was most politick, and at last prevailed. But in this they had some Difference about the Competitors, *Alphonfus* King of *Spain*, and *Richard* Earl of

A. D. 1247. Reg. 41.

Welsh rebel against the Prince.

Richard Earl of Cornwall made King of the Romans.

* His Natural Son.

* The Elector of Treves, and several other Princes, opposed his Election.

A. D. 1257. In the Conclusion *Richard*, who was nearest in Person and Money readiest, was prefer'd and crown'd at *Aquisgrave*^a. He behav'd himself, say they, with great Tyranny and Severity to those who had oppos'd his Election, thinking thereby to confirm himself in his Power, but it proved contrary: For having consum'd his Riches by purchasing their Votes, and by giving great Gifts afterward, he was forsaken and dispossest by his Subjects, and forc'd to return into *England* to his Brother *Henry*, who was then in War with his Nobles. Thus they deliver it, but in our Histories we find it thus: Before the Earl departed out of *England*, the Earl of *Glocester* and Sir *John Mansell* were sent into *Germany* to try their Affections towards him, who return'd well satisfied of the Business; and shortly after the Archbishop of *Cologne* came to conduct him over, and the Earl bestow'd five hundred Marks on him towards his Charges, and a rich Mitre set with precious Stones. This Prince, the Earl of *Cornwall*, is reported to have been able to expend an hundred Marks a Day for ten Years, besides his Revenues in *England*. The *French*, and especially the King of *Spain*, were much displeased with this Choice, and complain'd to the Pope and King of *England*, that he was supplanted by the Earl, *Spain* pretending that he was first elected: But he being a Philosopher, and studious of Mathematicks (which he reviv'd in *Europe*) he was drawing Lines when he should have drawn his Purse, and so lost his Hopes, and *Richard* stept in before him^b.

And sent for over.

Nineteenth Parliament. The King desires Money to furnish out Edmund his Son to be King of Sicily.

About the time that Earl *Richard* departed out of *England*, while the Kingdom was yet in its Jollity for this new Promotion, the King calls a Parliament to set forward another, of his Son *Edmund*; whom bringing forth to them in an *Apu- lian* Habit, he thus spake to the Assembly. 'Behold, my good Subjects, here my Son *Edmund*, whom God of his Grace hath called to the Dignity of Regal Excellency, how worthy is he of your Favour, and how inhumane will it be in you, in so important an Affair, to deny him your Counsel and Aid? And then he shews them, how by the Advice and Kindness of the Pope, and the Church of *England*, he had for the attaining of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, bound himself under a Covenant of losing his Kingdom of *England* in the Sum of an hundred forty thousand Marks; That he had obtain'd a Tenth of the Clergy for three Years to come of all their Benefices, to be valu'd at the full Rate, without Deduction of Expences, unless very necessary, besides their First-fruits for three Years; which Declaration was not very pleasant to the Clergy, as may be judg'd from their former Grumbings. Nevertheless, after some insufficient Excuses for their Poverty, they promis'd, upon the usual Condition, That *Magna Charta*, and the Liberties of the Kingdom should be finally establish'd, which had been so often bought before, fifty two thousand Marks, tho' this satisfied him not. Wherefore the next Year he summons another Parliament at *London*, wherein he press'd them hard for such Supplies as might enable him to pay his Debts to the Pope; but the Lords tell him plainly, 'That they would not yield to pay him any thing, and if he had without their Consent, unadvisedly bought the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and was cheated, he should impute it to his own Weakness, and have taken Example by his

Brother; who when it was offer'd him by the Pope's Agent, absolutely refus'd it, because it lay so far off; so many Nations were between, the Pope full of Cavils, the People unfaithful, and the Pretender powerful, &c. Then they repeated their own Grievances, how that he had broke his Promises, contemning both the Keys of the Church, and the Charter he had solemnly sworn to observe; how insulting his Brethren, and other Strangers were, against whom no Writ, by his own Order, was to pass in any Cause whatsoever out of Chancery; That their Pride was intolerable, especially of *William de Valence*, who had given the Lye to the Earl of *Leicester*, and was not punish'd for it upon Complaint; That they abounded in Riches, and kept him so poor, that he could not suppress the small Forces of the *Welsh*, who wasted the Borders of *England*, but going the last Year against them, return'd with Dishonour.' The King hearing this, grew sensible of his Fault; and being urg'd with Necessity humbled himself, and told them, 'That he had indeed been seduc'd by ill Counsel, but promis'd by Oath, which he took upon *S. Edward's* Tomb, to reform all these Errors.' But the Lords not knowing how to hold this ever-changing *Proteus* (as *Paris* says) got the Parliament to be adjourn'd till *S. Barnabas's* Day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In the mean time, the Earls of *Glocester*, *Leicester* and *Hereford*, the Earl Marshal *Bygot*, *Spencers*, and other great Men, enter into a Confederacy, and provide Force sufficient to effect their Desires; whilst the King put to great Straights for Money, procures the Abbot of *Westminster* by Promises of great Preferments, to give him a Deed seal'd with the Seal of the Covent for three hundred Marks, to encourage others to do the like; which he sent by some trusty Officers to the several Monasteries with his Letters, and his said Deed, to effect. But all the Art and Threats that they could use, could not bring them to yield to such Deeds. They were told, That their King was Lord of all they had, and therefore they ought readily to offer a small part for the Supply of his Wants; but they reply'd, That they acknowledg'd the King Lord of all they had, but it was to defend and enrich, not to destroy and undo them. So the Officers return'd without Success, and the King was disappointed; and the Prince, who shar'd in the Miseries of his Father's Wants, forc'd to mortgage the Towns of *Stamford*, *Braham*, and many other Places, to *William de Valence*; that out of his Stores he might supply his Father and himself with Money, which prov'd the Breach of all Love and Favour between them.

And now drew on the Time for the Parliament's meeting at *Oxford* in an hot time, but the Discontents of the Nation, which burst out then into furious Flames, were much hotter than the Season. The Lords appear'd with a very great Train, as for War, which indeed they pretended to be design'd against the *Welsh*, and landing of Foreigners at the several Ports; but the Orders given by them to the *Londoners* to keep their Gates shut, and the Association under Hands, and with Oaths which they had enter'd into one with another, proved some other Design. At the Opening of the Parliament they began to call for their former Liberties, and require strictly the Observation of them, according to the King's Oath formerly made, That the Chief

A. D. 1258. Reg. 42.

The Nobility enter into a Combination.

The Lords in Arms at Oxford.

^a He was crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle* in May, 1257.

^b 'Tis said he carry'd over 700000 l. with him into *Germany*, an immense Sum in those Times.

^c He oblig'd his Convent for 2500 Marks. *M. Paris*.

A. D. 1258. Chief-Justice, Chancellour, and Treasurer should be chosen by the People; That Twenty-four Conservators of the Kingdom be appointed, twelve by the Election of the King, and twelve of the Lords, and many things else which they imagin'd to be for their Security. The King seeing their Strength, and observing after what manner they requir'd these things, swears solemnly again to the Confirmation of them, and causes his Son the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords were not thus satisfied, the King's Brethren, all the *Poictovines* and Strangers must be presently remov'd, and the Kingdom clear'd of them; and this they would have all the Peers of the Nation to see done: But the Prince, Earl Warren, and Henry the eldest Son of Richard, now King of the Romans*, strongly oppos'd it, the last refusing to take his Oath without his Father's Leave: Whereupon the rest told him, 'That if his Father would not joyn with the Barons in this Case, he should not hold a Furrow of Land in England. In the end, the King's Brethren, and all their Followers, are deprived of their Estates, and banish'd by Proscription under the King's own hand, directed to the Earls of Hereford and Surrey, with a Charge not to suffer them to pass either with Money, Arms, or Equipage, other than as the Lords appointed; and after their departure, he enjoind the City of Bristol and other Ports, not to permit any Strangers or Kinsman of his to enter the Kingdom, unless they behav'd themselves as both he and the Lords should like. The *Poictovines* flying to Bologne in France, sent to King Lewis to beg a safe Passage through his Country into *Poictou*; but by the French Queen's means, who had heard they had disgrac'd her Sister of England, they were deny'd, and Henry Son to the Earl of Leicester is sent to incense the French against them. And now, as Envy is always ready to thrust headlong, such as are falling, the *Poictovines* have all the Mischiefs laid to their Charge imaginable. The Sickness and Death of divers great Men, which happen'd soon after this fatal Parliament, are imputed to Poisons made and given by these Gentlemen, and some executed, as *Walter Scoyny*, the Earl of Gloucester's Steward, because his Master and his Brother had been dangerously sick, though they could prove nothing against him. *Elias*, a converted Jew, asserted, That the Poison was prepar'd in his House, but it was when he was a Devil, not a Christian: Every Man that had receiv'd any Wrong by these great Men, put up their Complaints, and are heard with Aggravations of their Insolence and Injustice. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poictovine*, to whom the King had given the Castle of *Rocheſter*, is banish'd, and all his Goods confiscated; *William Buſſey*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of London, and cruelly used as an Instrument of his Master's Insolencies; *Richard Gray*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover* Castle, is set to intercept whatever the *Poictovines* carried that way to convey out of England, who took a great deal of Treasure from them, and the Elect of *Wincheſter*, besides great Sums which they had put in the new Temple, all which were seiz'd into the King's Hand. And that the People in this Execution of Justice, as 'twas thought, tho' much Wrong was done under that Umbrage, might not think themselves forgotten, the new Chief Justice *Hugh Bygot* the Marshal's Brother (who was chosen by the Parliament) procures, that four Knights in every

Shire should inquire into the Oppressions of the Poor, done by those great Men, and certifie the same under their Hands and Seals to the Barons, that Redress might be made. Moreover Order was taken, 'That from thenceforth no Man should give any thing (but Provisions) for Justice, or to hinder it; but the corrupter and corrupted to be grievously punish'd. But notwithstanding this Care for the Publick, yet the Lords oppress'd the King's Tenants that dwelt near them, and became *Totidem Tyranni*: For they furnish'd the chief Forts of the Kingdom with Garrisons of their own, sworn to be faithful to the State, and to the like Assurance of all the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Coroners, and other publick Officers, inquiring by Oath into the Behaviour of many Commissioners; and to make their Cause the more popular, they gave it out, that the King's Necessities must be supply'd out of the Peoples Estates, and that he would not want while they had it: Whereupon the King issues out his Proclamation, declaring, 'That whereas certain malicious Persons had falsly and seditiously reported, that he design'd unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and subvert the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and by such false Suggestions, drew the Hearts of his People from him; he desir'd them not to give Credit to such Disturbers of their Peace, because he was resolv'd to defend all Rights and Customs belonging to them; and that they might be assur'd of it, he had caused these his Letters to be made Patents.

And now *Montford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer*, who had by the late Constitution of the Twenty-four Conservators of the Kingdom, gotten the whole Management of all things into their hand, forc'd the King to call a Parliament at London, where the whole Authority of the Twenty-four was devolv'd upon them, and Order taken, That three of them at the least should always attend at Court to dispose of the Custody of Castles, and manage other Businesſes of the Kingdom, to direct the Chancellor, Chief-Justice and Treasurer, and all other Officers both great and small; and besides, oblige the King to loose them from their Obedience whensoever he broke his Charter. In this State and Condition was the Kingdom, when there came Intelligence to the Lords, that *Richard* King of the Romans was coming over into England; which being not expected, gave them grounds to suspect, that he was sent for by the King to come over with an Army to overthrow their Constitution, as King *John* had done: Whereupon they sent to him to know the Cause of his coming, and require an Oath of him before he landed, that he would do nothing prejudicial to their Establishment newly made in the Kingdom. But the King of the Romans gave them a stern Answer and Refusal, saying, 'He had no Peer in England, being the Son and Brother of a King, and therefore was above their Power; and if they saw it necessary to reform the Kingdom, they ought first to have sent for him, and not so presumptuously attempted a Business of so great Importance without him. The Lords, upon the hearing of this Answer, sent down a Force to guard the Ports, and came down well arm'd, and attended to encounter him if necessary; but finding his Train small, viz. only his Queen, two German Earls, and eight Knights, they permitted him to land upon his Promise of taking their Oath, which they propounded to him; but would not permit him nor the King, who also came

A. D. 1258. Reg. 42. *The Lords usurp the Royal Power.*
1259. *Twentieth Parliament.*
Richard King of the Romans comes into England.

Strangers to be banished.

The Poictovines cruelly used in their departure.

* The Judges also making some shew of Opposition, incur'd the Odium of the People so much, that they would not admit them to do their Office in their Circuits.

A. D. 1258. At *Canterbury* they brought him into the Chapter-house, and the Earl of *Glocester* standing forth in the midst, called out the Earl, not by the Name of King, but *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who in a reverent manner came forth, and took his Oath in this form: 'Hear all Men, that I *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* do here swear upon the Holy Evangelists, to be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdom of *England*, which hath by the Counsel of wicked Persons been heretofore much disorder'd; be an effectual Assistant with you to expel the Rebels and Disturbers of the same: And this Oath I will inviolably observe under the penalty of losing all the Land I have in *England*. So help me God.' By this means the Lords endeavour'd to joyn this Earl to them, supposing that his Power was greater than it really was; which at length they found to be nothing but an airy Title. For having in two Years consumed all those vast Riches which he had gather'd with great frugality in many, he return'd home poor, and forsaken of the *Germans*, without any Means to trust to, but what he had in *England*.

1259. Upon the Earl's return into *England*, the King takes heart, and sought all means to recover his Power, which the Barons had retrench'd; and to that end first of all sends his Ambassadors to *Rome* to procure an Absolution from his forced Oath made to them, and then sends into *Scotland* to the King, and Queen his Daughter, for Aids to be ready upon occasion. And that he might not be diverted in his Design by the King of *France*, he makes an absolute Resignation of his Right to the Dutchy of *Normandy*^a, and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Turenne*, and *Main*; for which he was to receive of the King of *France*^b three hundred thousand Pounds (some say Crowns) of *Angloine* Money, and to be secured in the Enjoyment of all *Guien* beyond the River *Garonne*, all the Country of *Xantouge* as far as the River *Charente*, the Countries of *Lamosin* and *Quercy*, for him and his Successors, doing their Homage and Fealty to the Crown of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitain*, and a Peer of that Kingdom. The Lords likewise, on the other side, seek all ways to strengthen their Association, by keeping each other to their Oaths, and Observation of their Orders, which was very hard for them to do, being of several Inclinations, and sometimes at odds among themselves. For the Earl of *Leicester*, (a chief Leader of the Faction) finding the Earl of *Glocester* a little staggering, told him plainly, 'That he cared not to live with Men of such mutable and uncertain Tempers, as my Lord of *Glocester* seem'd to be; who, as he was the most eminent, so he was the most obliged to stand to what had been

undertaken for the good of the Kingdom. By these Heats he incensed many, being animated in them by *Walter* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who enjoyned him upon Remission of his Sins to prosecute the Cause unto Death; affirming, 'That the Peace of the Church of *England* could never be established but by the Material Sword. Many also were drawn by various Temptations to leave them, especially after the King of *France* had given his Sentence against them, being chosen an Arbitor in the Quarrel; for tho' he allowed the Confirmation of King *John's* Charter, yet he condemned all the Provisions of *Oxford*; which, tho' they pretended to be grounded upon the Charter, yet it much advantaged the King's Cause, and made them thought unlawful; so that many dispensed with their Oaths, and left their Party: Among whom were *Henry* the Son of the Earl of *Cornwall* (on whom the Prince had bestow'd the Honour of *Tickhill*) who coming to the Earl of *Leicester*, told him, 'That he would not be against his Father the King, nor his Allies; but added, 'My Lord, I will never bear Arms against you, and therefore I crave leave to depart. The Earl cheerfully replied: 'My Lord, *Henry*, I am not sorry for your Departure, but for your Inconstancy; Go, return with your Arms, and I fear them not at all. This Example was followed by *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leibern*, *Haymo Le-Strange*, and many others, who were won by Gifts, to forsake the Barons. Shortly after this *Roger Mortimer*, who was for the King, begins the Quarrel about three Years after the Parliament at *Oxford*, entering into the Lands of the Earl of *Leicester*, and spoiling all before him, because the said Earl combining with *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, had sent Forces to seize upon *Mortimer's* Lands in those parts. The Prince joyns with *Mortimer*, and surprizes the Castle of *Brecknock*, with other places of strength, which he delivers into his Custody. The Earl of *Leicester* recovers the Town and Castle of *Glocester*, and forces the Citizens to pay a thousand Pounds for their Redemption; then goes with his Army to *Worcester*, where he possessed himself of the Castle; and so went to *Shrewsbury*, and so comes about to the Isle of *Ely*, conquers the same, and became very powerful. The King not being fully ready for him, and fearing lest his approach to *London* should prove prejudicial to him, mediates for a Peace, and obtains it upon these Conditions: 'That all the King's Castles should be put into the keeping of the Barons; That the Provisions of *Oxford* should be inviolably observed; That all Strangers by a certain time should depart the Kingdom, except only such as by a general

^a The Earl of *Leicester* protested against this Resignation in right of his Wife, who, as *K. Henry's* Sister, had a Title expectant.

^b *Henry* is said to have repented of this Bargain, tho' under vast Necessities, and never to have taken the Money.

^c The Reference made to the King of *France*, which *Mr. Daniel* gives no Account of, and so leaves this part of the History, concerning the Breach between the King and his Barons, in the dark, was thus: Soon after the arrival of the King of the *Romans* in *England*, *Henry* assum'd of his too easie Condescensions to the Barons Encroachments upon his Prerogative, especially by the late Provisions of *Oxford*, calls a Meeting in the same City, and declar'd plainly to his Lords, 'That for as much as he evidently saw, that they sought not the Kingdom's, and his, but their own advantage, and went about to subject the Regal Authority to their Wills, he would no longer beru'd by them or their Council, but provide some way to secure his Dignity from them. The Lords, as resolute to hold what they had, as zealous to get it, boldly Answer, 'That they would hold to the Provisions at *Oxford*, and maintain them to their Lives end: And so were departing. But the Bishops seeing what would ensue, interpos'd between the King and Barons, and persuaded them to refer the Controversie to the King of *France*, which both Parties agreed to; yet did not cease to make Preparations for their own Defence on both sides. The King of *France* gave Sentence wholly for the King, and therefore the Quarrel ought to have ended, tho' it did not. Some Lords indeed came over to the King upon it; but the Earl of *Leicester* had a strong Party still, which held out against King *Henry*. Some other Authors say, The Barons were so far from referring the Matter to the *French* King, that when *Lewis* the Ninth propos'd to have the foreign Lords, who had been banish'd by Procurement of the Barons, restor'd to their Places and Estates, the Earl of *Leicester*, in the Names of the *English* Lords, reply'd, 'That they were not oblig'd to give any Account of what had been done in *England* in the Court of *France*, but only in that of their own Prince, and that only by Judgment of their Peers, (*Annals of St. August. and a Manuscript Hist. in the Cottonian Library*.) Yet afterwards, by the Persuasion of the Bishops, the Lords consented, that *Lewis* should be Arbitrator of their Differences; and the King of *France*, who was after his Death canoniz'd for his Piety, gave this Sentence, the 3d of *Febr.* 1263. 'That the Provisions of *Oxford* were null and void; that notwithstanding the ancient Laws and Constitutions, the King might nominate his Chief Justice, Chancellor, Treasurer, and all other Officers of the Kingdom; and that Foreigners were as capable of Offices and Dignities in *England*, as the Natives.

A. D. 1264. 'Consent should be judged faithful, and profitable for the same. All this he granted to get time only to greaten his Party. The Prince had

Reg. 48. fortified *Windsor-Castle*, well victual'd it, and put in Strangers to defend it; himself marching to *Bristol*, where in a Quarrel between his Men and the Citizens, he had the worst; and was forced to send for the Bishop of *Worcester* (a considerable Man on the Barons side) to protect him, and conduct him back. When he came near *Windsor*, he got into the Castle, which the Earl of *Leicester* was come to besiege; and being about *Kingstone*, the Prince met him to treat of a Peace; but the Earl refusing it, lays Siege to the Castle, which was surrender'd to him; and the Strangers being turn'd out, were sent into *France*. The King to get a little more time, calls another

Twenty first Parliament.

The King's Party increased.

The Barons seek a Peace.

The Battel of Lewis, in which the Barons had the Victory.

de Monfort, and the King, Prince, Earl of *Cornwal*, and his Son *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Hereford*, and all the *Scotch* Lords, taken Prisoners. The Earl *Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignan*, the King's Brethren, with *Hugh Bigod* the Earl Marshal, saved themselves by flight; and five thousand were slain in the Combat. The Earl of *Leicester* for a Year^a and a half kept his Royal Prisoners in his Power, and carry'd the King about with him to countenance his Actions, till he had gotten all the strongest Castles of the Kingdom into his Hands. He seem'd now a King, even of *Kings*, and *England* wholly his, when on a sudden Providence made way for a Change, to humble prosperous Rebellion several ways. The Prince made his escape out of *Hereford* Castle, and got a Party to recover his Father's Losses; which yet was despicable in the Eyes of the great Earl, till an addition was made to it by his own Party upon this occasion: The Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester* coming to make a Dividend of their^c Gains by Victory, according to the Agreement of their Confederacy, fell into a sharp Debate; and *Glocester* taxes *Leicester* (as Fortune often makes Men forget themselves) of 'neglecting the common Good to promote his own private and particular Interests, in that he took to himself the benefit and disposal of the King's Castles, assumed the Power of the Redemption of Prisoners as he pleased; and to prolong the business, would not use the means of a Parliament to end it. This Charge incensed *Leicester*, but more angered his Sons, who, exalted with their Father's Greatness, behav'd themselves with strange Insolence to him; which *Glocester* took so ill, that he left him, and betook himself to the Prince, to whom he carry'd over a great Party with him, by which he was enabled to gain many places of Strength in *England* and *Wales*. The Earl of *Leicester*, to stop the proceedings of this mighty Prince, (who was now with his Army about *Worcester*) encamps in a Plain near *Evesham* to give him Battel; and as the Prince's Forces drew up to him, observing their orderly approach, he said to his Followers: *These Men come on bravely, they learnt it not of themselves, but of me. And seeing himself likely to be beset and overpower'd with Numbers, he advised his Friends, Hugh Spencer, Ralph Basset, and several others to shift for themselves; which, when he saw they refused to do, he said, Let us commit our Souls to God, for our Bodies are theirs; and so undertaking the main stress of the Battel, perished in it; and with him were slain his Son Henry, and eleven other Barons, with many thousands of common Soldiers.* At the time of the Earl's Death there happen'd so terrible a Thunder, Lightning, and Darknes, as affrighted them more than their terrible Slaughter. And thus dy'd the great Earl of *Leicester*, the worthiest Man of his Time, had he been as good a Subject; yet so much honoured by the People after his Death, that they would have worshipp'd him as a Saint, if the succeeding Kings would have permitted it. This Battel delivered the Captive King, and rid him of his Goaler, *Monfort*, whom he hated, and long feared, more than any Man living. After his Deliverance, the King, with the victorious Prince, who had redeemed both him

A. D. 1264. Reg. 48.

1265.

The Battel of Evesham, in which the Prince overthrew the Barons.

^a In this Skirmish with the Barons, it is said, That those Students, which the King had sent from *Oxford*, when he entred that City, were the strongest Party which fought against him; which so angered the King, that he made a Resolution to hang all of them that were taken, and was hardly dissuaded from it by his Lords.

^b The Copies of these Letters of Defiance may be seen by the curious Inquirer in Mr. Fox's *Acts and Mon.* p. 301, 302.

^c The King was at the Abby of *Lewis* in *Suffex* at this time, and the Lords about six Miles distant from it;

^d The King of the *Romans*, and *Henry* his Son, the Earl imprison'd in the Tower, Prince *Edward* in *Wallingford* Castle, but the King he carry'd about with him were ever he went in Triumph.

^e The Earl of *Glocester* claim'd his share of the Ransom-Money paid by the Prisoners, and particularly demanded the King of the *Romans*, and *Henry* his Son, who surrender'd themselves to him at the Battel of *Lewis*.

^f This Battel was fought on the 4th of August, 1265.

A. D. 1265. and the Kingdom, went to *Winchester*, and call'd a Parliament; in which all who adher'd to *Simon Monfort*, were depriv'd of their Estates, which were conferr'd upon others at the King's Pleasure. The *Londoners* had their Liberties taken from them^a; *Simon and Guy de Monfort*, the Sons of the Earl of *Leicester*, with the disseized Barons and others, who had escap'd the Battel of *Evesham*, took and defended the Isle of *Ely*. The Castle of *Killingworth* was defended by the Servants of the late Earl, tho' it were in the Heart of the Kingdom, and maintain'd a Siege of half a Year against the King and his Army; but in the end, their Victuals failing, yielded upon Condition, 'That they should depart with their Lives, Members, and Goods safe: And thus concluded this Rebellion. 'And it is worthy of our Observation, That we find no Executions of Men put to Death, except in open Battel, in all these Combustions; or any Nobleman dying on the Scaffold, either in this King's Reign or any other since the Conqueror, which is now almost three hundred Years. Only in the 26th Year of this King, *William Marshal* the Son of *Jeffrey Marshal*, a Nobleman of *Ireland*, being condemn'd for Piracy and Treason was hang'd, headed and quarter'd, which is the first Example of that kind of Punishment, which we read in our Histories.

Guy and Simon de Monfort submit to the King.

After this Parliament at *Winchester*, the King marches with an Army against the disseized Barons and their Adherents, who were many desperate Persons strongly linked together; but being come to *Northampton*, *Simon and Guy de Monfort*, by the Mediation of Friends and Promises of Favour, came and submitted themselves to the King; who at the Request of the Earl of *Cornwall* their Uncle, and the Lord *Philip Basset*, had restor'd them to their Estates: But *Glocester* and some others, who doubted their Affections, perswaded the King to keep them under'd; so that they were forc'd in the end to flee the Kingdom and make their Fortunes, the elder in *France*, and the younger in *Italy*, where they rais'd two great Families. Their Mother was banish'd soon after the Battel of *Evesham*: 'She was a Lady of great Worth, the Daughter and Sister to a King, culpable only by her Fortune; who being spoil'd of her Coronet of miserable Honour, betook her self to a Religious Life, and dy'd a Nun at *Montargis* in *France*. Three Years the disseized Barons held out in those Fortresses of the Kingdom, where they could best defend themselves, making many Sallies to the great Damage and Vexation of the King's Subjects. At length Conditions of Surrender are propos'd, but the King's Council was divided concerning them. *Mortimer*, an eminent Man, and much in Favour with the King, who was possess'd of many disseiz'd Barons Estates, opposes their Restoration to them, alledging, 'That it is a great piece of Injustice to have that taken from them again, which the King had for their Labour and Fidelity bestow'd on them, and was forfeited by them for their Treason and Rebellion, and therefore they would hold what they had. *Glocester*, and twelve more, who were empower'd to settle the Peace of the State, stood for a Restoration, and his Friends with him; but not obtaining his Design as he ex-

New Troubles revive.

pected, he takes up new Displeasure, retreats from Court, refuses to come to the King's Feast on *S. Edward's Day*, and sends Messengers to warn the King, 'To remove Strangers from his Council, and observe the Provisions of *Oxford*, according to his last Promise made at *Evesham*, otherwise that he should not marvel, if he himself did what he pleased. Thus Victory could not settle Peace in these factious and discontented Times; wherefore it was thought fit to have recourse at last to a Parliament, the surest way to cure these Distempers, and accordingly one was call'd at *Bury*, whither all Persons who held Lands by Knights Service were summon'd to appear with sufficient Horse and Armour, to subdue those depriv'd Malecontents, who contrary to the Peace of the Kingdom held the Isle of *Ely*. From hence *John de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are sent to persuade the Earl of *Glocester* (who had gotten an Army on the Borders of *Wales*) to come peaceably to the Parliament; which tho' he refused, yet he gave the Earls thus much under his Hand and Seal, 'That he would not ever take up Arms against the King or his Son *Edward*, but defend himself, and pursue *Roger Mortimer* and his other Enemies, for which he pretended, that he took up Arms. After this, the Business of the Parliament went on, and the first Demand was made by the King and the Legate, 'That the Clergy should grant a Tenth for three Years to come, and for the Year past so much as they give the Barons to defend the Ports against the landing of Strangers. To this they answer'd, 'That the War, which was begun upon ill Motives, and yet continu'd, made it more necessary to deliberate of settling the Peace of the Kingdom, than to set on foot such Demands, that this Parliament might prove for the Benefit of the Nation and not Damage, as the extorting Money for them would prove, since the Land had been so miserably harass'd by War, as that it would scarce ever recover it. 2. Then it was requir'd, That the Clergy should be tax'd by Lay-men, according to the true Value of their Revenues. They answer, 'Twas no reason, but unjust, that Lay-men should collect Tenths which they would never consent to, but would have the ancient Valuation to stand. 3. Then it was requir'd, That they should pay the Tenths of their Baronies and Temporalties, according to the utmost Value. They answer'd, That they were impoverish'd by their Attendance upon the King in his Wars, and that their Lands lay wast by reason of them. 4. Then it was requir'd, That the Clergy should in lieu of a Tenth, give amongst them thirty thousand Marks to discharge the King's Debts, contracted for *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*. They answer, They would give nothing, because those Expences were not converted to his own, or the Kingdom's Benefit. 5. All this being deny'd, demand is made, 'That all Clergy-men that held Baronies, or other Temporalties, should serve the King in his Wars. They answer, They were not to fight with the Material, but Spiritual Sword; That their Baronies were given them as Alms. 6. Then it was requir'd, That the whole Clergy should discharge the 9000 *l*.

A. D. 1267. Reg. 31.

Twenty-third Parliament.

The Clergy withstand all Impositions.

^a The Lord Mayor, and forty of the Principal Citizens, were thrown into Prison. The King gave the Estates of sixty of the most Eminent Citizens to his Favourites, and requir'd fifty thousand Marks Composition of the rest, which on their humble Submission and Petition he forgave.

^b The Isle of *Axholm* in *Lincolnshire*, as some think.

^c *Kenelworth*, more properly in *Warwickshire*.

^d *Simon Monfort* was to have five hundred Marks a Year Pension, on which Consideration he agreed to leave the Kingdom; but afterwards he fell off from his Agreement, and joyn'd with the Privateers of the Cinque Ports.

^e At this Feast *Ottobon*, the Pope's Nuncio, sat above the King.

which

A. D. 1267. Reg. 51. which the Bishops of *Rochester* and *Bath*, and Abbot of *Westminster*, were bound for to the Pope's Merchants for the King's Service, when they were at *Rome*. They answer, They never consented to any such Loan, and therefore were not bound to discharge it. 7. Then the Legate from the Pope requir'd, That they should thro' the whole Kingdom exhort Men to take the Cross for the Holy War. To this they said, That the Nation was almost consum'd already by the Sword; and if they should put Men upon this Action, the Nation would not be able to defend it self, but be a Prey to Strangers. 8. Lastly, It was urg'd, That the Clergy had sworn to yield to all the King's Demands by their Oath at *Coventry*, where they swore to assist him in all they could. They answer, That when they took that Oath, they meant no more than spiritual and wholesome Counsel. So the King met with Denials only in this Parliament, and obtained nothing of the Clergy.

The Legate also sent certain Persons to the disinherited Lords, which held the Isle of *Ely*, to solicit them, To return to the Faith and Unity of the Church, their Duty and Allegiance to the King, according to the Provision made at *Coventry*, for redeeming their Estates from such as held them by Gift from the King for seven Years Profits, and to leave off their Robberies. The Lords return'd this Answer to the Legate, That they retain'd the Faith, which they receiv'd from their Catholick Fathers, and paid Obedience to the *Roman Church*, as the Mother-Church of all Christians, but would not submit to the Covetousness and cruel Exactions of those that govern'd the same: That they accounted themselves unjustly disinherited of their Lands, left them by their Predecessors, who had purchas'd it by Conquest: That they had formerly taken an Oath to defend the Kingdom and Holy Church, the Bishops thundring out Excommunications against such as oppos'd them, and they were ready to venture their Lives to make good that Oath; and since they made War for the Safety of the Kingdom and Holy Church, they ought to live upon the Goods of those Enemies who kept their Estates from them: That the Legate ought to see their Estates restor'd, that they might not be forc'd to prey upon others: That the Spoils they had taken were not so great as was reported, but that the Prince committed great Robberies, and laid them on their Party to make them odious; wherefore they desir'd the Legate not to give Credit to such Reports, because if any among them had done such things, they themselves would have punish'd them for it. Farther, they declar'd to the Legate, That he had taken out of the Kingdom the Bishops of *Winchester*, *London*, and *Chichester*, Men of great Caution and deep Judgment, whereby the Council of the Kingdom was much weaken'd to the great Danger of it; wherefore they advis'd him to take Care of the Reformation of the same, and that they might be restor'd to their Lands without Redemption: That the Provisions of *Oxford* might be observ'd: That they might have Hostages sent to them into the Isle to hold the same peaceably for five Years to come, until they could see how the King would perform his Promises. Thus did these Lords treat with the King, not as reduc'd to the lowest Ebbs of Fortune, but as Men of Power to capitulate, being elevated either with the Opinion of their Cause, or Hope of their Party. But this Stubbornness of theirs so exasperated the King, that the next Year he gather'd a very great Army, besets the Isle: So that they were confin'd to it, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges made of Boats enter'd it in several Places, and compell'd them to yield. In the mean time the Earl of *Glocester*, with his Army which he had gather'd upon the Borders of *Wales* to assist them, came up to *London* and were receiv'd by the Citizens: But the Legate, who then resided in the Tower, so prevail'd with him, that he surrender'd himself up to the King's Mercy, and by the Mediation of the King of the *Romans* and Lord *Philip Basset*, was reconcil'd upon Condition, that he should forfeit twelve thousand Marks if he should raise any Commotions again. Having settled things thus at Home, the King goes with his Army into *Wales* against Prince *Lewellin*, for assisting *Simon Monfort* and the Earl of *Glocester* in their late Rebellions against him; but his Wrath being appeas'd by a Gift of 32000 *l.* Sterling, a Peace was concluded between them, and four Cantreds of his Country restor'd to him by the King, which had been taken away by the War. And here was an end of the first Barons Wars in *England*, wherein both sides got nothing but Trouble and Vexation to themselves; and whilst the one struggled to do more than they should, and the other less than he ought, both Parts suffer'd heavily, according to the usual Fate of such National Contests and Differences.

The next Year after this Pacification, the Legate *Ottobon* signs with the Crossado both the King's Sons *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Earl of *Glocester*, with many other Noblemen, whom by his earnest Solicitation he had induced to undertake the Holy War, with the King of *France*, who notwithstanding his former Misfortune in this Action, would again adventure in it, either to recover his Honour, or merit another World. Prince *Edward* wanted Money to furnish himself and Company out, and therefore borrow'd thirty Thousand Marks of the King of *France*, for which he mortgag'd *Gascoigne* to him, which might seem a Piece of Policy rather than Piety in this King, to engage an active Prince in foreign Wars, to keep his own Dominions in quiet at home. And now, while this Preparation is in hand, King *Henry* is labouring to settle his Kingdom in perfect Peace, and reform those Extravagancies the War had bred, causing by his Proclamation Stealth of Cattel to be made a Capital Crime; and the first that suffer'd for it was one of *Dunstable*, who had stolen twelve Oxen from the Inhabitants of *Colney*, and being pursu'd to *Redburn*, was by the Bailiff of *S. Albans* (according to the King's Proclamation) condemn'd and beheaded. And the same Year the King assembled his Parliament at *Marlborough*, where the Statutes bearing that Title were Enacted.

The Barons who were depriv'd of their Estates hold Ely against the King, though solicited to submit.

The Prince forces the Barons in Ely to submit.

Earl of Glocester submits.

1269.

Prince Edward and others go to the Holy War.

Twenty-third Parliament at Marlborough.

^a He was admitted into the City by Order of the Nuntio, whom he had deceiv'd with his fair Pretence of Loyalty.
^b The King also promis'd, 1. That he would do nothing without the Consent of nine Counsellors, or two Parts of them, chosen by the Nation. 2. That the Church should be Reform'd. 3. That all his Officers in his Court should be *Englishmen*. 4. That all their Party should be pardon'd. And, 5. That the old Customs of the Realm should be observ'd.
^c *Mat. of West.* writes, That he only gave ten thousand Marks Security, that he would no more make War against the King.
^d *Rishanger*, the Continuator of *Mat. Paris's* History, says, he only mortgag'd the Revenues of *Bordeaux*, and the Charter or Deed of Agreement between King *Lewis* and Prince *Edward* witnesses, that the Money was to be rais'd out of the Customs of the City of *Bordeaux*.
^e *Colney*, belonging to the Abby of *S. Albans*, Cony in *Hertfordshire*.
^f It appears by the Title of the Statutes of *Marlbridge* in *Pulton's* Edit. of Statutes, that the Parliament of *Marlborough* was holden in the fifty-second Year of this King's Reign, Anno 1268. tho' Mr. *Daniel* and Dr. *Brady* place it in the following Year: Neef

A. D. 1271. Near two Years it was after the Prince had undertaken the Cross, before he set forth in that Expedition; a time long enough to have alter'd his Resolutions, if they could have been shaken, for going on with so hazardous an Enterprize; but so strong were his Desires, that no Worldly Respects could deter him from it, otherwise he had Discouragements more than enough to have done it. His Father *Henry* was aged, and broken with Labour and Troubles, so that the Kingdom, if not at present, yet shortly must need his Person to govern it. His Wife *Eleanor*, who resolved it, seems to accompany him in all his Fortunes, was newly with Child. The King of *France*, who with two of his Sons, the King of *Navarr*, and a mighty Army, was gone before, and by the way besieged the City of *Tunis* in *Africa*, (then in the Possession of the *Sarazens*, who much infested *Christendom*) died of the Pestilence, that raged in his Army, and with him one of his Sons, and many of his Nobility; whereby their Design was utterly quash'd. *Charles* King of *Sicily*, Brother to the King of *France*, who came to assist him^a, lost the greatest Part of his Navy in his return Home. Yet such was the undaunted Courage of this Prince, that all these sad Examples of other Calamities, would not deter him from proceeding; but he set forward for the Holy Land. In his Passage many of his own People were desirous to return Home; at which the Prince being

angry, smote upon his Breast, and swore, *That if all his Followers forsook him, he would yet enter Ptolemais, or Acon, tho' only with his Horse-keeper Fowin.* By which Speech they were encouraged to go on with him. But his Cousin *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, obtains leave of him to depart, and was set on Shoar in *Italy*, where he found, what he sought to avoid, Death; being slain in the Church of *Viterbo* at Divine Service, by his own Cousin-German *Guy de Monfort* (Son to *Simon* late Earl of *Leicester*) in Revenge of his Father's Death. The News of this barbarous Murther hasten'd the Death of the King of the *Romans*, his Father, who died shortly after^b. *Henry* himself surviv'd not his Brother long, for he dy'd^c the next Year^d, in the 65th Year of his Age, and 56th of his Reign: A time so full of remarkable Contingents, partly through the Inconstancy of the Prince, and partly through the Pride and Impatience of a stubborn Nobility, that it takes up a tenth Part of the History from the *Norman Conquest*^e.

He had by his Wife *Eleanor* six Sons, of which only two^f surviv'd him, *Edward* and *Edmund*; the rest, viz. *Richard*, *John*, *William*, and *Henry*, dy'd young; and two Daughters^g, which liv'd to be marry'd; *Margaret* the eldest was marry'd to *Alexander III.* King of *Scots*, and *Beatrix* to *John I.* entitled *Duke of Britain*.

The Prince's undaunted Resolution in going to the Holy War.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Henry the Third.

IN the 5th Year of his Reign two Impostors were crucify'd for giving out, they were both of them the Messiah, or Christ; and two Women were Executed, the one for pretending to be the Virgin *Mary*, and the other *Mary Magdalen*.

In the 6th Year there was a dreadful Tempest of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, in *February*, which threw down several Churches, and rooted up Trees. This was follow'd by extraordinary Rains; and that by a Dearth, another violent Tempest, an Earthquake, a prodigious Storm of Wind, Inundations, and a Comet. *Hol.*

In his 17th Year, it Thunder'd for fifteen Days together. The next Year began with terrible Tempests of Thunder, Rain and Floods, which spoilt the Fruits of the Earth.

In *April*, 1233. *Matt. Paris* affirms, There appear'd four false Suns in *Worcestershire* and *Herefordshire*. The true Sun was of a red Colour, with a great Circle of Chrystalline Colour, whose Circuit seem'd as large as the Kingdom of *England*; from it sides went forth certain half Circles, in whose Sections the four false Suns appear'd. The true one was in the East, it being about seven in the Morning, the Air clear, and the Sky serene. The Bishop of *Hereford* and Sir *John Monmouth* saw and witness'd to this Wonder. In *June*, near the Sea-side, two huge Dragons were seen fighting in the Air; after a long dispute, the one vanquish'd the other, and drove him into the Sea; and the Conqueror following him, they were both no more seen. The same Year there was a Dearth, which was preceded by an Earthquake. *Hol.*

In his 20th Year, according to *Matt. Paris*, the most credible Historian of those Times, near *Rock-Abby* in the *North* two Troops of arm'd Men seem'd to rise out of the Earth, and to engage with Spear, Shield, Sword, and Banners display'd; they wou'd sometimes tilt as at a Turnament of Triumph, and the Country People beheld them at a little distance wounding and unhorsing one another. What was most strange was, the Grass of the Ground where there appear'd to give Battle seem'd trodden down, and Prints of Feet remain'd there. The same Sight was seen more apparently in *Ireland*. This Year was full of Prodigies, Thunder, Lightning, Floods, &c. which destroy'd abundance of People and Cattel.

^a Prince *Edward* overtook the King of *France* at the Siege of *Tunis*, and with his Army soon brought the City to offer a Capitulation. *Edward* refus'd to hearken to it, as contrary to their Vow; the Kings of *France* and *Sicily* accepted it, and so it was surrender'd upon these Articles. 1. That all Christian Captives should be releas'd. 2. That the Christian Religion should be freely profess'd and preach'd in that City. 3. That the King of *Tunis* should pay their Charges: And, 4. Hold his Kingdom of the King of *Sicily*, as Tributary. But the Misfortunes that befel these two Kings soon after, were imputed to their Breach of Vow; and so much the more, because Prince *Edward*, who oppos'd them, escap'd any such Calamity.

Walter Hemingford, p. 590. affirms, The Prince sail'd directly from *Sicily* to the Holy Land, taking *Cyprus* in his way. Most Authors agree that he was not at the Seige of *Tunis*.

^b *Henry*, before his Death, constituted the Earl of *Glocester* Ruler of the Kingdom in his Son's absence, if he return'd not before his Death, and swore all the Peers to accept and obey his Son *Edward* for their King, tho' he were at his Death out of the Kingdom.

^c He dy'd on the 20th of *November*, 1272.

^d The King of the *Romans* and King *Henry* dy'd in the same Year, the former in *April*, 1272. the latter in *November*.

^e His Reign may very well take up a tenth part of the History, since 'tis almost a fourth part of the Time from the *Norman Invasion*.

^f The two eldest.

^g He had three Daughters by his Queen, *Margaret*, *Beatrix*, and *Katherine*, who was born in *November*, Anno 1253. and dy'd at five Years of Age.

On the 16th of *June*, 1239. the 23d of this King's Reign, Prince *Edward* his eldest Son was born. Before his Birth-day there appear'd a new Star in the Heavens for several Days together. It was carry'd with a swift Course through a long Circuit of Air; it seem'd sometimes to bear Fire along with it, and sometimes to leave Smoak behind it. In the next, there was a great Battel of Fifth at Sea; the Consequence of which was, that eleven Whales were cast on the Shoar, and appear'd to be dead of some Wounds they had receiv'd. *Matt. Paris* tells this Story. Not long after, a great Sound was heard at one time in all parts of *England*, as if it had been the Noise of Mountains fall'n into the Sea.

In the 26th Year the Sun was Eclips'd in a terrible manner; and two Years afterwards so many Stars seem'd to fall in one Night, that (says *Hollinshead*) if there had so many fall'n indeed, there wou'd have been none left in the Sky.

In his 32d Year, a dreadful Earthquake happen'd on the 14th of *February*, and the Sea, for a long Tract near the Coast of *England*, ceas'd to ebb and flow near three Months together. The next Year the Town of *New-Castle* was destroy'd by Fire; and an Earthquake threw down several Steeples and Houses in *Somersetshire*.

On the 1st of *October*, in his 34th Year, the Moon appear'd red and bloated, which was the Pre-
 sage of a Storm of Wind, so violent, that the Sea flow'd twice without ebbing, and in the Night seem'd to burn: Soon after an Earthquake was felt at *St. Albans*. In the following Year, the Chimney of the Chamber where the Queen and her Children were, was blown down by a terrible Storm, and her whole Appartment (at *Windsor*) shaken and torn; Oaks in the Park were rent asunder, and turn'd up by the Roots; and all was accompany'd with such Thunders and Lightnings, as had not been heard or seen in the Memory of Man.

In *May*, the New Moon appear'd three Days before her time; and the Sun, Moon and Stars, for fifteen Days successively, seem'd of a red Colour. A Dearth, and a Murrain among Cattel follow'd this Prodigy. In his 38th Year, the New Moon in *February* was seen four Days before the Course of her Time. In his 39th Year, a Ship was seen in the Air at *St. Albans*; and in his 40th, a Comet.

In his 52d Year, the two Companies of Goldsmiths and Taylors of *London* fought, and several were kill'd on both sides. The Sheriffs appeas'd the Tumult, and thirteen of the most Murinous of them were hang'd. As were thirty Citizens of *Norwich* in the last Year of his Reign, for quarrelling and fighting with the Monks of that City.

Hollinshead has many more Miracles, Prodigies, and extraordinary Sights, in his History of King *Henry the Third*: But we have reported enough to let the Reader see, that the Seasons were as much distracted as the Times, and that Nature seem'd to be disturb'd in all her Productions during the Reign of this weak Prince; who had, however, many brave Subjects, and govern'd a People that shew'd they might have been Great and Happy, had their Prince known how to have made them so.

Men Famous in his Days for their Valour and Wisdom were,

Simon Earl of *Leicester*, and his Sons *Simon* and *Guy Montfort*, *Gilbert de Clare*, the Earls of *Chester* and *Glocester*, *Roger Mortimer*, great Warriors, *Hubert de Burgh*, and *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Masters in Politicks.

In Learning the most Eminent were,

Robert Curson, made a Cardinal for his Knowledge of Divine and Humane Letters, *Gervaise de Melkelie*, *Albricius* of *London*, *Hugh Kirkstead*, *Richard* of *Ely*, *Peter Hexham*, *John Giles*, an excellent Physician; *Caducan*, a Welshman, Bishop of *Bangor*; *Alexander*, Author of several Treatises in Divinity, Philosophy, and Humanity, both in Prose and Verse, *William Lanthony*, *Peter* of *St. Saviour*, a Canon of *Trinity-House* near *London*; *Alexander Hales*, an excellent Divine, *Thomas Aquinas's* and *St. Bonaventure's* Master; *Ralph Abbot* of *Coggeshal* in *Essex*; *Alexander Essebiensis*, who wrote an Epitome of our *English Annals*; *Matthew Paris*, a Monk of *St. Albans*, whom the

Bishop of *Carlisle* calls One of the most renown'd Historians of this Kingdom; his History comes down to the Year 1259. in which he dy'd; *Alexander Neckam*, *Robert Bacon*, *John Shipshed*, and *Robert* of *Glocester*, who wrote a Rhiming Chronicle; *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, and *Henry Braeton*, both learned in the Laws of *England*; *Roger Bacon* the Astronomer, thought to be a Conjuror by the vulgar sort of People; *Richard* surnam'd *Medicus*, an excellent Physician; *Alexander Wendock* Bishop of *Chester*, *Edmund Rich*, *Robert Rich*, *John Blund*, *Richard* surnam'd *Theologus*, *Walter* of *Esham*, *Ralph Fresburne*, *Laurence Somercot*, Cardinal *Somercot* his Brother, *Dr. Nicholas Fernham* a Physician, *Simon Langton* Brother to Archbishop *Langton*, *Richard Fisaker*, *Simon Stokes*, *John* of *Kent*, *William Skirwood*, *Michael Blaumpain*, *John Goddard*, *Vincent* of *Coventry*, *Aubery de Vere* a learned Baron, *Richard Wick*, *John* of *Basingstoke*, *Roger Waltham*, *William Sepingham*, and *Robert Grosset* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who had a long Dispute with Pope *Innocent IV.* *Johannes a Sacro Bosco*, who wrote of the Sphere, and is made an *Englishman* by *Leland* and *Bale*, but *Sir James Ware* puts him among the *Irish Writers*.

T H E L I F E and R E I G N O F E D W A R D I.

A. D.
1272.
Reg. 1.

Edward
proclaim'd
King, tho'
in the Holy
Land.

IMmediately after the Death of King *Henry*, *Edward* his Son was proclaim'd King by the Order of all the Chief Bishops and Peers of the Kingdom, who for that purpose met in the New Temple, and there all swore their Fidelity to him; tho' at that time they knew not whether he were alive or dead. But till they were certifi'd of the Truth of either, they proceeded to settle and secure the Government, caused a new Seal to be made, and appointed fit Ministers and Officers for the Management of his Treasure, and Preservation of the Peace, while he remain'd in *Palestine*, where he rais'd the Siege of *Acon*, which was ready to yield to the *Sarazens*, and did many other extraordinary Acts of Valour against the Infidels [he^a was dangerously wounded in three Places of his Body with a poison'd Knife by a treacherous Assassin, of which Wounds, when no Medicine could cure him, his loving Wife Queen *Eleanor* extracting the Poison by sucking them, perfectly healed them.] When he had continu'd three Years in the Holy Lands, and underwent many Dangers without any great Effect, saving, that he had well man'd and fortified *Acon*; being disappointed of Aids which he expected, he resolv'd upon his return home, and first sailing^b to *Sicily*, he was splendidly feasted and entertain'd by *Charles* the King of that Island. From thence he sail'd to *Italy*, where in his Passage by Land through that Country he receiv'd all imaginable Expressions of Honour and Respect from^c the Pope and other Princes of that Nation. At his Entrance into *Savoy*, at the Foot of the *Alps*, he was met by many of the Nobility of *England*, and there challeng'd by the Earl of *Chablownd*, (a valiant Warriour) to a Tournament; in which, tho' it may seem beneath his Dignity so lightly to hazard his Person, yet the Greatness of his Valour would not suffer him to refuse the Combat, tho' with a Person much beneath him; and thereupon engaging with him, so over-match'd him both in Skill

His Personal Skill in Arms, and Courage.

and Strength, that the Earl was forc'd to yield to him. From hence he came down into *France*, where he was magnificently receiv'd, and entertain'd by King *Philip* III. surnam'd, *The Hardy*; to whom he did Homage for all his Territories he held of that Crown^e. Leaving *France* he went into *Acquitain*, where he spent some time in ordering his Affairs, and then^f after six Years absence returns into *England* and receives the Crown, three Years after he was first^g proclaim'd King, from the hands of *Robert Kilwarby*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Sept. 1275, and with him his Royal Consort Queen *Eleanor*, there being present at this Solemnity his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *John* Duke of *Britain*, who had marry'd his two Sisters.

A. D.
1272.
Reg. 1.

Crown'd.
1274.

The many Brave and Princelike Actions which this Prince had signaliz'd himself to the World by, before his Accession to the Crown, viz. His Victory over the Barons at *Evesham*, and his Prosecution of the disinherited Barons in the Isle of *Ely*; his great Readiness to expose his Person to all Hazards and Labours, his single Fight with^h *Sir Adam Gurdon*, the Out-law, at *Farnham*; his Expedition into the East, and his great Experience he had of all Civil Affairs by his Age (being about thirty five Years old before he came to the Crown) gave the Kingdom Hopes of a well-manag'd Government, and flourishing State under so compleat a Master, whose Desert and Reputation were equally unparallel'd. Soon after his Coronation he call'd a Parliament at *Westminster*, where he made Tryal of his Peoples Patience and Affections towards him, and had a fifteenth of all the Goods both of the Clergy and Laity granted him without any repining; tho' the Clergy had not long before given a Tenth for two Years to his Brother *Edmund*, for the carrying on of the Holy War. But the Liberality of the Clergy could not divert him from the Design which he had fram'd to himself, of abating the Ecclesiastical Power, which by long and woful

His Princely Accomplishments.

His Proceedings against the Clergy.

^a This Story is in no Authentick Author.

^b As he was about this, he heard of his Father's Death, which caus'd him to hasten his Return the more.

^c In his short stay with the Pope, he perswaded him to excommunicate *Guy de Monfort*, for killing his Cousin *Henry*, the Son of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, and to interdict his Territories.

^d The Count de *Chalons* in *Burgundy*. This Tournament was managed with so much Malice by the *Burgundians*, that it turn'd to a Fight, and was ever after call'd the *Little Battel* of *Chalons*.

^e The Words of his Homage were very remarkable; *My Lord the King, I do you Homage for all the Lands I ought to hold of you*, meaning as well those that the *French* King detain'd from him, as those he was possess'd of. *Mat. West.*

^f From *Acquitain* he went to the Council of *Lyons* to visit the Pope. Here Ambassadors from *England* met him, and desired him to hasten his Return home, for that his Presence was wanted. *Chron. de Lan. in Bib. Cot.*

^g *Mat. of West.* writes, That he Land'd on the 25th of *July*, and was Crown'd the 19th of *August* following, in the Year 1274.

^h This Knight being a Person of great Strength of Body, and very courageous, was in the Rebellion of the Barons, for which his Estate was seiz'd; and not daring to come in, he liv'd by Theft and Robberies upon the Road, having Associates of like desperate Fortunes. He was Out-law'd, but no Man durst attempt to take him. His Mischiefs were chiefly done to the King's greatest Friends, which incens'd the Prince the more against him, and induc'd him to make an Experiment of his Strength and Courage by a single Combat; in which the Prince so over-match'd him, that he yielded to him, but got his Pardon and Estate from the Prince's Favour.



A. D. 1278. Reg. 6. Experience of former times, he saw, had been very prejudicial to the Regal Authority, especially when it combined with the Nobility; and therefore, while he was high in the Opinion of his People, he set upon that difficult Work to abate their Privileges. And to that end, in the sixth Year of his Reign, he depriv'd many famous Monasteries of the Nation of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster* the Return of Writs granted them by the Charter of King *Henry III.* his Father. In the Year following he got the Statute of Mortmain to be enacted, to hinder the increase of their Temporal Possessions (which made them so powerful) as being prejudicial to the Kingdom, and Military Affairs. In the second Statute of *Westminster* he confined the Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Judges to narrower Limits. Nor did he end here, but lying heavier upon them, he required one half of all their Goods, both Temporal and Spiritual, for one Year; at which, though they were very much disturb'd, yet they were forc'd to yield to his Demand; because, their Discontent being discover'd, one Sir *John Havering* stood up among them in their Assembly, in the Monks Hall at *Westminster*, and said, 'Reverend Fathers, if any of you dares to contradict the King's Demand in this business, let him stand forth into the midst of the Assembly, that his Person may be known, and taken notice of, as a Breaker of the Peace of the Kingdom. At which Speech they all sat silent, and dare not oppose it, as they often did in his Father's Reign.

And now this active Prince being settled in Peace both at home and abroad, could not lie idle; but to satisfy his own Desires of enlarging his Power, as well as to keep his Subjects in Action, whose Ease would corrupt, as he very well knew, resolves upon an Undertaking of Importance to his future Security and Government. *Wales*, tho' a small Principality, had always been a troublesome Neighbour to the greater part of *England* and the Kings of it, a Receptacle for all Rebels against the *English* Kings, and ever ready to combine with *Scotland* to disturb their Peace and Government, seldom or never having her Borders free from Blood and Mischief; which *Edward* considering, thought he could never have a better opportunity of curbing them than now. Occasions are easily taken where there is a Design to quarrel. But the *Welsh*, who were always struggling for their Liberty, seldom fail'd to give some just ones, as there happen'd one at this time. *Leoline*, a Prince of that Province, who had been a chief Promoter of the Civil Wars of *England*, (tho' he dearly paid for it at last) was summon'd to the King's Coronation, and afterward to his first Parliament, there to do his Homage and Fealty to him, as holding his Principality of the *English* Crown, but he refused to come to them both; alledging, 'That he will remember'd how his Father *Griffin* had broken his Neck in the Tower of *London*, and therefore he could not endure to appear in that place, but in any other, if he had Hostages given for the Security of his Person; or if the King would send Commissioners to him, he was ready to pay his Homage, as the King desired. The King did not seem to resent this arrogant Answer, very unbecoming an Homager, but resolv'd with himself to seize upon his Country; and to this end the

next Year after enters it with a powerful Army, laying all waste before him with Fire and Sword, in so fierce a manner, as *Leoline*, being unable to resist the impetuous Current, sued for Peace, and obtained it; but upon such Conditions, as made the Tenure of his Principality little better than that of a Subject; for he was fined fifty thousand Pound Sterling, and to pay a thousand Pound *per Annum* Tribute^a for what he held, which was but for his Life. But yet the King, to gratify him in something which might oblige him more firmly to him, deliver'd to him *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *Simon Monfort*, late Earl of *Leicester*, who being in her Passage with her Brother *Almerick* from *France* into *Wales*, to become *Leoline's* Wife, was taken by some *Bristol*-Ships, and deliver'd Captive to the King, who gave her to *Leoline*, as the greatest tye of Subjection to him. But all would not do, the desire of Liberty, and some little Wrongs received by ill Administration of Justice upon the *Marches*, broke the Agreement within three Years, and *Leoline* in Arms surprizes the Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland*^b, with the Person of the Lord^c *Clifford*, who was sent a Judge into those parts, and committed many other Acts of Hostility. His Brother *David*, whom the King had Knighted, and marry'd to the Daughter of the Earl of *Darby*, a rich Widow, and given him the Castle of *Denbigh*, with a thousand Pound *per Annum*, great Favours from so Puissant a King, nevertheless joyned with him to deliver his Country, and recover his Liberty. *Edward* having notice of this Revolt, being then at the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*, prepared a great Army to repress them. But before his setting out upon this Expedition, he went privately to visit his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, living in the Nunnery of *Ambresbury* in the same County. While he was discoursing with her, there came into the Chamber, where they were, one who feigned himself to have been Blind, and received his Sight at the Tomb of *Henry* the Third her Husband; when the King saw him, he knew him a notorious Lyar, and therefore desired his Mother not to believe him. His Mother overjoy'd to hear of the Miracle, which tended so much to the Honour of her Husband, fell into a furious Passion, and bid the King be gone out of her Chamber. The King obey'd, and going forth, meets a Clergyman, to whom he tells the Story of the Imposter, and merrily said, *He knew his Father to be so just, that he would rather pull out the Eyes of such a Wretch when he could see, than restore him to Sight if he were blind.* In the mean time, while these things were doing, *John Peckham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a List of the Causes of their Revolt, went^d of his own accord into *Wales*, to persuade *Leoline* to a Submission, that he might avoid the Ruine he foresaw would come upon him. But he could not prevail with him, because he had the better of the *English* in some little Skirmishes, and the People being encouraged by a Prophecy of *Merlin's*, which foretold, That he should be shortly crown'd with the Diadem of *Brutus*^e; so instigated this unhappy Prince, that he would not listen to Peace. Whereupon the Archbishop excommunicated him and his Adherents, and the King entered his Country with a mighty Army: Which, tho' indeed *Leoline* valiantly opposed, and slew many of great Note in

A. D. 1279. Reg. 7.

Leoline Prince of Wales rebels.

Queen Eleanor, a Nun.

An Impostor discover'd by Edward.

1281.

^a But the King is said to have settled the Isle of *Anglesey* upon him and his Heirs, to hold it in Free-Farm of the King for five thousand Marks paid down, and the yearly Rent of a thousand Marks. ^b *Rothland.* ^c Sir *Roger Clifford.*

^d *Matt. of Westminster* affirms, the King sent the Archbishop.

^e Mr *Daniell* does not speak so much in favour of the *Welsh* as he might have done. They had other more substantial Reasons for the War, and *Leoline* and his Brother gave the Archbishop above a dozen Articles of Grievances, most of them very weighty, which provok'd them to take Arms; and King *Edward* refus'd to treat with them. *Dr. Powell's Chron.*

A. D. 1283. it, yet was himself slain in the Battel by a com-
mon Soldier^a; and his Head being cut off, was
Reg. 11. presented to King Edward, who (as if his Death
were not sufficient without Reproach) caused it
to be crown'd with Ivy, and set upon the Tower
of London. And thus died the last Prince of Wales
who was betray'd (as they write) by the Men of
Buelth. Shortly after David his Brother was taken
in Wales, and sentenced in England to an ignominious
Death, which was this: He was first drawn at an Horse's
Tail about the City of *Sbrensbury*, and then beheaded, his
Body quarter'd, and his Heart and Bowels burnt. His Head
was sent to be set on the Tower with his Brother's, and
his four Quarters to these four Cities, viz. *Bristol*,
Northampton, *Tork*, and *Winchester*. An Execution
never before shewed in this Kingdom upon the Son of a
Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we read of in any of
our Histories. But by this Example it after grew usual in
the Nation: Even this King (under whom it began) had the
Fate of such a miserable Death entail'd upon his Family,
several of his own Brother's Posterity dying on the Scaffold.
And just upon this Conquest, his eldest Son *Alphonfus*, then a
Youth of twelve Years old (and a Prince of great hopes) dy'd;
and Edward, lately^b born at *Carnarven*, is his Heir to the
Kingdom, and the first of the English who was entitled^c
Prince of Wales; as if it had been an Omen of that Destruction,
which, as we shall after see, befel him in his Regal Dignity.

Leoline slain, and his Head presented to the King.

The Heir Apparent of England first stiled Prince of Wales.

1284. Wales annex'd to the Crown of England.

1286. King Edward does Homage to Philip the Fair, King of France.

This Work being effected and settled, King Edward having heard of the Death of the King of France, Philip the Hardy, and the Succession of Philip IV. (called the Fair) went over into France to renew and confirm such Conditions as were to be perform'd for the preservation of his Dominions beyond Sea under the new King, and did him Homage for *Aquitain*, having before quitted

his Claim to *Normandy* for ever. When he had finished his own Business, he accommodated the Differences between the Kings of *Sicily* and *Aragon* in *Spain*, (to whom he was Allied) redeemed Charles, entitled Prince of *Achaia*, (the Son of Charles King of *Sicily*) from his Imprisonment in *Aragon*, paying thirty thousand Pounds for his Ransom. After his being three Years and an half abroad, he returned into *England*, with his Coffers empty'd by this Voyage, which he must have supply'd again. And for it an opportune Occasion is offer'd. For at his return he meets with many Complaints concerning the ill Administration of Justice in his absence, which he could not but listen to, and punish the chief Ministers for, if they were found guilty. The Parliament met at that time, and the Necessity of reforming so great a Mischief in the Kingdom being propounded, the Judges were had all into Examination, and upon a plain proof of their Extortions, they were fined to pay these following Sums: First, Sir *Ralph Hengham*, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, seven thousand Marks; Sir *John Loveton*, Justice of the Common-Pleas, three thousand Marks; Sir *William Brompton*, Justice, six thousand Marks; Sir *Solomon Rochefter* four thousand Marks, Sir *Richard Boyland* four thousand, Sir *Thomas Sodington* two thousand, Sir *Walter Hopton* two thousand; which four last were Judges Itinerant; Sir *William Sabam* three thousand Marks; *Robert Lithbury*, Master of the Rolls, one thousand; *Roger Leicefer*, one thousand; *Roger Bray*, Escheater and Judge for the Jews, one thousand: But Sir *Adam Stratton*^e, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was fined thirty four thousand Marks; and *Thomas Wayland*^g, who was found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest Substance, had all his Goods and whole Estate confiscated to the King; which were it but equal to Sir *Adam Stratton*'s Fine, all the Fines together made a hundred thousand Marks, to enrich the King's Treasury; which according to the Rate of Money now, is above three hundred thousand Marks; a mighty Treasure to be gotten out of the Hands of so few Men, if it were not probable, that the fewness of Lawyers in those Days made their Practice in those less litigious Times more advantageous. Of no less Grievance did this King ease the Nation by the Banishment of the^h Jews, for which the Parliament willingly granted him a fifteenth. The Nation indeed had before offer'd him in the ninth Year of his Reign, a fifth part of all their Goods to have them expell'd; but then the Jews gave more, and so staid till this time; which brought him a greater benefit by confiscating all their Estates, with their Tallies and Obligations, which

A. D. 1286. Reg. 14.

Justices for then kept the King's Bench.

1289.

1290.

The Banishment of the Jews.

^a He was slain by one Stephen Desfranchion at Landweyr in Buelth, in Radnorshire, on the 11th of December 1283.

^b He was born on the 26th of April, 1284.

^c The Welsh lov'd this Prince, partly for the Honour he deriv'd from them, and partly for his Nativity among them, so entirely, that in his greatest Misfortunes through his Reign they ever continu'd firm to him; and after his Death bewail'd him in lamentable Songs.

^d How great a Benefit the Conquest of this little Kingdom of Wales was thought then to England, may be seen by King Edward's own Words in the Preamble to his Law, call'd *Statutum Wallie*, where he thus speaks, 'The Divine Providence, which disposeth all things rightly, among other Dispensations of his Mercy, by which he hath vouchsafed to adorn us and our Kingdom of England, hath now by his Mercy subjected the Kingdom of Wales, with the Inhabitants thereof, wholly and fully, without any Lett and Hindrance, to our Property and Dominion, having annex'd and united the same to the Crown of our said Realm, as one Member of the self-same Body.'

^e His Fine was but three thousand Marks.

^f In the Chronicle of *Dunstable*, a Manuscript in the *Cott. Libr.* he is call'd *Adam de Stratten*, a certain Clerk of the Court.

^g Sir *Thomas Wayland*, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, was also banish'd for ever out of the Kingdom. After this just Punishment of such corrupt Judges, the King caus'd, that all the Judges at their entering upon their Office should swear, That they would take no Gift of any Man, unless it were a Breakfast, or some such small Present.

^h The Jews came in with the Conqueror, and were sett'd in certain Streets by themselves in London, of which *Old Jury* was the chief. They had a Judge appointed over them, to decide all Controversies between themselves, or with the Christians; and had an High Priest (who was confirm'd in his Office by the King) and Synagogues allow'd them. They were always hated by the People for their Extortions and Usury, and rather tolerated than lov'd by the Kings, because they now and then fleec'd them. But now they were grown intolerable to the Nation, by their Witchcraft, Poisoning, Clipping of Money, Counterfeiting of Hands and Seals, Crucifying of Children privately, and cruel Usury: So that nothing would satisfy the People, but the utter extirpation of them out of the Kingdom; to which Edward did not very unwillingly yield, because they were allow'd to carry nothing away with them, but some small matter to bear their Charges, and so left him a vast Treasure. They went most of them into Italy and Germany.

A. D. 1290. Reg. 17. amounted to an infinite Treasure; which, tho' it was the last advantage the Crown could hope for from them, yet he gained a more valuable Treasure by it, viz. the Good-will of his People, who as they had granted him many Supplies, were obliged by such Provisions always to aid him with their Estates. He came to an empty Treasury at first, and having great occasion for Money, he was driven to all the Shifts possible to fill it. For besides what he had given him by the Parliament and Pope in the first three Years of his Reign before mentioned, in the seventh Year of his Reign the Old Money was called in, and New coined, because it had been much defaced by the Jews, two hundred ninety seven Persons being executed at London at one time for this Crime; and this also brought in great benefit to the King. In his eighth Year he had a design to examine every Man's Title to his Land by a Quo-Warranto; but it was so fiercely opposed by the Earl Warren, who drew out his Sword upon the Writ, saying, *That he held his Land by his Sword, and by it he would make his Tenure good.* Whereupon the King desisted from that Attempt, and obtained a fifteenth of the Clergy. In the 11th Year he had a thirtieth of the Laity, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for the War against the Welsh; and in the 13th Escuage of forty Shillings every Knight's Fee for the same purpose. In the 14th Year he had a thousand Marks of certain Merchants, who were fined for false Weights. In his 17th he had the Fines of the Judges before mentioned; and in his 18th Year, this Confiscation of the Jews Estates, and a fifteenth of the English. After this, in the 19th Year of his Reign, upon a pretence of a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy granted him an eleventh part of all their Moveables. And shortly after the Pope procured him a tenth for six Years, to be gather'd in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and laid up in Monasteries, till he was entred into *Mare Maggior*, or the *Euxine-Sea*. But he made the Collectors pay him the Money gather'd for three Years, without going so far, having occasion to use it at home about the purchase of a new Kingdom.

For the Crown of Scotland, upon the Death of King Alexander, who dy'd without Heirs, was in Controversie. Six Competitors pretended a Title to it, who were all descended from David Earl of Huntingdon, the younger Brother of William King of Scots, who was Grandfather to the late King Alexander. Edward pretending a Right of Superiority from his Ancestors over that Kingdom, undertakes to decide the Quarrel; and the Scots, who govern'd the Nation in the *Interregnum*, to avoid farther Inconveniences, were forced to make him Arbitrator, and the six Competitors to stand to his Award. John Baliol Lord of Galloway, and

Robert Bruce, both descended of David, Brother of King William, the one of the second, the other of the eldest Daughter, had the plainest and most undisputable Claim. The controversie was long, and tho' debated by the most Learned in the Law of both Kingdoms, and the Civilians of France, yet, after six Years, remain'd undecided. King Edward therefore, to put an end to this business, but with some advantage to himself, took a Journey into the North with his Queen; but in the Way he lost his greatest Worldly Felicity, Queen Eleanor, who dy'd Novem. 29. at Hardeby in Lincolnshire. This Accident not only caus'd excessive Grief to him, but brought him back again to inter her Body at Westminster; and all along the Road, in the places where it rested, viz. at Stamford, Waltham, Westcheap, Charing, &c. he erected goodly Crosses, engraven with her Image, in Testimony of his great Affection to her, and as Memorials of her Fidelity and Virtues; in which the excell'd all Womenkind, as much as she did in Dignity. Her Funeral Solemnities being performed, the King return'd back to his Scottish Business; and that he might settle it to his own Honour and Advantage, he first treats privately with Robert Bruce (who had the weaker Title, but most Friends) and promises, *That if he would pay a Fealty and Homage to the Crown of England, he would make him King of Scotland.* But Bruce answer'd him, *That he was not so desirous of Rule, as to destroy the Liberties of his Country for it.* Then he makes the like offer to Baliol, who having indeed the best Title, but least Love and Interest with the People, and being more greedy of a Kingdom than true Honour, yields to it, is crown'd King at Scone, receives Fealty of the chief Nobility, except Bruce, comes to New-Castle upon Tyne, where King Edward then lay, and there, with many of his Nobles, swears Fealty and did Homage to him, as his Sovereign Lord: Which Act, tho' he did it to secure him, was his undoing. For being very little belov'd before, he now became less; and such as stood for Bruce, and other Noblemen, (who were desirous to preserve the Liberties of their Country) were much incensed against him, not only for this Act; but for his Injustice done in the Case of the Earl of Fife, who having been one of the six Governours in the Anarchy, was after slain by the Family of Aberneth. The Earl's Brother prosecuted the Murderers by Law, and brought the Cause before the King, Baliol, in his Parliament; but not obtaining Justice, the King deciding it for the Aberneths, the wronged Gentleman appeals to the Court of England. King Baliol upon this is summon'd to answer, and appears, sitting with King Edward in his Parliament till his Cause was to be try'd; and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and

Old Money call'd in, and New coin'd.

A Tax for the Holy War.

The Occasion of Edward's Wars with Scotland.

Queen Eleanor dy'd.

The King of Scots does Homage to King Edward.

a The other four were Erick King of Norway, Florence Earl of Holland, John Hastings Lord of Abergavenny, and John Earl of Badenaw; there were six Competitors more, Patrick Dunbar Earl of Marche, William de Vesey, William de Ros, Robert de Pinkny, Nicholas de Sowles, Roger de Mandeville.

b The Queen did not die in this Journey, but the last Year, when King Edward was going into Scotland, to put his Daughter-in-Law, Wife to Prince Edward, and Daughter to Erick King of Norway, in Possession of the Kingdom of Scotland, that Princess having the best Title to the Crown. She dy'd also before the King reach'd the Borders. And this Year he was call'd back by the Death of Queen Eleanor his Mother.

c This Story is so far from being true, that when the Dispute about the Succession to the Crown of Scotland was first left to King Edward to be decided, all the Competitors were oblig'd to own the King's Superiority over that Kingdom, and Robert Bruce was the first of them that did it, in these words: *I do acknowledge the King of England superiour and direct Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, and will before and from him, as my superiour and direct Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, answer and receive Justice.* Rot. de Superioritate Regis Angliae in Scotia, 18 Ed. 1. In the Tower.

d On the 26th of December, 1273. He did Homage in these words, *My Lord, Edward, King of England, superiour Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland: I, John, King of Scotland, become your Leige Man for the whole Kingdom of Scotland, with its Appurtenances; which Kingdom I claim and hold, and ought of right to hold, for Me and my Heirs, King of Scotland, Hereditarily of You and your Heirs, Kings of England, and shall bear Faith to You and your Heirs, Kings of England, of Life and Limb, and serene Honour, against all Men.*

e It appears by the Rolls in the Tower, De Sup. Regi Ang. in Scot. and Riley's Placita Parliamentaria, that Macduff Earl of Fife, brought a Complaint or Appeal, for certain Lands, against King John; and the Process of this Suit being before King Edward, as superiour Lord of Scotland, occasion'd the Scots League with France in the course of this Affair, and all the Wars that follow'd between the two Kingdoms.

A. D. 1294. stand at the place appointed for Pleading. *Baliol* unwilling to do it, pleads, That he might answer by a Procurator, but was deny'd; whereupon he rises himself, descends and pleads his Cause: But taking it for an Indignity, offer'd him by the King of *England*, he returns home with an Heart full of Discontent, and meditating Revenge, renews the ancient League with *France*, and confirms it with the Marriage of his Son *Edward* to a Daughter of *Charles*, King *Philip's* Brother, who was glad to embrace a Quarrel with the King of *England*, with whom he was offend- ed; and when he had thus done, he bids Defiance to King *Edward*, and renounces his Allegiance, as unlawfully promised, being not in his Power without the Consent of the State to do

The Wars be-
tween Scot-
land and
England
began.

1296.

any such Act. And now began the Contest between these two Nations, which spilt more Christian Blood, did more Mischief, and continu'd longer than any Wars (that we read of) between any two People of the World; for all the Kings who succeeded for three hundred Years together, even to the Blessed Union of them by King *James I.* had their Share more or less in this Quarrel. And though *England*, being much the greater and stronger Nation, had the good Fortune often to overcome; yet it was with so great Expence of Blood, Time, and Treasure, that what she got cost more than 'twas worth, and was so soon lost again, the Scots being never so fully subdu'd, but that thy were soon for recovering their Liberties again, and that with Success: So that Providence may seem to decree no Union firm between these two Nations, that was made by Force, but by the milder way of Peace and Succession.

King Ed-
ward's War
with King
Baliol, and
the King of
France, who
assisted him.

Edward, who had long before formed to himself a Design of obtaining the Kingdom of *Scotland* by the fairest means he could, and for that end sought to match his Son *Edward* to *Margaret* the King of *Normay's* Daughter, Heir to the last King *Alexander*, but by her Death was disappointed, resolves to do it by Force, upon this Defection of King *Baliol*. And because he was sensible that he had no contemptible Enemy to deal with, upon the account of his League with the King of *France*, he counter-leagues with all the Neighbouring Princes that he could either by Gifts or Alliance draw in to strengthen his Party; as first with *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, with whose Daughter he designs to match his Son *Edward*: Then with *Adolphus* of *Nassau* the Emperour, to whom he gave 15000 *l.* Sterling to recover certain Territories of *France*, which he claimed as belonging to the Empire. He had likewise marry'd one of his Daughters to the Duke of *Barr*, who pretended a Title to *Champagne*, and another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; all which Princes, with many other, who border'd on *France*, he sets upon that King. On the other side, the King of *France* summon'd King *Edward*, as owing Homage to his Crown, to appear and answer in his Court for certain Spoils committed on the Coasts of *Normandy* by the *English*; which he refusing to do, or making any Satisfaction for the Wrongs done, was by an Arrest condemn'd to lose all his Territories in *France*, and an Army was presently sent under the Command of *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neul* Constable of *France*, to seize upon them, who took *Bordeaux* and many other important

Places, and fortified them. The King of *England* hearing this, sends over his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Lincoln* and *Richmond*, with twenty eight Banners, seven hundred Men at Arms, and a Navy of three hundred and sixty Sail to recover his Right in *France*. And in the mean time himself sets upon *Baliol* (refusing upon Summons to appear at his Court at *Newcastle*, and standing upon his Guard) and enters *Scotland* with an Army big enough to conquer a greater Nation, consisting of four thousand Horse and thirty thousand Foot, besides what the Bishop of *Durham* brought to his Assistance, which were five hundred Horse and a thousand Foot, intending to make a speedy Conquest of *Scotland*, that he might afterwards pass over into *France* to assist his Confederates, and be reveng'd on the King of *France*. He first took *Berwicke* with the Slaughter of fifteen thousand Scots, or more, and after seiz'd upon the Castles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and *S. John's Town*, which were either won by Force, or yielded to him. This furious Current of Success brought *Baliol* to sue for Peace, and submit himself by taking his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward*, as his Sovereign Lord; and then he call'd a Parliament for *Scotland*, which was held at *Berwicke*, wherein the Nobility did their Homage also to him, confirming the same by a Charter under their Hands and Seals, except *William Douglass*, who chose rather to endure the Miseries of a Prison, than yield to the Subjection of *England*. But King *Baliol* (notwithstanding his Subjection) was sent Prisoner into *England*, after he had enjoy'd that Dignity four Years; for he had so little Power, that he could hardly be said to reign; and King *Edward* returned into *England* again, leaving *John Warren*, Earl of *Surrey* and *Suffex*, Warden of all *Scotland*; *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *William Ormesby* Chief Justice, giving them a Commission to take the Homages and Fealties of all that held Lands of the Crown in his Name: So that the Conquest of *Scotland* seem'd almost effected, but was not, as we shall see by the many Wars to maintain it. But these happen'd not presently, the King therefore turns his whole Designs against *France*, and for that end calls a Parliament at *S. Edmunds-Bury*; wherein the Citizens and Burgeses of several great Towns of *England*, granted him the eighth part of their Goods, and others of the People the twelfth. But the Clergy, who had privately procur'd of Pope *Boniface* a Prohibition of paying any Tallyage, or Imposition, laid upon them by any Lay Prince, or upon any thing that belong to the Church, absolutely refus'd to pay any thing (having had so many Levies raised upon them lately, viz. Anno Reg. 22. 600000 *l.* of which the Abby of *Canterbury* alone paid 596 *l.* 7 *s.* 10 *d.* and in the twenty third Year of his Reign the King seized into his hands all the Priories and their Goods that were in the Possession of Strangers, besides a Loan, which he had of the Clergy amounting to an 100000 *l.* of which the Abbot of *Bury* is said to have paid 655 *l.*) But these Reasons were not accepted as a Plea for their Obstinacy; but upon their Refusal, the King seized upon all the Temporalities of the Church, puts all the Clergy out of his Protection, by which they were exposed to all the Injuries of

A. D.
1296.
Reg. 23.

Scotland
almost sub-
du'd by
King Ed-
ward.

King Ed-
ward goes
against the
King of
France.
1298.

The Clergy
put out of
the King's
Protection.

* *Tho. of Walsingham* says sixty thousand, and others an hundred thousand Marks, yet *Adolphus* cou'd or wou'd do nothing.

b Nine thousand, as others say, more probably. This was in the Year 1296.

c He surrender'd himself and his Royal Dignity into the King's Hand.

d He remov'd the Stone on which the Scots Kings us'd to be crown'd, from *Scone* to *Westminster*.

e The Bull is set down at large in Mr. *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, p. 320. It was sent to Archbishop *Peccham*, whom the Pope had put into the See of *Canterbury* against the King's Consent, and kept by the Clergy till this Occasion.

A. D. 1298. ill Men, and could have no Justice or Redress in the King's Court. This Strain of State, which was never before used, nor could be foreseen, so amaz'd the Clergy, that the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Salisbury, and Lincoln, yielded to pay a fifth part of all their Goods towards the Maintenance of the King's Wars; and so the King's Wrath was appeased, and they were receiv'd into Favour. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Winchelsea, who animated all the rest to stand out, had all his Goods seiz'd on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocese, and part of Lincoln, taken into the King's hand, and Officers appointed to collect their Revenues and Rents for the King, allowing them only so much out of them as was necessary for their Sustenance: But at length, the Abbots and Monks, with all Priests, giving the King a fourth part of their Goods, redeem'd themselves and the King's Favour. Thus will Warlike Princes force Supplies from their Subjects in their Necessities, tho' they are very unwilling, and it be burthensome to them^a.

During this Contest and Agreement with the Clergy, the King called a Parliament of his Nobility at Salisbury, to which no Churchmen were admitted; and in it he requires some of his great Lords to go over with him into his Wars in Gascoigne, where he wanted a present Supply of Commanders, because of the Death of his Brother Edmund; who having spent much Time and Money upon the Siege of Bourdeaux in vain, retir'd to Bayon, then in the Possession of the English, and there died: But they all singly made Excuses for themselves; which so anger'd the King, that he told them, 'They should go, or he would give their Lands to them that should. Upon this Threat, Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, High Constable, and Roger Bygod Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, declared, 'That if he would go in Person, they would attend him, otherwise not. Which Answer offended the King more, who urg'd it again; and the Earl Marshal protested, 'That he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by Right of Inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, 'He should go with any other, although he went not himself in Person. But the Earl said, 'I am not so bound, neither will I take any Journey without you. Then the King swore, 'By God, Sir Earl, you shall go or hang. But the Earl reply'd, 'I swear by the same Oath, I will neither go nor hang, and so departed without Leave. This Heat stirred up a Revolt, for the two Earls immediately gather'd together many Noblemen, and others their Friends to the Number of thirty Banners: So that they were fifteen hundred armed Men, well accoutred, and stood upon their Guard against him. But he, like a prudent Prince, who knew his times for Business, lets the Matter fall; because both his Business in France, and pressing Necessity of his aiding the Confederates (on which his Honour, and all his Dominions abroad depended) called him over into Flanders, which the King of France had invaded, pretending the same Title to that Province as King Edward did to Scotland. The Occasion was this: The King of France having had Intelligence of the Designs of Guy Earl of Flanders, and the Alliance that he intended with the King of England, sends for him (as if he knew nothing of it) to come with his Wife and Daugh-

ter, and make merry with him at Paris: But instead of Feasting he made him his Prisoner, and takes his Daughter from him; because being his Vassal, he design'd to match her with the Son of his Capital Enemy. The Earl excus'd himself, as well as he could, and by much Meditation was releas'd and suffer'd to depart, but without his Daughter; for whom notwithstanding his Complaint to the Pope, and other Princes, who earnestly solicited for him, he could not get a Release; and thereupon this Earl presuming upon the Assistance of the Confederates takes Arms, and defies the King of France, who immediately invaded his Territories with sixty thousand Men. The King of England hearing this, made all the haste he could to relieve this distressed Earl, tho' he left his Business at home in a broken Condition, the Scots revolting, the English in Discontents, for which he made the best Provision he could, by leaving the Administration of the Kingdom to his Son the Prince in his absence, with the Advice of some great Counsellors, as the Bishop of London, the Earl of Warwick, the Lords Reginald Gray and Clifford; and to pacify the Clergy, he receiv'd the Archbishop of Canterbury into his Favour. Being now ready to take Ship, the Archbishop, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, send him a Roll of the general Grievances of his Subjects; 'Concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and Impositions; his seeking to force their Services by unlawful Courses; his late Imposit of forty Shillings upon every Sack of Wool, which was but a Noble a Sack before, valuing the Wool of England to be a fifth part of all the Substance of it. The King sends them this Answer; 'That he could not answer any thing without the Advice of a Council, which were not now about him; and therefore requir'd them, since they would not attend him, tho' he went in Person in this Expedition, because he went not into France or Scotland, that they would not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom in his absence, and at his return he would set all things in order. And so he set forward in his Journey with five hundred Sail, and eighteen thousand armed Men^b, but found not Fortune so favourable in Flanders, as usually she had been to him. For contrary to his Expectation he found the People divided into popular Factions; and tho' they were willing to assist their Prince and defend their Liberties, yet so rich and proud, that they would be commanded no otherwise than they list'd; the King of France daily getting ground, having won Lille, Douay, Courtray, Burges and Dam, and the Emperour Adolph failing in his Personal Assistance contrary to his Engagement and Bargain; all which much perplex'd him, with tedious Delays, and put him to great Trouble and Expences: So that he was forc'd to order his Son to call a Parliament at York, to procure him Supplies of Money and Treasure; and because he would not be disappointed of a liberal Grant, condescended to all Articles that were demanded concerning the great Charter, promising never after to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their own Consents in Parliament, and to pardon those that refuse to attend him in his Journey, for which all the Commons of the Realm granted him the ninth Penny of their Goods; the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Clergy of his Province, the tenth Penny, and the Archbishop of York and his Province the fifth, and so the King's Wants

A Parliament at Salisbury, in which he is denied by the Nobility to go into France.

A. D. 1298. Reg. 25.

King of France invades Flanders, and is opposed by King Edward.

The Grievances of the Kingdom brought to him. 1299.

Some Nobles revolt, but are appeased.

A Parliament at York in the absence of the King.

^a Most of these Events, from the Invasion of Scotland, happen'd in the Year 1276.

^b Henry de Knighton, in his Book de Eventibus Anglie, relates, that he had fifteen thousand Horse and fifty thousand choice Foot, of which thirty thousand were Welshmen, an incredible Number.

A. D. 1299. Reg. 26. were relieved and Kingdom satisfied; but such Concessions, which are extorted by Necessity, are always unsincere, and so never lasting. The King being thus supply'd, he staid all that Winter at *Gaunt*, where his Soldiers committed so many Outrages, that the Citizens being exasperated thereby took Arms, slew many; and tho' the Earl *Guy* did all he could by Gifts and fair Words to appease the incens'd Rabble, yet they pursu'd the King and his Forces so hard, that they could hardly get safe out of the Country.

King Edward returns without Success.

The Battle of Courtray.

Thus the King left *Flanders* without Success, having made a Truce with the King of *France* for two Years; and leaving the poor Earl *Guy* to shift for himself, who shortly after became a Prey to his Enemy, and being made a Prisoner in *Paris* died with Grief, with his Daughter, and *Flanders* was made subject to the King of *France*, though he kept it not long: For after they had received him for their Lord, his Exactions and Oppressions upon them were so great, contrary to their ancient Liberties, that they arm'd all the People against him, being rich and mighty; who gave *France* the biggest Blow that ever it at once received at the Battle of *Courtray*, where in the Earl of *Artois*, General of the Army, *Arnold de Neel* Constable of *France*, and all the Commanders, with twelve thousand Gentlemen, were slain; and tho' he still maintain'd the Quarrel against them for their Country, yet 'twas with his great Damage: For he lost in the eleven Years space the Lives of an hundred thousand *Frenchmen* (as their own Histories affirm) and by his Impositions of new Taxes of *Malletote*, and the tenth *Denier*, i. e. Penny upon every Livre or Pound of all Merchandizes, bred great Outcries and dangerous Seditions among his Subjects, the lamentable Fruits of such Attempts, which may justly deter Princes from meddling upon such unjust Titles.

1300. King Edward's Expedition into Scotland, which was at first lost by the Courage of one Wallis.

King *Edward* being come home, immediately prepares for an Expedition into *Scotland*, which in his absence had beaten his Officers and People almost out of the Country, having put Earl *Warren* to flight, and slain Sir *Hugh Cressingham*, with six thousand *English*, recover'd many Castles, and regain'd *Berwick*, and all by the Encouragement and Conduct of a poor private Gentleman, tho' descended of a Noble Family, *William Wallis*; who seeing his Country in miserable Slavery, the Nobility either in Captivity or Subjection, and all Hopes of Recovery from other ways to no purpose expected, gather'd a Company of Men of as poor and desperate Condition as himself, and attempts upon all Advantages he could discover to annoy the *English*; wherein having good Success, his Company and Courage so increased, that he became the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom, and having given the *English* several Defeats, was in a great Possibility to have redeem'd his Country from Subjection to *England*. So much could the Courage of one brave Man contribute to set a whole Nation free, which being all that he aim'd at, and not a Diadem or Crown, made his Vertues more admirable to all Ages, than otherwise they would have been.

Courts of Justice removed to York.

And now King *Edward*, that he might the better govern his two Kingdoms, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *York*, where they continu'd above six Years; and here he cal-

led a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knight's Service, to be ready at *Roxborough* upon a certain Day, who accordingly assembled in great Numbers, viz. three thousand armed Men with barded Horses, and four thousand other armed Horsemen without Bards, with an Army of Foot proportionable*, consisting most of *Welsh* and *Irish*, besides five hundred Men out of *Gascoigne*, and with this Army he makes his second Expedition into *Scotland*. The Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, notwithstanding their former Contempt, attended him: But tho' he was at the Head of a mighty Army, and surrounded with a great Strength, yet before they would advance one Step, they requir'd that the two Charters and their Pardons might be ratified, which they thought not sufficiently secur'd to them, because they were granted beyond Sea; wherefore the Bishop of *Durham*, and the Earls of *Surrey*, *Warwick*, and *Glocester*, undertook for the King, that after he had subdu'd his Enemies and was return'd, he should grant their Desires; and so these two Earls, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, led his Van-guard at the famous Battle of *Fawkes*, wherein the King of *Scotland* obtain'd a great Victory at the Expence of two hundred Knights, and above forty thousand *Scots* Blood: But *Wallis*, with some few, escaped to make him more Work. And now again *Scotland* might seem quite overcome, most of the Estates of the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles) for this Revolt being given to the *English* Nobility to make them more resolute and ready to maintain this Conquest, and a Parliament is called at *St. Andrews*, where all the great Men of the Kingdom (except only *Wallis*) swore Fealty to the King of *England*. The *Scottish* Writers brand King *Edward* with most cruel Tyranny in this Expedition; 'Because he was not content to carry away captive all that were likely to create any Disturbances in the Nation, but endeavour'd to blot out their Memory for ever, by abolishing their ancient Laws, changing their Ecclesiastical Rites for the Customs of *England*, taking from them their Histories, Instruments of State, Monuments of Antiquity, either left by the *Romans* or erected by themselves, carrying all their Books and Learned Men into *England*, and removing the Marble Chair, on which the Fate of their Kingdom, as they imagin'd, depended; as if he had resolv'd not only to deprive them of their Strength, but their Understandings, that he might establish a perpetual Dominion over them.

This Expedition being over, he call'd another Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein he promised to confirm the two Charters; and a farther Allowance for Disforesting again what had been once done before, was urg'd, and at length granted, with omission of the Clause, *Salvo Jure Coronæ Nostræ*, which the King greatly desired should have been inserted, but the People would not endure it; and the Perambulation of the Forests of *England* is committed to three Bishops, three Earls, and three Barons. In this little time of Peace at home, a final Concord was made between the *English* and *French*, by the Mediation of Pope *Boniface*, and the King of *England* takes *Margaret* the *French* King's Sister to Wife^d in the sixty-

A. D. 1301. Reg. 27.

Scots came at Fawkes, and refused to their Obedience to King Edward.

A Parliament at Westminster.

1301. A Peace made between the King of France and Edward.

* Eighty thousand. b *Walsingham* says sixty thousand, *Eversden* and the Chronicle of *Norwich* fifteen thousand, *Tivet* twenty thousand, *Boetius* and *Buchanan* say ten thousand only.

c He did not stay to hold a Parliament. The *Scots* having wasted their Country, he was forc'd to return for want of Provisions, and in Sept. 1298. held a great Council at *Durham*. The Calumny of King *Edward*'s destroying the *Scottish* Records, was invented by *Boetius*, a very Fabulous Author, and has been often confuted.

d She was marry'd in Sept. 1299. which agrees with Mr. *Daniel*'s Account of his Age. He was thirty-five Years old when he came to the Crown, Anno 1272. and from that time to this, being twenty-seven Years more, makes it sixty-two in all.

A. D. 1301. second Year of his Age, and his Daughter is affianced to the Prince, and Restitution made of what the King of France had taken in Gascoigne. Reg. 28. Burdeaux returns to the Obedience of the King of England, (to the Merchants of which City he paid a hundred and fifty thousand Pounds for the Expences of his Brother Edmund in the late Wars) and so all is well on that side. The same Pope also obtained a Permission of Edward, that John Baliol, the Captive King of the Scots, should go and live upon certain Lands he had in France, and undertook for his Observation of the Peace, and his Confinement; but he shortly after dy'd, having had little Joy in a Crown, and scarce leisure to know he was a King. About this time

Money cry'd down.

The Scots complain to Pope Boniface.

The Pope opposes the King's Proceedings with the Scots.

the crying-down and calling-in of a certain base Money, call'd Crocard and Pollard, and stamping them again, brought some advantage to the King's Treasury. But he had soon an occasion to spend it in a third Expedition into Scotland (from which he had not been return'd above eighteen Months) wherein he did little more than recover Sterling-Castle, defended three Months against all his Forces by William Oliver, and at last surrender'd to him upon Conditions. The rest of the Scots, who had revolted, flying into the Mountains and strong Holds of the Country, where the King's Army was more distressed, than the Enemy.

Upon the Conclusion of the Peace with France, the Scots being left out, and having none to relieve them, send their lamentable Complaints to Pope Boniface, representing to him 'the afflicted State of their Country, the Usurpation of the King of England upon them, and his most Tyrannical Proceedings with them, contrary to all Right and Equity; protesting, That they never knew of any Sovereignty he had over them, but that they were a free Kingdom of themselves; and so at first he dealt with them upon the Death of their last King Alexander, both in the Treaty of Marriage for his Son Edward with Margaret the Heir of Scotland, and also after her Death for the decision of the Title of their Crown, wherein he sought by their Consents to be made Arbitrator, as he was: And tho' since they have yielded much more to him, yet it was done by force, because they were not able to resist. The Pope having received this Remonstrance, writes powerful Letters to the King of England, commanding him 'to forbear farther proceedings against them, claiming withal the Sovereign Authority over that Kingdom, as belonging to the Church. The King answers the Pope's Letters at large, 'proving from all Antiquity, that the Dominion of Scotland had ever appertained to the English Crown, even from Brutus to his own Time. And at the same time all the Nobility wrote to the Pope, 'owning and claiming the same Right; and peremptorily conclude, That the King, their Lord, should in no wise undergo his Holiness's Judgment therein, nor send his Procurators (as was required) about that business, as tho' their King's Title were dubious, to the prejudice of the Crown, the Royal Dignity, Liberties, Customs, and Laws of England, which by their Oath and Duty they were bound to observe, and would defend with their Lives; nor could they permit, if the King would, any such unlawful proceedings. And therefore besought his Holiness not to concern himself farther in this matter. These Letters were subscribed with all their Names (set down particularly in Speed, p. 541.) and dated at Lincoln,

where the Parliament was then holden, Anno A. D. Dom. 1301. The Pope upon this Answer, tho' not very grateful to him, yet stirr'd no more in the Scots Cause, because he had his Hands full of other Matters. For the King of France whom he had Excommunicated, and given away his Kingdom to Albert of Austria, then Emperor, shortly after so wrought as his Spirituality was surpriz'd at Anagnine, a City of Abruzzo, whither he was retir'd from the Troubles of Rome, and so violently treated by Sciarra Colonesse, a Banditto of Rome, and Nogoret an Albigioye, both whom he had persecuted as in extream Rage and Anguish, within few Days after he ends his turbulent Life.

Boniface's Death.

The King of England, not yet enjoying a peaceable Possession of Scotland, was forced to make a fourth Expedition thither, to allay fresh Com-motions there; and to furnish himself out for this Action, he call'd a Parliament at Lincoln, where he confirmed the two Charters again, and received of the People, as a grateful Acknowledgment of his Kindness to them, a fifteenth of all their Goods. Being thus supply'd with Money, he invades Scotland again, and had Homage and Fealty sworn to him a fourth time, as a Conqueror of it; which, accounting a sufficient confirmation of his Sovereignty over it, he return'd in a Triumphant manner, and in his way removes his Exchequer from York, feasts his Nobility at Lincoln magnificently, and so comes to London, where he gave solemn Thanks to God and S. Edward for the Victory; which Act of Piety may seem to have been the Cause of his obtaining a more compleat Victory, by bringing into his power his greatest Enemy (that renowned Guardian of his Country) William Wallis, who being betray'd by his Companion, was taken by Sir John Menteth, and sent up to the King to London, where he was try'd for his many Treasons committed against the King (tho' at his Arraignment he would not acknowledge him to be his King) and was condemned, according to the Laws of England, to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd; and accordingly suffer'd the Sentence. Thus dy'd that worthy Man, for the defence of the Liberties of his own Country, in a strange one, and remains among the best Examples of Piety and Courage in that kind. And now the King being (as he supposed) secure from all Disturbances abroad and at home, being an universal Lord of the whole Isle, and having strong Alliances abroad began to look nearly into his Government, and to raise himself Advantages from those Disorders which the Wars had caused. And the first Example of his Power (which he would have equal to his Will) was in the Case of Sir Nicholas Segrave, one of the greatest Knights of the Kingdom, who being accused of Treason by Sir John Cromwell, offer'd to justifie himself by Duel; which because the King refused to grant, in respect to the present War, he leaves the Camp, and went over the Sea to fight his Enemy. The King being angry at his Contempt of his Prohibition, accuses him of exposing his Royal Person to the Rage of his Enemies, and orders Justice to proceed against him. The Judges consulted three Days on his Case, at last adjudged him guilty of Death, and all his Moveables and Immoveables to be forfeited to the King; but added, 'That he went out of the Nation, not in contempt of the King, but to be reveng'd of his Enemy, and therefore it was in the King's power to shew him Mercy. The King in anger replied, 'Have you been all this while consulting for this? I know it is in

William Wallis taken and executed for Treason.

Sir Nicholas Segrave's Case.

* The Letter it self is in Mr. Fox's *Acts and Mon.* p. 313. with the Pope's to the States of England.

A. D. 1305. Reg. 32. ' my power to shew Mercy on whom I please; and who ever submitted to me, that hath not tasted of it? But I shall not do it for your sakes, no more than a Dog's. But let this your Judgment be recorded, and ever held as a Law.

A Writ of Inquisition, called Trail-Baston.

And so Sir *Nicholas*, for Example and Terror to others, was put into Prison; tho' afterward, by the Intercession of many Noblemen of the Kingdom, and thirty of his Equals, being bound Body for Body, and Goods for Goods, for his Appearance whenever he should be call'd, the King restored him to his Estate. Shortly after the King likewise sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, call'd *Trail-Baston*^a, to search out, and enquire after Intruders on other Men's Lands, who to keep out the right Owner of them, would make over their Land to great Men; as also after Batterers, who were hired to beat Men; Breakers of the Peace, Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, false Jurors, and other such Malefactors; which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and so great Fines imposed upon such as were guilty of any the said Crimes, that the King's Treasure was much increased by it. And so did likewise another Commission, sent out at the same time, to examine into the Behaviour of all Officers, and Ministers of Justice; whereby many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. By this means Informers grew in great Request, and were encouraged, as the King's Friends, and his chief Agents for his Treasury. But besides these ways of Enriching himself, the King made some profit of certain Silver Mines in *Devonshire*, (as *Holinshed* relates) but it seems they were not sought after in following times, because the Charge was greater than the Profit.

1306. K. Edward his dealing with his rebellious Barons.

And now the King being become a Terror to his Subjects, began to shew his Resentment of the stubborn behaviour of his Nobles to him in times past, and so terrified *Roger Bigod*^b Earl Marshal, that to recover his Favour, he made him Heir of all his Lands, (tho' he had a Brother living) and only reserved to himself an Annuity of a thousand Pound *per Annum* for his Life. Of others of them also he got great Sums for the same Offence. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he accused of having disturbed the Peace in his absence, he sent over to Pope *Clement V.* who succeeded *Boniface*, to be crushed by a double power. For this Pope was a Native of *Burdeaux*, and so as more regardful of the King, once his Sovereign, so also more favourable to the King's Desires; which to cherish and increase, the King sent him a compleat set of Furniture for his Chamber of clean Gold, which had such an influence upon the Pope, that he let lose the Lion upon his Subjects again, by absolving him from his Oaths and Obligations concerning the Charters, which he had confirmed by his three last Acts of Parliament; an Act of as little Piety in the Pope, as Conscience in the King. But it was not long before he found the Error of this Action, and saw just Cause to reform it, having as much need of their Love, as they of his Justice, which was by the unexpected News of a King made and crown'd in *Scotland*, done after this manner. *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carricke*, the Son of that *Robert* who was Competitor with *Baliol* for the Kingdom, escaping out of *England*, becomes Head of the confused Body

The Pope absolves the King from his Oaths made to his Subjects.

A new Revolt in Scotland, in which John Comyn was slain.

of that People, was crowned King, and pieced them up into such an Union presently, that he had Hands enough to support him before any Rumour of it could come to the Ears of King *Edward*, altho' *John Comyn*, his Colin-German, a Man of great Interest and Alliance in *Scotland*, had written to the King of *England* to discover his Design; of which *Bruce* being either aware or suspicious, found out ways to intercept his Letters; and finding him at *Dunfrays*, set upon him, and murder'd him in the Church. This Foundation, which was laid in Blood, (the Place, Person, and Manner of it making it odious) much blemish'd his beginning, and was so far from gaining him a greater Security, as he imagin'd, that it got him more Enemies, and raised a mighty Party against him. King *Edward* (tho' late acquainted with his design, yet hasten'd the faster to overtake him) and therefore sends *Amier de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercy*, with a strong Power to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*, (who upon the Revolt of *Bruce* were all retreated to *Berwick*) whilst he himself prepared an Army to follow. And to effect this, and be no more nobly attended, he put forth his Proclamation commanding, 'That all, who by paternal Succession, or any other ways, ought him Service, should repair to *Westminster* at *Whitsuntide* to him, to receive Order of Knighthood, and a Military Ornament out of the King's Wardrobe. Upon which Summons, three hundred young Gentlemen, all of them Sons of Earls, Barons and Knights assembled, and accordingly received Purples, Silks, Sindons, and Scarfs, wrought with Gold and Silver, according to every Man's degree; the Prince, who was by the King himself knighted, and girt with a Military Belt, girding the three hundred, whom the King had knighted, in the same manner as he had himself been before; and after keeping their Vigil together in the New Temple, which being performed with all the Magnificence and Solemnity possible, the King made a Vow, That alive or dead he would avenge the Death of *Comyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjur'd Scots, adjuring his Son, and all his Nobles upon their Fealty, that if he dy'd in the Journey they would carry his Corps about with them in *Scotland*, till they had subdu'd the Country, and conquer'd the Usurper. Which Desire, tho' it were more Martial than Christian, yet the Prince and all the Nobles promised upon their Faith to the utmost of their power to perform. And then having gotten the thirtieth Penny of the Clergy and Laity, and twentieth of all Merchants, he set forward immediately after *Whitsuntide* on his Expedition, in the 34th Year of his Reign. The Earl of *Pembroke*, who was sent before, being assisted with a strong Party of the Friends of *Comyn*, who were desirous to revenge his Death, had before the King's arrival defeated the whole Army of the new King at a Battel near *St. John's Town*, and had almost taken his Person; but he escaping in disguise recover'd an obscure shelter, being reserved for more and greater Bartels, while his Brother *Nigel Bruce*, with *Thomas*, and *Alexander* a Priest, were executed as Traitors at *Berwick*. So that King *Edward* at his coming had not so much to do as he expected, but went up and down the Country to shew his Power, and terrifie his

A. D. 1306. Reg. 33.

The King goes into Scotland, and vows to revenge Comyn's Death.

1307.

King Edward punishes many concerned in raising Bruce, and Comyn's Death.

^a *Trayle Baston* signifies in old French, to draw the Staff; others drive it from a Shoemaker's Instrument call'd so, which they us'd to beat their Prentices with; the King being inform'd that some Rascals made a Trade of taking Money for bearing Persons, issu'd out this Writ, to which this Name was given.

^b The Earl Marshal voluntarily made the King Heir of his Estate, and deliver'd up his Marshal's Staff, on Condition to have it restor'd if he should have any Issue; and he had a thousand Pound paid him down, and a thousand Pound Pension for Life. This was done a Year before, Anno 1302. *Annal. S. Aug. Cant.*

^c By the Countess *Bougubun*, Sister to the Earl of *Fife*, to whom this Office belong'd by Hereditary Right.

^d In the Western Isles, where he lay conceal'd till King *Edward* left *Scotland*.

A. D. 1307. Enemies, executing many great Persons, who had been concern'd in the Murther of Comyn, and Advancement of Bruce, as a Terroure for the rest; for by reason of his Desire of Revenge, Age and Fury, he was grown implacable. The Earl of Athol he sent to London to be raised upon an higher Gallows, Bruce's Wife taken by the Lord Rosse, he made a Prisoner at London; and his Daughter, a Nun at Lindsey, and the Countess of Boughan, who had assisted at the Coronation of Bruce, was put in a wooden Cage, and hung upon the Walls of Berwicke for People to gaze at. But this Rigour, as it exasperated his Enemies, so it begat an Averfion to him in his Friends, and was a means to increase Bruce's Party, tho' at present he appear'd not, but fled from Place to Place for his Safety, with only two Noble Gentlemen, the Earl of Lenox and Gilbert Hay; for within five Years he got together so great a Strength, that he overthrew the greatest Army that ever the English brought into the Field, and reveng'd upon the English all the Blood that they had shed.

All the Summer the King spent in Scotland, and winter'd in Carlisle, that he might be ready the next Spring to suppress any Insurrections that might arise; for he had resolv'd not to depart, till he had fully subdu'd it. And here he held his last Parliament, wherein the State being mindful of the Pope's late Action, got many Ordinances to pass for the Reformation of the Abuses of his Ministers, and as Remedies against his former Exactions, which were almost intolerable: For being poor himself, he wrung from the Archbishop of York Eleat in one Year nine thousand five hundred Marks, and obtain'd of Anthony Bishop of Durham, who is said to have had besides his Preferments in the Church, a Temporal Estate of five thousand Marks per Annum, very large Sums to make him Patriarch of Jerusalem. These large Sums from private Persons shew'd the Pope the Riches of the Kingdom, and embolden'd him to require the Profits of all the Benefices, Abbies and Monasteries, which should become vacant in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, for one Year; which though it were deny'd him, yet he got something considerable by it, the King and he dividing them between them. The Pope also granted the King the Tenth of all the Churches of England for two Years, and the King yielded that the Pope should

have the First-fruits of those Churches; which the Pope took care to secure, by sending Cardinal Petrus Hispanus, his Legate a Latere, under a Pretence of confirming the Marriage between Prince Edward and Isabel, the King of France's Daughter; by which Ambassage the Cardinal got something, tho' not so much as was expected. While the King was thus busied at Carlisle, Robert Bruce about the beginning of the Spring appear'd with some Forces he had gotten together, and falling upon the Earl of Pembroke unawares, gave him a great Defeat; and within three Days drives the Earl of Gloucester into the Castle of Ayr, in which he besieg'd him, till the King's Forces drove him to his former Retreat, in which so long as he was secure, the English could never expect an end of the War. And this was the Reason, that King Edward sent out another Proclamation, to command all that ought him Service, to attend him at Carlisle upon the Midsummer-day after, sending the Prince in the mean while to London to consummate his Marriage. In July, tho' he found himself much indisposed, he enter'd Scotland with a fresh Army; but was not able to lead it far; for he dy'd of a Dysentery at Borough upon the Sands, having reign'd thirty four Years and seven Months, in the sixty eighth Year of his Age. He was a Prince of a generous Spirit, born and bred for Action, and very judicious in Military Affairs; wary and provident in his own Business, watchful and ambitious to enlarge his Power, desiring more the Greatness than Quiet of England. Never King shed so much Christian Blood in England while he lived, nor was the cause of shedding so much after his Death.

He had by his first Wife Queen Eleanor four Sons, of which only Edward surviv'd him, and nine Daughters; Eleanor, who had been espoused to Alphonso King of Arragon, who dy'd before Marriage, was after marry'd to John Earl of Barry^b, Joanna^c was marry'd to Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester; Margaret to John Duke of Brabant; Mary lived a Nun in the Monastery of Amersbury, Elizabeth marry'd first to John Earl of Holland, and after to Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, the rest dy'd young. By his second Wife he had Thomas, surnam'd Brotherton, who was Marshal, and Earl of Norfolk, and Edmund Earl of Kent^d.

The King calls a Parliament at Carlisle

The King and Pope prey upon the Clergy.

Bruce with his Scots revolt again.

King Edward's Death.

His Issues

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Edward I. Surnam'd Longshanks.

IN the 3d Year of his Reign a general Earthquake happened in England; it threw down St. Michael's Church on the Hill, without Glasstonbury in Somersetshire; it also rained Blood in Wales, Mat. West. In the 16th Year the same Author writes, That as the King and Queen were talking together in their Bed-chamber, a Flash of Lightning struck in at the Window, pass'd by them, killed two of their Servants who were waiting upon them, but did them no Prejudice. In the following Year

^a Being sensible of his Death approaching he made his Will, and gave 32000*l.* to be expended in the Holy War, charging his Son, that it should not be spent any other way. He called his Nobles then present with him, and caus'd them to swear their Fealty to his Son Edward, and promise to have him Crown'd as soon as they could. Then he advises his Son to be gentle and kind to his Subjects, duriful to his Mother, and loving to his Brethren, not to take the Crown, nor bury his Body till he had subdu'd Scotland; assuring him, That so long as his Bones were with him, he should not be conquered. And lastly, charged him upon his Blessing never to recal Peirce Gaveston, whom he had banished for leading him into many Vices and Extravagances: But he never fulfilled any of these his Father's reasonable Desires and wise Admonitions, as the Story of his Life will clear. And indeed the Chronicles of Abingdon and Lameraro's agree both, that Prince Edward was not present at his Father's Death.

^b Earl of Bar. ^c Born at Acon in the Holy Land, and thence called Joan of Acres or Acon. ^d And a Daughter named Elnor, who dy'd young. The three latter Children were got after he was Sixty-two Years of Age.

there was so great Plenty, that Wheat was sold in some places for twelve Pence a Quarter; and not many Years after, for twenty Shillings a Bushel, as much as four Pounds now.

Men Eminent in his Time in War were,

John Earl Warren, Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Humphry de Bohun Earl of Hertford and Essex, Roger Bigod Earl Marshal of England, who were always zealous and brave in the defence of their Rights.

For Learning the most Famous were,

Henry de Ham, a Carmelite Fryar; Goodwin Chantor of the Church of Salisbury; Sevall Archbishop of York, a bold Prelate, who defended his Clergy against the Pope; Haimo de Feverham, Peter Swanton, Elias Trickingham, Elias of Igham, Ralph Becking of Sussex, Alpbred surnam'd Anglicus, James a Cistercian Monk, William of Ware, Robert Oxford, Thomas Docking, Robert Dodesford, Peter de Ickham of Kent, Dr. John Beckett, William Hanaberg, Provincial of the Carmelites in England; Cardinal Kibwarby Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Portua in Italy; Gilbert Magnus, a Cistercian Monk; Elias Ros, Walter Recluse, Hugh le Evegham, William Pagham,

Henry Effeborn, John de Haida, John Derlington, a Dominican Fryar, John Chelmeffon, Thomas Borsale of Norfolk, Gregory of Bredlington, Hugh de Manchester, Provincial of the Dominicans in England; Richard Knappwell, a Dominican Fryar; John Peckham of Sussex, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas de Illey, a Carmelite Fryar of Ipswich; Thomas Sutton, a Dominican Fryar; Simon de Gamit, William Hothum, Provincial of the Dominicans; John de Hide, a Monk of Winchester; Robert Crouch, a Franciscan Fryar; Richard Middleton, a Fryar Minor; Dr. Liddington, a Carmelite Fryar of Stanford; John Buer, a Monk of Westminster; Adam de Marisco, or Marcis, a Somersetshire-man, a famous Divine; Gregory Huntington, a Linguist; John Grammaticus, so call'd from his Excellence in Grammar; Thomas Spot, a Chronologer; John Eversden, John Read, Richard Garquent, William Rishanger, Continuator of Matt. Paris's History, Historians. Roger Bacon, Thomas Bungey, Hugh of Newcastle, William of Macclesfield, Philosophers and Mathematicians; and Nichol. Scot, an excellent Physician.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD II.

A. D.
1307.
Reg. 1.

Edward
the Second
succeeded
his Father.

EDWARD, surnam'd of Carnarvan, succeeded his Father of the same Name, and began his Reign in July 1307. in the 23d Year of his Age. A Prince not only much inferior to his Father in Age and Experience when he came to the Crown, which might be imputed to his Youth, but naturally in Greatness, and height of Spirit, and like his Grandfather in Flexibleness and easiness of Temper. Yet never Prince came to the Crown with greater Love, and more general Applause of all his Subjects, than he did; which, being built upon the Admiration of his Father's Worth, might have been easily secured to him by a little wise Management. But he being a wilful and revengeful Prince, began his Reign with such distasteful Actions to all his Subjects, as lost him their good Opinion immediately, and after proved fatal to him. For the first thing he did, after his return from Scotland, where he received the Homage of many of the Scottish Lords at Dumfries, before his departure, was, The entertaining his old Companion Peirce Gavestone, whom his Father had banished the Kingdom, because he had corrupted

his Son, and led him into many Extravagancies, of which the Robbing of the Bishop of Chester's Park was one, (for which the King his Father was so angry, that he imprison'd his Son, and banish'd Gavestone) and as if he had foreseen the Mischief of his Advice, charged him on his Death-bed never to recall him; requiring the Lords who were present, to see his Will observed in this particular. But notwithstanding this wise Caution, and severe Command of his Father, he sent for Peirce Gavestone before his Father's Funeral was solemniz'd, and not only entertain'd him with great Favour in his Court, but invested him in the Earldom of Cornwall, and Lordship of the Isle of Man, which were part of the Demesnes of the Crown, and made him his Chief Chamberlain. And because the Bishop of Chester^b, who was his Father's Treasurer, had often abridged his excessive Expences, and by his Complaint of Robbing his Park, had been the means of bringing that heavy Storm upon himself and Companion, he revenges himself on the Bishop; and to this end, causes him to be arrested, and committed him to Prison, seized upon his Goods, which he gave to Gavestone,

A. D.
1307.
Reg. 1.

P. Gave-
stone recall'd,
and prefer'd,
and the Bi-
shop of Che-
ster impri-
son'd.

^a He was so eager to be Crown'd, That he left Scotland immediately, and would not stay to subdue the Rebels, as his Father ordered him.

^b William de Langton, King Edward the First's Treasurer, was Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and not of Chester.



A. D. 1307. Reg. 1. and made a new Treasurer in his room. Which done, he removed most of the Court-Officers placed by his Father, and put in new ones of his own choosing; and all this without the Advice or Consent of the Privy-Council, which gave a general Discontent, and discover'd an ill Disposition in him.

A Parliament held before his Coronation at Northampton. King Edward's Marriage. Before his Coronation there was a Parliament held at Northampton, wherein it was enacted, That the Monies coined by his Father, notwithstanding they were accounted base Metal, should be Current; and he obtained a fifteenth of the Clergy, and twentieth of the Laity. After which, having performed the Funeral Rites of his Father at Westminster, he took a Voyage into France to be marry'd to the Lady Isabel, the Daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France; where their Nuptials were celebrated with great Magnificence and Solemnity, there being present at them the King of France, and King of Navarre his Son, the King of Armain, the King of Sicily, and three Queens besides the Bride, with an extraordinary Concourse of Princes and great Men. Gavestone was also at this Feast, and is said to have exceeded all the Company in Richness and Bravery of Attire, with which afterwards he infected the Court of England, and by that the whole Nation: A Mischief great enough to undo a Kingdom alone, with the Expence to maintain it. Yet this was not all the Mischief he did, for he filled the Court with Parasites, Buffoons, Fiddlers, Stage-players, and all kind of dissolute Persons, to entertain and fill the King with carnal Delights and Pleasures; in which he was deeply engag'd, that he lov'd no other Company, but spent all his Time in Wantonness, neglecting the Affairs of State, and the Counsel of his Nobles. These things so much distast'd the great Men, that when he was to be crown'd with his Queen at Westminster in the second Year of his Reign, they met together, and requir'd of him, That Gavestone might be removed out of his Court and Kingdom, otherwise they intended to hinder his Coronation at that time. The King, to avoid so great Disgrace, promised to grant whatever they desired in the next Parliament; and so the Coronation was permitted to be solemnized, yet it was done with that haste and precipitancy, as took off the Reverence and Grace of it. In it the King gave Gavestone S. Edward's Crown to carry before him, which greatly incens'd the Lords against him, and added much to their former Offence and Hatred of him.

His Coronation. 1309. The Knights Templars imprison'd. Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights-Templars throughout England were at once arrested, and committed to Prison, according to the Example which had been given him by the King of France, and most other Princes of Christendom. They were an Order of Knights first instituted by Baldwin IV. King of Jerusalem, about two hundred Years before this time, and were appointed for the Defence of that City, and the safe Convoy of all such as went thither. Afterwards by the pious Bounty of Princes, they were dispers'd into all parts of Christendom, and richly endow'd with large Possessions, which made them degenerate much from their first Institution, and become execrably Vicious; for which Reason the Christian Princes combined together to apprehend them, and turn them out of their Order and Estates, the King of France being foremost in the design,

because he intended to make one of his Sons King of Jerusalem, and get their Revenues for him. Their Accusation was brought to the Council at Vienna, and they were condemn'd (more by Fame than Proof) as is evident from the condemnatory Sentence in the Bull of Pope Clement III. wherein are these words *Quoniam de Jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem Potestatis, dictum Ordinem reprobamus*; and then their Estates were given to the Hospitallers. This Affair being over, the Lords prosecute their Design against Gavestone, who presuming upon the King's Favour, insolently scorn'd them, as much as they hated him, terming the chiefest of his Enemies by reproachful Names, as he pleas'd, viz. Thomas Earl of Lancaster he call'd the Stage-player; Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, Joseph the Jew; and Guy Earl of Warwick, the Black-Dog of Arden; which Scoffs so heighten'd their desires of Revenge, that in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly, as if they had engaged in the Quarrel, humbly besought the King to advise and treat with his Nobles concerning the State of the Kingdom, that by their Counsel he might avoid the great Mischiefs which would fall upon him through neglect of Government; and urg'd it so far, that the King not only consented, but promised with an Oath to ratify all such Articles as should be concluded upon by them to be necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom. Upon this certain choice Men, both of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons, were selected to frame these Articles; and when they were finished, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was lately recall'd from Banishment, with the rest of his Suffragans, at the Reading of them publickly before the Lords and Commons in the presence of the King, solemnly pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against all that shall dare to oppose them. Some of the Articles were: That the King should observe, and put in Execution *Magna Charta*, with all other Laws necessary for the preservation of the Church and Kingdom; That as the late King had done, so he should banish all Strangers out of his Court and Kingdom, and remove all his bad Counsellors from his Person; That the King shall not begin any War, or go any where out of the Kingdom, without the consent of the Parliament. These Articles seem'd very harsh to the King, but to avoid farther trouble, he granted them, and especially consented to the Banishment of his Favourite Gavestone, whom he sent immediately into Ireland, tho' not as an Exile, but in Quality of his Lieutenant there; as if that piece of Self-denial would have accus'd him from all the rest. But he could not be long without his Company, and therefore within a few Months he recall'd him; and to secure him the better against his Enemies, he marries him to his Neice (the Daughter of Joanna de Acres) Sister of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, a Man much belov'd and esteem'd among the Nobility, for whose sake, and whose means he hop'd Gavestone would find more favour with the Nobility. But all this would not do. Either his Behaviour or their Malice was such, that they would not endure him about the King, who by making him great, lessen'd them; and by enriching him, not only impoverish'd himself (for 'tis said he gave him the Jewels of the Crown, and so much of his Treasure, that the Queen com-

^a He was Crown'd on the 25th of February 1308. Thomas Wike's Chron.

^b The Letters Patents for the Banishment of Gavestone bear Date at Westminster, the 8th of May, 1308. and are to be found in the Continuation of Nich. Tynner's History. He returned out of Ireland in September, and Married the Lady Joanna in October.

^c The Earl was not pleas'd with, nor consented to the Match.

^d 'Tis said, he gave him his Father's Crown; and once told him, He should be his Successor in the Throne, if it lay in his power to give it him.

A. D. 1310. Reg. 4. *The Barons threaten to depose the King.* plained of Want of Maintenance * to her Father) but the whole Kingdom, which by his immoderate Gifts to him was wasted. These Actions so provoked the Barons, that they send him plain Word, 'That unless he did put from him *Pierce Gavestone*, and observe the Articles, which he had promis'd by Oath to keep, they would all with one Consent rise up in Arms against him, as a perjur'd Prince. The King, who was easily terrified with such Messages of his Nobles, as they found, not only yields again to the Banishment of his Favourite, but granted them farther, 'That if he were ever after found in the Kingdom, he should be condemn'd to Death, as an Enemy of the State. *Peirce* having left *England*, could find no safe Place of retreat: *Ireland* could not any more protect him, *France* was very unsafe for him, because wait was laid for him there to apprehend him. In *Flanders* he lurk'd a-while, but in great Danger; wherefore seeing he could be secure no where, he resolves to adventure again into *England*, and commit himself to the King's Protection, a Sanctuary that would not be violated. The King received him with great Joy, and that he might be out of the envious Eye of his Nobility, he carry'd him into the North Parts of *England*, but he was soon after discover'd by the Lords; who, withal hearing that he was, tho' privately, in as great Favour as ever, presently^b combine together and take Arms, electing *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, Brother to *Henry* III. for their Leader, a Man very popular and powerful, and Earl likewise of *Leicester*, *Ferrers* and *Lincoln*. With him joyn'd *Humphrey* *Bobun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Arundel*, with many other Barons: But *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester*, the King's Nephew, being desirous neither to offend the King, nor be wanting to his Peers, stood Mediator between both Parties for the Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom. The Earl *Warren* was doubtful, and favour'd the King's Party rather, till the Archbishop of *Canterbury* brought him to joyn with the Lords; who being well prepar'd against all Encounters, send to the King in behalf of the whole Commonalty of *England*, 'Beseeching him to deliver up *Peirce Gavestone* to them, or send him with all his Train out of *England*. The King neglecting an answer to their Petition, they set forward with some Forces toward the North. The King and *Gavestone* withdraw to *Newcastle*, and there having a full Account of the Strength of the Lords, they took Ship together (leaving the Queen, then with Child, in great Grief behind) and land at *Scarborough* Castle, into which the King puts *Gavestone*, with the best Forces he could get for his Defence, and leaving him departed into *Warwickshire*. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, who were sent by the Earl of *Lancaster*, lay Siege to the Castle, and *Gavestone* surrender'd himself into their hands; but intreats, That he might have Liberty to speak once more to the King, and then they should do as they pleas'd with him. The Earl of *Pembroke* undertakes^c that he should upon his Honour, but as his Servants were carrying him, the Earl of *Warwick* met them, and took him by force from them, and commits him to his Castle of *Warwick*; where,

Peirce Gavestone is taken by the Lords and executed.

after some Consultation among the Lords (tho' the King earnestly solicited for his Life) they condemn'd him without Tryal to the Block, and cut off his Head. And this was the end of *Peirce Gavestone*^d: He was a Native of *Gascoigne*, and for the great Service his Father had done to this Crown, was educated by King *Edward* the First with his Son the Prince, by which means he gain'd so great an Interest in his Favour. He was a goodly Person, of undaunted Courage, and a skilful Man at Arms, as he shew'd himself at a Tournament at *Willingford*; wherein he challeng'd the best of our Nobility, and is said to have foil'd them all, which inflam'd their Malice against him. In *Ireland*, during the short time he was Lieutenant there in his Banishment, he conquer'd the Rebels in the Mountains of *Dublin*, built *Newcastle* in the *Kerns* Country, repair'd *Kevni*-Castle, and afterward pass'd up into *Munster* and *Thomond*, doing great Service to his Master with much Valour and Bravery. He seems to have been a Person, that could not fawn to stoop to those he loved not, nor disguise his Nature so far, as to temporize with his Enemies: But presuming upon his Fortune, grew in the end to be arrogant and proud, and was so intolerable as nothing but his Ruin, which it produced, could ease the Subjects of that heavy Burthen.

The Lords having gotten their Desire upon *Gavestone*, and thereby finding the King's Weakness (for he should never have fall'n into their hands, if the King had had Power enough to have kept him out) assume to themselves greater Authority; and as if all things were under their Command, peremptorily require the Confirmation and immediate Execution of all the Articles formerly granted, threatening the King, That unless he perform'd the same, as they desir'd, they would force him to it; and for this end, with their Swords drawn, assembling at *Dunstable* make towards *London*, where the King lay. The great Bishops, and Earl of *Glocester*, seeing the Tempest gathering, labour to appease them; and with two Cardinals^e (which at that time were sent by the Pope to reform the Disorders of the Kingdom) repairing to *St. Albans*, desire Conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably, but rejected the Pope's Letters written to them; saying, 'They were Sword-men, and minded not Letters; That there were many wise and learned Men in the Kingdom, whose Counsels they would use, and not Strangers, who knew not the Cause of their rising, and therefore would not permit Foreigners to concern themselves in their Actions, or the Affairs of the Kingdom, with which Answer the Cardinals return to *London*. But the English Bishops so prevail'd by their Persuasions with the Lords, as that they were willing to restore to the King such Horses, Treasure and Jewels, as they had taken from *Pierce Gavestone* at *Newcastle*, if the King would grant their Petitions; and so *John Sandal*, Treasurer of the Kingdom, and *Ingelard Warle*, Keeper of the Wardrobe, were sent to *S. Albans* to receive them of them. About this time Queen *Isabel* was deliver'd of a Son^f at *Windsor*, whom *Lewis* her Brother, and the great Men and Ladies of *France*, would have baptiz'd by the Name of her Father *Philip*, but

A. D. 1310. Reg. 4. *Gavestone's personal Character and Worth.*

The Barons Arriving in treating with the King.

1313.

The Bishops persuade the Lords to submit to the King.

* And that she was deprived of the King's Love, because *Peirce* engaged the King in Whoredom and Adulteries.
^b The Bishops were very zealous Confederates in this Action; insomuch, that the Archbishop excommunicated *Walter* Bishop of *Oxford*. because out of a Loyal Principle he refused to joyn with them.
^c Dr. Brady, in his Appendix to his *Comp. Hist.* affirms, That 'twas not to the Earl of *Pembroke*, but the Lord *Henry* *Peirey*, that *Gavestone* surrendered himself; which he proves from a Record in the Tower, there mentioned.
^d On the 19th of June, 1312. ^e There was but one Cardinal, the other Nuntio was only *Arnold* Bishop of *Poitiers*.
^f He was born the 13th of Nov. 1312.

A. D. 1313. Reg. 7. the Nobility of England had him nam'd Edward, A. D. 1314. Reg. 8. Here the King kept his Christmas, feasting the ver Berwicke, did Bruce with thirty thousand Scots, encounter this mighty Army of the Eng-
 lish; which tho' much too great a Match for them, yet the Scots had been so harden'd to Wars, and receiv'd them with so much Preparation, and at such an Advantage, having inaccessible Rocks behind them to defend them, and a Moorish uncertain Ground before them, wherein they had dug Trenches, and cover'd them with Hurdles, that the Horse could not pass, that they easily became Conquerours, and gave England the greatest Overthrow that ever it receiv'd: For there perish'd in this Battel (call'd the Battel of Bannock's Borough) Gilbert Clare, the last Earl of Gloucester, a great Supporter of the English State, Robert Lord Clifford, the noblest of our Lords; with the Lords Tiptoft, Marshal, Giles de Argenton, Edmund de Maul, and seven hundred Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of Note; and of common Soldiers the Scottish Historians say fifty thousand, but ours ten thousand. Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, Ralph de Mortelmere^b, (who marry'd Joanna de Acres, Countess Dowager of Gloucester) with many others, were taken Prisoners^c; the King, and those that were preserved, escap'd by Flight^d. This Victory^e put Scotland into Heart and Wealth together; so that they held their own the better for a long time after, and discourag'd the People of this Nation for many Yeats so much, that tho' Edward desir'd several times to recover this Dishonour, yet his People chose rather to sink in their Losses, then run any farther Hazards; and the poor Borderers, who had the worst of it, were so dejected, that Walsingham says, an hundred of them would flie before three Scots. So weak do the lower parts become, when the Head is impaired.

A Parliament at London. 'That his Barons had contemn'd him, rais'd War in his Realm against him, and murther'd Peirce Gavestone. But they unanimously answer'd him, 'That they had not offended in so doing, but had merited his Love and Favour; having taken Arms not in Contempt to his Royal Person, but to destroy the publick Enemy of the Kingdom, who as such had been banish'd before by two Kings; a Man by whom his Reputation and Honour was blemish'd, his Revenue waisted, and a dangerous Contest rais'd between him and his Subjects, of which there could otherwise be no end with all their Labour. Adding farther, That they would not be longer deluded with vain Promises or Delays, concerning their requir'd Articles, as they had been. The Queen and Bishops seeing their Resolution, endeavour'd by their Persuasions to allay their Heat, and prevail'd at length so far, that to appease the King's Wrath, they and their Confederates submitted to beg the King's Pardon in open Parliament, which they obtain'd; and the King having receiv'd them into his Favour as his Loyal Subjects, granted them their Articles, and particularly pardons by his Charter all such as had been concern'd in the Death of Gavestone, and then the State in Consideration of his great Wants, granted him a fifteenth. Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was here also appointed to be one of the King's Council; who being a Person much envy'd by those that had the King's Favour chiefly, dy'd shortly in that Station, not without Suspicion of Poison.

1314. The Scots united di-
 flurb Eng-
 land. While England labour'd under these Distractions and Divisions, through the Weakness of its King, Scotland grew unanimous almost under a provident one, who in this time did not only subdue the Scottish Faction, and recover most of his Country, but began to spoil England, laying waist all Northumberland in such manner, as that the People were forced to make their Application to the King for Recovery of their Country out of their hands. King Edward awaken'd with the Importunities of the People, and thinking it would be a great Dishonour to the Kingdom to sit still, rais'd an Army for the Redress of their Losses, and enter'd Scotland with the most powerful Host that ever went thither, consisting (as the Scottish Writers relate) of an hundred thousand Men, of several Nations, viz. Flemmings, Gascoignes, Welsh and Irish; who confiding in their Numbers, devour'd the Country in their Imagination before they came thither, and thought not of fighting, but dividing the Prey. Besides, most of the Nobility of England attended the King, except the Earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Warren and Arundel, who refused to go with him, because the King delay'd the Execution of the former Articles. The Castle of Sterling was the first thing the King intended to relieve, which had held out a long time against the Scots, by the valiant Conduct of Philip Mowbray, a courageous Knight. Near this Place, upon the River Berwicke, did Bruce with thirty thousand Scots, encounter this mighty Army of the English; which tho' much too great a Match for them, yet the Scots had been so harden'd to Wars, and receiv'd them with so much Preparation, and at such an Advantage, having inaccessible Rocks behind them to defend them, and a Moorish uncertain Ground before them, wherein they had dug Trenches, and cover'd them with Hurdles, that the Horse could not pass, that they easily became Conquerours, and gave England the greatest Overthrow that ever it receiv'd: For there perish'd in this Battel (call'd the Battel of Bannock's Borough) Gilbert Clare, the last Earl of Gloucester, a great Supporter of the English State, Robert Lord Clifford, the noblest of our Lords; with the Lords Tiptoft, Marshal, Giles de Argenton, Edmund de Maul, and seven hundred Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of Note; and of common Soldiers the Scottish Historians say fifty thousand, but ours ten thousand. Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, Ralph de Mortelmere^b, (who marry'd Joanna de Acres, Countess Dowager of Gloucester) with many others, were taken Prisoners^c; the King, and those that were preserved, escap'd by Flight^d. This Victory^e put Scotland into Heart and Wealth together; so that they held their own the better for a long time after, and discourag'd the People of this Nation for many Yeats so much, that tho' Edward desir'd several times to recover this Dishonour, yet his People chose rather to sink in their Losses, then run any farther Hazards; and the poor Borderers, who had the worst of it, were so dejected, that Walsingham says, an hundred of them would flie before three Scots. So weak do the lower parts become, when the Head is impaired.

This great Misfortune was not single, but in the next Year many great Calamities follow'd it, viz. such Inundations as brought forth Dearth, and Dearth produced Famine, and Famine Pestilence, all which exceeded any that had ever been in England before; insomuch, that a Parliament was call'd at London to abate and settle the Prizes of Victuals, which then grew excessive dear. And therefore it was ordain'd, That an Ox fatted with Grass should be sold for 16s. fatted with Corn for 20s. the best Cow for 12s. a fat Hog of two Years old for 3s. 4s. a fat Sheep shorn 14d. with the Fleece 20d. a fat Goose 2d. a fat Capon 2d. a fat Hen 1d. four Pigeons 1d. and whosoever sold for more, shall forfeit their Goods to the King. Here seems then to have been no Calves, Lambs, Goslings, Chickens, or young Pigs to be sold, such Dainties were not yet in use. After the Settlement of these Rates, all kind of Provision grew more scarce; for there happen'd such a Murrain to Cattel, and such a Destruction of all sorts of Fruits by the excessive and unseasonable Rains, that Victuals could not be gotten for the King's House, nor Means for other great Men to maintain their Tables; insomuch, that they were forced to put away their Servants in great Numbers, which produced another Mischief: For these Men being brought up in Laziness and

^a Bannock-Bourn. ^b Mount Hermer.
^c King Edward, though in manifest Danger, was so much troubled at this Defeat, that he could hardly be persuaded to fly.
^d This Victory is remarked by our Historians as a Divine Punishment of the Lewdness and Excesses of the English Army, who spent the Night before the Fight in Drunkenness and Intemperance, but a Reward of the Piety of the Scots; who entered upon it with solemn Confessions, and receiving the Sacrament: Wherefore God gave them such a miraculous Victory, as so few Hands without a special Assistance of God could not have effected.
^e The Battel was fought on the 25th of June, 1314.
^f The Rates of Corn seem not to be settled, because there was scarce any to be gotten, for soon after there was an Order put out, that no Corn should be malted or brewed with, that Barley might be preserved for Bread.

Plenty,

A. D. 1317. Reg. II. Plenty, and not able to work, fell to Robbery and Spoil, so that nothing was safe from danger. Three Years this Affliction held, and was attended with such a general Sicknels and Mortality of the common sort, caused by their^a unwholesome Food, that the Living were scarce enough to bury the Dead. But all these Miseries, which beset the Nation, could not allay the Discontents and Hatred between the King and his Nobles, but they were daily seeking opportunity to increase it. The King employs one *Richard St. Martin*, a deform'd Dwarf, to take the Wife of *Thomas Earl of Lancaster* out of his House at *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, claiming her for his Wife, and declaring, He had lain with her before she marry'd the Earl; which the Lady, to her eternal Disgrace, owned. By her this mean Person^b claim'd the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, of which she was Heir, and rais'd not only a desire of Revenge in the Earl against himself, but the King, who was look'd upon to be the chief Agent in it. This and other of the King's Actions became so observable to his People, that a Knight setting a Woman in a fantastical Dress upon an Horse, sent a Letter by her into *Westminster-Hall* to the King, as he sat at Dinner upon the Feast of *Pentecost*, wherein he was blamed for neglecting such as had done him and his Father good Services, and advancing Men of mean Parts, and no Deserts, &c. At which, tho' the King was angry at first, yet when the Knight owned he did it for his Honour, he was satisfied, and did nothing to him.

The King and Nobles disaffected to each other.

While these Afflictions lay upon the Nation within, the Scots infested them in the North parts, with which the *English*, who undertook to defend them, so far joyn'd, that what they kept the Scots from taking away and spoiling, they took themselves. So that the miserable People were utterly undone by being plunder'd on all sides; and *Bruce*, who was now absolute King of the Scots, sent his Brother with a mighty Army into *Ireland*, where he got a part, and reigned under the Title of a King three Years. Thus all things, both at home and abroad, went ill with *England*. But yet they were a means of producing some good, for they were an occasion of that Reconciliation which was shortly after made between the King and Earl of *Lancaster*, by the mediation of two Cardinals, upon such Conditions as were soon after broken unjustly by the King. For a Knight was taken passing by *Pomfret*, with Letters sealed with the King's Seal, directed to the King of Scots, about murdering the Earl. The Messenger was executed, and his Head set on the top of the Castle, and his Letters reserved to witness the intended Plot. This Action, whether true or false, cast a foul Aspersions upon the King, and made many take the Earl's part. After this, upon an Invasion of the Scots, who foraged as far as *Tork*, a Parliament is call'd at *London*, in which the King by the Intercession of the Cardinals and Clergy of *England*, yields faithfully to observe all the former required Articles. Whereupon an Army is agreed to be rais'd, at the Expence of the People, to go against the Scots; *London* sends two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, *St. Albans* ten, and

A Parliament in London, by which an Army was rais'd against the Scots.

so all other Cities and Boroughs according to their proportion; by which means a considerable Army was levy'd; but being come as far as *Tork*, through Mutiny and Discontents was dissolved, and so turn'd back, and nothing was effected. The next Year after, upon the Surrender of *Berwick* to the Scots, by the Treason of *Peter Spalding*, who had the keeping of it, the King rais'd an Army and besieged it. The Scots, to divert his Forces, entred *England* in other places, and had almost surprized the Queen's Person lying at *Tork*; but the Siege, notwithstanding this, continued, and the King was in great possibility to have gained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaster* and his Followers withdrawn themselves upon a Discontent, hearing the King say, That he would give the keeping of it to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who now was the King's Favourite, and therefore hated by the Earl. Again, the Inhabitants of *Tork*, and the adjoining Counties, having received inestimable Damages by the Scots, gather an Army of ten thousand Men, and encounter them at *Milton* on the *Swale*; but being not well conducted nor experienced, they were beaten with the loss of three thousand Men. This being related to the King, he seeing all things succeed ill with him, concluded a Truce with the Scots for two Years, and so leaves those parts dishonourably.

A. D. 1317. Reg. II.

1318

A Truce made with the Scots for two Years.

1319.

In the time of this Peace, a great Flame arose from a small Spark, which was kindled by this occasion. A Baron, whose Name was *William Brewes*, having by his Prodigality and Vice wasted his Estate, offer'd to sell a part of it, called *Pomes*, to several Men; *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, because the Lands adjoyned to his Estate, begs leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it. The two *Mortimer's*, Uncle and Nephew, great Men in those parts, not knowing of the former Bargain, made a contract also for it with Sir *William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger hearing also that those Lands were to be sold, and lay near his Estate, obtains a more particular Grant of the King, being his Chamberlain, and buys it out of all their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* being thus defeated of his Bargain, complains to the Earl of *Lancaster* (the Refuge of all discontented Men) of this Injustice, and induced him to enter into a Confederacy with divers other Barons there assembled, obliging themselves by an Oath to live and die one with another, in maintaining the Rights of the Kingdom, and procuring the Banishment of the two *Spencers*, the Father and Son, whom they stiled, *The Seducers of the King, and Oppressors of the State*; disposing all things at Court as they please, and suffering nothing to be obtain'd but by their means; which the State accounted an intolerable Mischief. Under these pretences they take up Arms, and contrary to all Justice and Right seiz'd upon and destroy'd the Lands and Goods of those Persons which they pretended to prosecute, and of all those that had any Affinity or Friendship with them, killing their Servants, and disposing of their Castles at their pleasure. Which done, they marched to *St. Albans*, and from thence send

1321.

Another occasion of Revolt.

The Revolt against the two Spencers, and taking Arms.

^a The meaner sort are Dogs and Horses; and, as our Historians add, Children and Men were stoll'n for Food, yet it appears by the Earl. Rolls, 1 Edw. 2. No 35, 36. that the Price of Corn and Victuals was settled. Mr. Daniel places this Act two Years too forward, it pass'd Anno 1315.

^b He was a Knight: *Thomas W. Wingham* calls him Sir *Richard* of *St. Martyn*, a Retainer to the Earl of *Surrey*.

^c The two Chiefs of these Banditti were *Gilbert de Middleton*, and *Walter de Selby*; the former was surpriz'd in his Castle and hang'd, what became of the other we do not read in the Histories of this Reign.

^d He went over to *Ireland* in the Year 1317. and was killed in Battel by the Lord *Birmingham*, on the 14th of October, 1318. His Body was quarter'd, and his Head sent to *England*.

^e This Battel was fought at *Milton*, near the River *Swale*, on the 21st of September, 1319.

^f *William de Brevisse*, Lord of *Gwerland*, and not *Pomis*.

^g The two *Spencers* were not mentioned in their Engagement, *To live and die for Justice, and the Destruction of Traytors*; by which the *Spencers*, Father and Son, were meant.

A. D. 1321. Reg. 14. to the King, who then resided at *London*, and was in Consultation with the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*, about settling the Peace. The Bishops seeing this, desired him as he tender'd the Peace and Happiness of his Realm, to banish from his Court those Traitors, the *Spencers*, who were condemned in many Articles of High Treason by the Commons of the Nation; and withal to grant a Pardon and Indemnity unto the Barons, and all their Adherents, that they should not hereafter suffer for any Crime, past or present. The King answer'd, That *Hugh Spencer* the Father was beyond Seas employ'd in the Business of the Nation, and the Son was guarding the Cinque-ports according to his Duty; and that it was both against Law, and the Custom of the Realm, that they should be banished without being heard; That their Petition was against Justice and Reason, because the *Spencers* were always ready to answer all Complaints made against them according to Law; and if the Lords could prove, that they had offended against any Statute of the Realm, they would submit to a Tryal. Farther swearing, That he would never break his Coronation-Oath, by granting a Pardon to such notorious Offenders, as contemned his Person, disturbed his Government, and violated his Majesty. This Answer so exasperated the Lords, that they presently drew near to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbs, till they could obtain leave to enter the City; which being granted, they came to the King, and boldly urge their Demands; which at length the King, by the mediation of the Queen and chief Bishops, condescended to; and by his Edict, published in *Westminster-Hall* by the Earl of *Hereford*, are the *Spencers* banished the Kingdom for their Lives. *Hugh* the Father keeps beyond the Seas, but the Son staid privately in *England*, expecting a Turn of Affairs. The Lords (being satisfied, and pardoned) return home, yet not to live so secure as to give over all provision for their own Defence. Yet all their Care could not prevent their Destruction, which soon after follow'd, upon this Occasion: The Queen, who had always been a principal Instrument of Peace and Concord between the King and his Barons, going on a Progress to *Canterbury*, was disposed to lodge in the Castle of *Leeds*, which belonged to the Lord *Bedlesmere*, who was lately the King's Steward, but then took part with the Barons; and to that end sent her Marshal before to make things ready for her and her Attendance. But the Keeper plainly told him, That neither the Queen, nor any Body else should be admitted without Letters from his Lord; which Answer he also gave to the Queen her self coming in Person, so that she was forced to take up such Lodging that Night as they could get for her. This Indignity the Queen at her return complain'd of to the King, who took it so ill, that he presently went down with a Body of armed Men out of *London*, and laying siege to the Castle, took it, hang'd the Keeper *Thomas Culpeper*, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Bedlesmere* to the Tower, and

seizes upon all his Goods and Treasure. And now having this power about him, and embolden'd by Success, and the Instigation of the Queen, he went on to *Chichester*, where he kept his Christmas, and there provides an Army against the Barons. Some of the Lords seeing the King's Power to increase, left their Associates, and yielded themselves to the King's Mercy; among whom were the two *Mortimer's*, Men of great Estates and Interests, the Lords *Hugh Audley* and *Maurice Berkeley*, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their Expectation, were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this sudden change, withdrew themselves and their Company from *Glocester*, towards the North-parts. The King, with whom were the Earls of *Arbol* and *Angus*, followed them with his Army, and engaging them at *Barton upon Trent*, subdued their Forces, and put them all to flight. Whereupon they retired farther North, and at *Borough-Brigs* were engaged by Sir *Simon Ward* Sheriff of *Tork*, and Sir *Andrew Harkley* Constable of *Carlisle*, who slew the Earl of *Hereford* in striving to pass the Bridge, and took the Earl of *Lancaster*, and divers other Lords, Prisoners. The King being at *Pomfret*, the Captive Lords were carry'd thither to him; and on the third Day after their coming, the King sitting himself in Judgment, with *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* his Brother, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, *Hugh Spencer*, lately created Earl of *Winchester*, and others gave Sentence of Death against *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, by drawing, hanging, and beheading as a Traitor, but the two first being pardoned, because he was of the Royal Blood, he was beheaded the same Day without the Town of *Pomfret*, before his own Castle. And by the like Judgment were condemned and executed at *Tork* the Lords *Roger Clifford*, *Warren*, *Lisle*, *William Tutchet*, *Thomas Mauditt*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *William Lord Cheyney*, *Thomas Lord Mowbray*, and *Jocelin Lord Danyll*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* was taken, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London*; the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windsor*, the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Ashburnham* at *Canterbury*, the Lord *Gifford* at *Glocester*, principal Men in principal Places, to spread the Terror of their Actions over the Kingdom, all their Estates and Inheritances being confiscated, and new Men put into them. And this was the first Blood of the Nobility, which was shed after this manner since the Conquest; which being so profusely spilt, procured sharp Revenge soon after.

The King, exalted with this Success against his Barons, thought Fortune would now continually attend him; and therefore, as well to compleat his Conquests, as to keep the Minds and Hands of his People busied, he marches from *Tork* with a mighty Host into *Scotland*. He was but badly provided of Victuals for so great a Multitude; which the Scots having notice of, convey'd themselves and all Succours out of the way; and thereby forced him to endure so great Wants, that he was constrained to return with Dishonour, having conquer'd his Armies without Blows. In his Passage

A. D. 1322. Reg. 15.

The Barons conquer'd at Barton upon Trent, and at Borough-Brigs.

Several Barons taken Prisoners and Executed, which were the first so punished.

The King's Expedition into Scotland. 1323.

The King excuses the *Spencers*, and is angry with the Barons.

The King banisheth the *Spencers*.

The King's Expedition into Scotland.

^a Adam Murimuth, in his History of this King, in *Magd. Coll. Lib. in Oxon*, writes, That the younger *Spencer* turned Pirate, and robbed all the Merchant-Ships he could meet with.

^b Sir *Roger Mortimer*, and some others of the imprisoned Lords, escaped out of Prison, and fled into *France*.

^c The King is said to have used so much Severity against these Lords, by the Advice and Instigation of the *Spencers*, who thought, by thus removing their Enemies, to remain in the King's Favour without Disturbance.

^d This Earl of *Lancaster* was reckoned a Saint by the common People, who loving him for his love of his Country, after he was dead, went in Pilgrimage to his Tomb; the *Spencers*, enraged at the Respect paid to his Memory, got the King to order a Guard to hinder the People's coming to the Monastery of *Pontefract*, where he was Buried; yet they did it privately. And in the next Reign a Church was built over his Tomb, and Queen *Isabel* her self wrote to the Pope to justify the Miracles done there, and to desire his Canonization, which indeed he deserved much more than any of his Countrymen, who had acquired that Honour since the Conquest. For if the Love of his Country may be called Piety, he was truly and unalterably a pious Man, and was afterwards Canoniz'd, Anno 1389.

^e The *Spencers* got the greatest Share of them.

homeward;

A. D. 1323. Reg. 16. homeward, when he had advanc'd a pretty way into his own Country, the Scots fall upon his Army unawares, took the Earl of Richmond, the King himself hardly escaping, and having spoil'd the Country as far as the Walls of York, return'd loaden with great Spoils. This was the Succes of this unfortunate King (who was not born for Triumphs) in his third Expedition into Scotland. After this, the King being at leisure, and

The King repents of his Execution of the Earl of Lancaster.

in a calmer Humour it seems, began to reflect upon the Execution of the Earl of Lancaster, which he discover'd upon this Occasion. Some of his Courtiers making an earnest Petition to him to pardon one of the Earl's Followers (a Man of low Degree) and pressing him much to it, he bursts out into a Passion, and exclaims against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who can urge him so much to save the Life of a notorious Villain, but would not speak one Word for his near Kinsman the Earl of Lancaster, who, said he, had he lived, might have been serviceable to me and the whole Kingdom; but this Fellow, the longer he lives the more mischief he'll do, and therefore by the Soul of God, he shall die the Death he hath deserv'd. Sir Andrew Harkley, who took the Earl of Lancaster Prisoner at Borough-Brigs, and for that Service was advanced to the Earldom of Carlisle, enjoy'd his Honour but a little while; for the next Year, either through the Malice of the Spencers, who env'y'd his Preferment, or else for joining with the Scots in hopes of a great Match (as was proved upon him) he was degraded of all his Honours, drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd at London for Treason^b, and is a remarkable Example of the Instability of Honour and Greatness under fickle and ill-governing Princes.

1324.

The important Business of the Nation at this time, and especially the Summons sent by the new King of France, Charles the Fair, who succeeded his Brother Philip the Long, to King Edward to come and do his Homage for his Province of Gascoigne, made it necessary for the Parliament to be called, and accordingly met. In it it was decreed by the common Consent of all the Assembly, That the King should not go in Person into France at that time, but send some principal Men to excuse or defer his Appearance. In this Parliament the King requir'd a Subsidy both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Redemption of John Brittain Earl of Richmond, who was lately taken Prisoner by the Scots. But it was deny'd and alledg'd, 'That no Contribution ought of right to be made for the Redemption of any Person but King, Queen or Prince, and so nothing was gotten but more Anger kindled. At this Session also the Bishop of Hereford was arrested, and accused of High Treason before the King and his Council, for aiding the King's Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refused to answer (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose Suffragan he was, and who was his only proper Judge next under the Pope, or without the Consent of his Fellow Bishops, who thereupon arose and begged the King's Clemency to him: But finding him implacable, they took the Bishop from the Bar, and deliver'd him to the Custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, till the King should appoint another time for his Answer to

The Bishop of Hereford accused of Treason, but refuses to answer before Lay Judges.

what he was charg'd with. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy understanding, the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, went to the Place of Judgment with their Crosses erected, and took him away with them, commanding all Men upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. This audacious Act much displeased the King, who commanded, that Inquiry should be made concerning the Objections brought against the Bishop, *Ex Officio Judicis*; and being found guilty tho absent, all his Goods and Possessions were seiz'd into the King's hands. This Act of the King's lost him the Clergy, and added much to the discontented Party of the Nation, which was now grown to be almost universal, except the Spencers, and their Followers; who being enrich'd with the Spoils of the Barons, govern'd all things as they pleas'd, selling the King's Favours, and suffering none to see him, but whom they list; and at length becoming so arbitrary in their Disposals, that they presum'd to abridge the Queen^d of her Maintenance, and lessen her Household Train, which was the fatal Act that proved their undoing.

While these things were done in England, Ho-
mage was neglected in France; whereupon the King of France proceeded so far, that all King Edward's Territories there were adjudged to be forfeited, and many Places of Importance seiz'd upon by the French. The King sent over his Brother Edmund into Gascoigne to secure his Dominions, and recover what was lately fall'n into the French hands, but to little purpose; the King of France was before him, and had gotten the People over to him, being the stronger side: So that nothing could be done, unless either the King would go over in Person, or send the Queen to her Brother to mediate a Peace, otherwise all was in danger to be lost. As for the King's going in Person, the Spencers held it unsafe both for him and them, if he should leave his Kingdom in so great and general Discontents, as then it was; wherefore the Queen, with a small Train, is sent over to accommodate the Business, which she negotiated so well, that it was agreed, That all Quarrels should end upon Condition, that the King of England would give to his Son Edward the Duchy of Aquitain, with the Earl-
dom of Ponthieu, and send him over to do Homage for the same; which, after many Consultations, the King was perswaded to yield unto. The Prince therefore is sent with^e the Bishop of Exeter, and others, to the Court of the King of France, where he was most welcome to his Mother, who herein got her Aims; and being wholly bent upon Revenge (of which Women are usually most eager) found there, as well as in England, enough to nourish that Humour in her of whom the chief was Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, a gallant Gentleman, whom she much favour'd, who had lately escap'd into France out of the Tower of London. The Bishop of Exeter perceiving some Plots in hand, by their Consultations, which they manag'd closely without him, withdraws secretly, and discovers to the King what he observed of their Actions. The King therefore sends presently for the Queen and the Prince, and solicits the King of France

A. D. 1324. Reg. 17.

The Spencers govern'd all things as they pleas'd.

The King's Dominions in France seized.

The Prince made Duke of Aquitain, and sent to do Homage for it.

1325.

The Queen plots against the King, and is discovered and banished.

^a Soon after a Peace was concluded by the King and the Scots for thirteen Years, by the Mediation of the Pope.

^b He was degraded of his Honour before Execution, and is the first Instance of that kind in English History.

^c Adam de Orleton, a subtle, but factious Man.

^d This was done by the Spencers Means, because she dislik'd the King's Rigour to the Lords, tho' they pretended it was because the King of France, her Brother, had invaded the King's Territories on that side.

^e Walter Stapleton, a grave and wise Prelate.

A. D. 1326. Reg. 19. to hasten their return: But when he saw it was neglected and delay'd, he caused them openly to be proclaim'd Enemies to the Kingdom, and banish'd them and all their Adherents, causing all the Ports to be strongly kept, and sending three Admirals, who should wait on several Coasts to oppose their landing. On the other side, as the King hath a faithful Subject, so had the Queen officious Persons; who to enflame her against the King, and widen the Breach, inform'd her, That there was a Design in hand to murder her and the Prince: Whereupon she having before found her Brother backward to countenance and assist her against her Husband, mistrusted, that such a Design would be entertain'd by the French Courtiers easily, through the Advantage of the *Spencers* Gold, and so withdrew to the Earl of *Henault*, being then a rich and potent Prince, and Earl of *Holland*, to whose Daughter *Philippa* she contracted her Son the Prince, and gets both sufficient Aid and Money of him to transport her safely into England. Arriving at *Harwich* ^a, with the Prince, Earl of *Kent*, the King's Brother (whom she brought with her from the Court of *France*) the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *John* the Earl of *Henault's* Brother, with 2500 *Henow-yes* and *Flemings*: She was received with great Joy, and a general Concourse of all the discontented Nobility, and others of the Nation, and especially the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln*, who having lost the King's Favour, sought by this means to recover their Loss by assisting the Queen. The King having notice of the sudden and safe Arrival of the Queen, demands assistance of the City of *London*; who returns answer, 'That they would with all Duty honour the King, Queen, and Prince; but would shut their Gates against all Foreigners and Traitors to the Realm, and with all their power withstand them'. The King and his Council, not daring to rely upon such an Answer, resolved to leave them; and having first put out a Proclamation, that none upon pain of Death should assist the Queen, but destroy all her Adherents, only her own Person, the Prince, and his Brother the Earl of *Kent*, excepted; and promising, That whosoever should bring the Head of *Roger Mortimer* should have a thousand Pounds. And committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir *John Weston*, with the preservation of his younger Son *John* of *Eltham*, and his Neice the Countess of *Glocester* (who was first the Wife of *Peirce Gavestone*, and now of *Hugh Spencer* the younger, a Lady always unfortunate by the overgreat Favour of her Husband) departed towards the West, hoping to find as great assistance now as he had done before against the Barons; but he found the Case alter'd, and no Man regarded him, nor would be hired to fight for him. The Queen having an account of the King's Course and Design, marches after him (growing every Day stronger as she went on) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Hereford* preach'd before her, and the whole Assembly and University, taking for his Text, (2 *Kings* 4. 19.) *My Head aketh, my Head aketh*; from which he took occasion to deliver the Causes of the Queen's proceedings against her Husband, and concluded at last most unlike a good Divine, *That an aking and sick Head of a Kingdom is of necessity to be taken off, and not otherwise to be cured*. A most execrable Doctrine, as

repugnant to that sacred Word, which in all corrupted Times is produced by wicked Temporalists, to abuse Men's Credulities, and justify the Impieties of ambitious and ill Men. And to countenance the Queen's proceedings the more, it was noised abroad, That two Cardinals were seen in her Camp, sent by the Pope to excommunicate all such as took up Arms against her, who sought nothing by appearing in Arms, but to deliver the King and Kingdom from the *Spencers*, who were the Misleaders of the King, and Destroyers of the Kingdom, and their Adherents, the Lord Chancellors and others; all other of the King's Subjects to be safe. And that the might satisfy all Persons, she put out a Proclamation, 'That nothing should be taken from any Subject without paying ready Money, and a severe Penalty imposed upon any one that should dare to do the contrary; as, for the value of Three-pence to lose a Finger; of Six-pence, an Hand; of a Shilling, the Head; and whosoever brought to the Queen the younger *Spencer's* Head should have two thousand Pounds. Thus was a bad Cause cover'd with a shew of Justice, and the unnatural Opposition of a Wife against an Husband, and a son against his Father, made plausible and seemingly just by Power; which, tho' in factious Times it pass'd well enough, hath left an indelible Mark of Ignominy and Disgrace upon her Memory for ever.

The miserable King having his Reputation (which is the main support of Majesty) lamentably torn in pieces by his Pursuers, found few or no Hands to assist him; so that after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the Father into the Castle of *Bristol*, with such Forces as he was able to provide for the defence of it, he leaves the Nation to his Trust, and commits himself to the Sea, with a design either to conceal himself awhile in the Isle of *Lundy*, or pass over into *Ireland*; but being opposed by contrary Winds, and deserted by those few Attendants he had with him, viz. Sir *Thomas Blunt*, his Steward, and others, he was driven a-shoar in *Wales* in *Glamorgan-shire*, where, tho' he found not Protection, he met with Love, and was hidden in the Abby of *Neth*. The Queen in the mean time goes with her Army from *Oxford* to *Glocester*, where the Lords *Peirce* and *Wals* met her with Aids from the North; and from thence she marched to *Bristol*, assaults and wins the Castle, and puts to Death the Defender *Hugh Spencer*, without Form or Trial of Law, causing him to be drawn and hang'd on the common Gallows in his Coat-Armour, cut up before he was dead, headed and quarter'd. This done, she passes to *Hereford*, and the King being not to be found, a Proclamation was put out, 'That if he would come and govern the Nation, as he ought to do, he should again be accepted as King with a general Consent. But the King, either not daring to trust himself to them, or not having sufficient Information, still concealed himself; and thereupon they took the advantage to dispose of the Government; and the Prince, who was now under their Care and Management, was made Guardian of the Kingdom, both Fealty sworn to him, and a new Chancellor and Treasurer appointed. But the King was too great to be concealed long; and being discover'd, was by *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, Brother to the late *Thomas*, *William* Lord *Zouch*, and *Ries ap Howell*, taken

A. D. 1326. Reg. 19.

The Queen's Allions and Pretences in raising Arms.

The Queen invades England, and is assisted by Nobles and Bishops.

The King dejected and abandoned.

Hugh Spencer put to Death.

The King imprisoned by certain Barons.

^a She Landed at *Orewel*, near *Harwich*, on the 22d of September, 1326.

^b *Henry Burroughs*, who for Aiding the Rebellious Lords, was a little before deprived of his Temporalities.

^c 'Twas not this part of their Answer that the King disliked, but that which follows, *That they were not willing to march out of their City to fight, unless according to the Liberties granted them, they could return the same Day before Sun-set*.

^d Sir *Roger Baldock*.

^e She also gave leave to all Persons, that were banished in the late Diffentions, to return to their Estates and Friends; whereby she engaged many Malecontents firmly to her Party.

A. D. 1326. and convey'd to the Castle of *Kenelworth*. The younger *Spencer*, with *Baldocke* the Chancellor, and *Simon Reading*, who were apprehended with him, were sent to the Queen to *Hereford*. *Spencer*, who was at this time Earl of *Glocester*, is drawn and hang'd on a Gallows fifty Foot high, in his Coat-Armour, on which it was written, *Quid gloriaris in Militia*, Pl. 52. *Simon Reading* was hang'd ten Foot lower than he. But *Baldocke*, because he was a Priest had the Favour to be pined to Death in *Newgate*^b. And here likewise a little before was the Earl of *Arundell*, with two Barons, *John Danyll* and *Thomas Micheldever* executed as Traitors^d, by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering^e to the King's Party. And that the Mob may not fail to act its part in every Rebellion, the Commons of *London* rise, and force their Mayor, who held his Loyalty, to joyn with them to let out all Prisoners, possess themselves of the Tower, put to Death the Constable of it *Sir John Weston*, and murder'd the Bishop of *Exeter*, whom they hated, because when he was the King's Treasurer he caused the Justices Itinerant to sit in *London*, who laid heavy Fines upon them. And thus all things were in Confusion.

1327. After a Month's stay at *Hereford*, the Queen return'd with the Prince, and kept her Christmas at *Wallingford*, and her Candlemas at *London*, where the Parliament being assembled, agreed to depose the King as unfit to govern, objecting many Articles against him, and to elect his eldest Son *Edward*, which they did in the great Hall at *Westminster*, with the universal Consent of the People there present; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made a Sermon upon this Text, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*^f, exhorting the People to pray to the King of Kings for him that they had chosen. The Queen seeing what was done, began now seriously to reflect upon her self, and her own Actions, which were the cause of it; and either out of remorse of Conscience, or trouble for the loss of her own Dignity, shewed great discontent at this Election, insomuch that her Son to comfort her was forced to swear, *That he would not accept of the Crown without the consent of his Father*. This Resolution of the Prince produced a common Decree in Parliament, 'That three Bishops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, three Knights of every Shire, with a certain number of Burgesses of every City and Borough, and especially of the Cinque-ports, should be sent to the King at *Kenelworth*, to declare unto him the Election of his Son, and to require of him the Renunciation of his Crown and Royal Dig-

nity; whereunto, if he refused to consent, the State were resolv'd to proceed as they thought fit, and renouncing his Children, choose whom they pleased. The King being first privately acquainted with the Message, which was one of the most ungrateful that could be sent to any Prince, was after by two, whom he chiefly hated, the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln*, brought before the Assembly. When they had deliver'd their Message he said to them (as soon as his Passion would give him leave) 'He confessed that he had been misguided (the common Excuse of a poor Spirit) and done many things, of which he now repented; and which, if he were to govern again, he would amend; and was very sorry to have so much offended the State, as they utterly should reject him: But yet thanked them, that they were so favourable to him as to choose his eldest Son for King. Having said this, they proceeded to the Ceremony of his Resignation, which consisted chiefly in the surrendering his Crown, and other Ensigns of Majesty, to the Use of his Son. The Form was perfectly new, because it was the first that ever was known in *England*, and therefore could have no Precedent. But *William Trussell*, a Judge, put it into the Style of the Law, to render it more Authentical, and pronounced the same in this manner: 'I *William Trussell*, in the Name of the Men of the Land of *England*, and of all the Parliament, Procurator, resign to thee *Edward*, the Homage that was made to thee some time since; and from this time forward now following, I desie thee, and prive thee of all thy Royal Power; and I shall never be tendant on thee, as King, from this time. Thus was the last Act, and first Example of a deposed King, no less dishonourable to the Nation, than unto him. He was a Prince more weak than Evil. His Faults in Government were many, but not so many as those of his People to him, in dealing so roughly and uncivilly with him. He is reported by some to have been Learned (which perhaps might make him the softer) and written Verses when he was in Prison. He is said to have been the Founder of *Oriel-College* and *S. Mary-Hall* in *Oxford*.

He had by his Wife *Isabel* two Sons; *Edward*, His Issue, born at *Windsor*, who succeeded; and *John*, surnam'd of *Eltham*, who was created Earl of *Cornwall*, 1315. and dy'd in the Flower of his Age in *Scotland*: And two Daughters, *Joanna* marry'd to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Eleanor* to the Duke of *Gelders*.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Edward II.

Some time before *Christmas*, in the 9th Year of his Reign, a Blazing-Star or Comet appear'd in the North, was seen for a Month together, and was the Forerunner of a Famine and a Mortality. The Dearth was occasion'd by prodigious Rains in the Summer, which hinder'd the People's getting in their Corn; and what was got in yielded very little. Wheat was sold for forty Shillings a Quarter, as much as eight Pound now; and a Murrain destroy'd the Cattle.

^a He was Bishop of *Norwich*. ^b *Thomas* of *Walsingham* in his Chronicle relates, That *Baldocke* the King's Chancellor was committed first to the Bishop of *London*'s Prison, from whence he was pulled out by the common People of *London* to be carried to *Newgate*; but they beat him so cruelly by the way, that he Died of his Bruises in great Torment. ^c *Thomas Micheldever*. ^d They were condemned by Judge *Trussell*. ^e *Walter Reynolds*, who, tho' preferred by the King, yet was carried down with the Current. ^f This Sermon was preach'd at his Coronation. *T. Walsingham*. ^g *John de Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam de Orleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Henry Burwash*: The Bishop of *Winchester* favoured the King's Right; but the other two were his bitter Enemies, yet they were sent first to the King, partly to persuade, and partly to terrifie him. *Sir Thomas de la More* in his History writes, That the Bishop of *Winchester* and the Bishop of *Lincoln* were the two Bishops that were sent before to the King, to bring him to it. ^h He fell into a Swoon, and had fall'n to the Ground, had he not been supported by the Earl of *Lancaster*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*.



The next Year the Famine continuing, the Poor were forced to eat Horse-flesh, Dogs and Cats; and there was not sufficient, even of that vile Food, to keep them alive. Wheat was sold for near 3 l. a Quarter, and the Mortality rag'd as violently as in the Year preceeding. *Holinshed.*

In his 12th Year on the 14th of November, the greatest Earthquake happen'd that had been known in England, to the unspeakable Terrour of Men, Women, and Children.

In his 20th Year the Bishop of Exeter, *Walter de Stapleton*, Founder of *Exeter College* and *Hart Hall* in *Oxford*, was kill'd in an Insurrection of the People at *London*. He was a Minister of State in *Edward II's* Reign, and sided with the Courtiers.

The Barons of greatest Fame in his Reign were,

Thomas Plantagenet Earl of *Lancaster*, *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, the Lords *Audley*, *Mowbray*, *Clifford* and *Teis*, who all dy'd in defence of the Liberties of the People; *Roger Mortimer*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle, great Captains.

In his Time flourish'd several Men of Letters, as

John Duns, surnam'd *Scotus*, the Schoolman, *Nicholas de Lyra* an English Convert Jew, who wrote several Treatises against the Rabbins; *William Ochham*, who wrote against *John Duns* and against the Pope, in behalf of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; *Robert Perescutator* a *Yorkshire* Man, suppos'd to be a Magician. *Robert Baston* a Carmelite Fryar of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* took with him into *Scotland* to write his History of that War, but the Success of it sav'd *Boston* the Trouble; *Ralph Baldock* Bishop of

London, *Sir Thomas de la More*, and *Thomas Hasetwood*, a Canon of *Leeds* in *Kent*, who wrote *Chronicon Compendiarium*, Historians. *Robert Walsingham* a Carmelite Fryar, *John Wilton* an Augustine Fryar, *Walter Winterborne*, *Ralph Locksly*, *Nic. Stanford*, *William Whitby*, *Thomas Joice*, *Walter Joice*, *William Gainsborough*, *John Horwinger* of *Suffolk*, *Robert Blitton* a Carmelite Fryar of *Lincolnshire*, *John of Bromham* a Carmelite Fryar, *Dr. Thomas Chabham* a Canon of *Salisbury*, *Robert* of *Plympton* a regular Canon in *Devonshire*, *Thomas Castleford* a Monk of *Pomfret*, *William Mansfield*, *John Canon*, *Robert Grime*, *William Askettle* of *Beverly*, *Jeffrey* of *Cornwall*, *John Gattisden*, *Theobald Anglicus*, *Steph. Eiton*, *John Goldston*, *John Winchelsey*, *Ralph Atton* a notable Divine, *John Dumbleton* a Logician, *Thomas Langford* of *Malden* the same, *Osbert Pickenham* a Carmelite Fryar of *Linne* in *Norfolk*, *Richard Wallingford*, *Robert Carew*, *Richard Belgrave* a Carmelite Fryar, and Fryar *Brinkly*.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD III.

EDWARD III. being thus made King by the Resignation of his Father *Edward II.* the late King, began his Reign Jan. 20. 1327. being about fourteen Years of Age, and immediately sends out his Proclamations for the Preservation of the Peace into all Counties, in this Form; 'Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, To N. N. our Sheriff of S. greeting. Whereas the Lord Edward, the late King of England, our Father, by the Common Council and Assent of their Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other chief Men, with the whole Comonalty of this Realm, did voluntarily amove himself from the Government thereof, willing and granting that we his Eldest Son and Heir should assume the Government of the same, &c. A Preamble intended to palliate the Wrong done to his Father, but indeed making it more apparent. Five days after he was crown'd at West-

minster, by *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but the Queen seem'd much troubled and griev'd at it, till she was pacified soon after by a great Enlargement of her Joynture, the King settling upon her three parts of his Revenue. The Management of the Kingdom was the next thing to be consider'd, which was put into the hands of twelve of the most able, and grave Statesmen during the King's Minority, till he should be of Age to govern it himself; which were the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Winchester*, and *Worcester*, *Thomas Brotherton* Earl Marshal, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, *John* Earl *Warreine*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Peircy*, *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, and *John* Lord *Rosse*. But the Queen and *Mortimer* usurped their Charge, and left them nothing but a Name of Governours. And the first thing that was acted by this new King by their Advice, was an Expedition into

^a The Reader will all along perceive, that this Author is no Friend to the Barons, and their Cause.
^b Henry Earl of Lancaster was deputed to have the Care of his Person.

A. D. 1327. Scotland, undertaken not only to recover the Honour of the Nation, but to keep Mens Minds busy at present, and uphold the Change; and his Reg. I. ther not only a considerable Body of English are sent, but all the Strangers which were brought over with the Queen under the Conduct of the Lord John Beaumont, the Earl of Henault's Brother, and at York the whole Army met, where the English (being not all of a Party) quarrel with the foreign Aids, and so great a Contest rose between them, that some Blood was spilt, and it was very hardly appeased. At Stanhope Park the English came to an Engagement with the Scots, and tho' the English were treble the number, and might easily have conquer'd them; yet through the Treason of some great Men (as it was reported) they all escap'd, and nothing remarkable was done, and so the young King, who was born for Victories, was deprived of the Honour of this his first Action; which being undertaken by others Advice, was not so dishonourable unto him as it was to others. However, upon his return, all the Henoways and Stipendiary Soldiers were sent home.

An Expedition into Scotland, but unsuccessful.

The deposed King kept Prisoner under severe Keepers.

During this Expedition, the deposed King remained a Prisoner at Kenelworth, under an Allowance of an hundred Marks a Month for his Expences, and depriv'd of all the Comforts the World should yield him. His Wife, whom he loved greatly (tho' now the Author of all his Misery) sends him fine Cloaths, and kind Letters, but deny'd him her Presence (tho' it was often desired by the King by Letters) upon a Pretence, that she was not allowed to come to him by the State. But after the King's return, he was removed, because he was not thought safe enough, nor look'd so strictly to as he ought, being in Custody of his Uncle^a the Earl of Lancaster, and^b was committed to more faithful Keepers, two Men of the most rough Natures that could be found, the Lord Maitrevers^c and Sir Thomas Gourney the Elder; who immediately remov'd him from thence, and put him into the Castle of Barkley in Gloucestershire, where he stay'd not long, but he was removed to Corfe Castle, and from thence from one place to another to disappoint his Friends; who, they fear'd, were laying of Plots to^d restore him, till at last they brought him in a Disguise, having shorn his Head with cold Water^e in the open Fields, while he sat upon a Mole-hill, to Barkley Castle again; where shortly after, Gourney and Maitrevers caused him to be murder'd in a most barbarous manner, by thrusting up an hot Iron put up into his Fundament, by which means no outward Sign appear'd to discover his Death; for his Body being afterwards laid forth to be viewed by many substantial Citizens of Gloucester^f (who were summon'd for that purpose) they could find

no sign either of Wound or Poison; so that they concluded that he dy'd of Grief, as was reported. Thus dy'd Edward II. within eight Months after he was deposed, and was buried in the Abby Church of the Benedictines at Gloucester. The Actors of this cruel Deed, Gourney and Maitrevers, tho' they had a Commission from the Queen to do as they did; yet she being ashamed to own it, they dare not undergo the Tryal, but presently fled their Country. Gourney three Years after was taken at Marseilles, but was murder'd in his Passage into England, that he might not discover who set him a-work; and Maitrevers lurk'd a long time in Germany. But this Deed cost more Trouble and Blood afterwards; for the Judgments of God fell heavily, not only upon the Contrivers of this Wickedness, but upon the whole Kingdom in general, and the King's Posterity and Nobilities and Children in particular; as the many Bloody Scaffolds, infinite Slaughter and civil Wars of the Nation in after Ages, will plainly prove, tho' for the present the Authors of it, the Queen and Mortimer lately created Earl of March, prosper'd and govern'd all to the no small Dissatisfaction of the Nation, which brought forth new Factions, according to the Nature of those turbulent Times.

The King's Marriage with Philippa of Henault was now solemniz'd, and a Parliament is held at Northampton, at which a dishonourable Peace is concluded with the Scots, and confirm'd by a Match between David Bruce Prince of Scotland, Son of Robert Bruce, the present King, and Joanna Sister to the King of England; which Match, by reason of the tender Age of the Prince, could promise but little good to the Nation. Besides, by the secret Contrivance of the Queen Mother, Roger Mortimer^g, lately made Earl of March, and Sir James Douglas^h, the King surrenders by his Charter his Title and Sovereignty to the Kingdom of Scotland, restores many Deeds and other Instruments of their former Homage and Fealty, with the famous Evidence call'd the Ragman Roll, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments; among which, was one of great Value, call'd the Black Cross of Scotland, &c. and besides, all Englishmen were not permitted to hold any Lands in Scotland, unless they would dwell there. In Consideration of which Grants, King Bruce was to pay the King thirty thousandⁱ Marks. Shortly after a Parliament was held at Winchester, where Edmund Earl of Kent, Brother to the late deposed King, is accus'd and condemn'd by his own Confession, for endeavouring to restore his Brother, and conferring with divers great Men concerning the same, without any Matter of Fact^k. This miserable Earl stood on the Scaffold from one till five a Clock in the Afternoon, and no Man would execute him; but at length, a silly Wretch of the

A. D. 1327. Reg. I.

God's Judgments upon the Murderers and Contrivers of his Death.

1328. The King's Marriage, and a Parliament call'd.

Edmund Earl of Kent beheaded for endeavouring to restore his Brother the deposed King.

^a He was not his Uncle, but his Cousin being Brother of Thomas, and Son of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, who was his Uncle.

^b By the Queen and Mortimer's Order, but signed with the King's hand.

^c Sir John Maitrevers.

^d King Edward had many Friends, who wish'd at least, if they did not endeavour, to restore him to his Crown. The whole Order of the Friars-Preachers zealously maintain'd his Right, and are said to have contriv'd his Restoration; which to avoid, the Queen and Mortimer are reported to have sent private Orders to his barbarous Keepers to dispatch him: But tho' they spared no other ill Usage, yet they were a little startled at this, and sent to the Bishop of Hereford, a fit Casuist; who was, it's thought, the Adviser of it, to know whether it were lawful. The Bishop willing to further it, but not to seem to, sent them this Answer. To kill King Edward you need not to fear it is good; which Answer, by putting a Comma in different Places, is a Plea for himself, and Encouragement to them, but the latter is most obvious, and no doubt he design'd it.

^e Taken out of a Ditch.

^f The Prior of Bristol and Abbot of Gloucester were summoned to view the Body.

^g He was made Earl of March in the Parliament held at Salisbury in August 1328. and that at Northampton, where the shameful Peace was concluded with the Scots, was holden in the March before.

^h The Ragman-Roll was a Security and Memorial of the Fealty and Homage, which the Scots ought to pay to the Kings of England.

ⁱ Henry de Knighton says twenty Thousand, and Mortimer had the Money.

^k This Earl's Son Edmund petitioned the King in the next Parliament, That the Judgment against his Father might be Reversed, for that his Father had been falsely accused by Roger Mortimer, Sir John Maitrevers, and their Accomplices, and made to believe that King Edward was alive after he was murdered. 'Tis said, that accordingly the Earl entered into a Plot for his Delivery out of Corfe Castle, where the Traytors who had deceived him pretended he was still confined.

A. D. 1328. Reg. 2. Marthalsea cut off his Head*. But these Courses in a new Alteration could not last long without producing another. Wherefore a Parliament being call'd at Nottingham, the Queen and Mortimer, who had long bore the blame of every thing done amiss in the Government, were strip'd of all their Power and Glory; the Queen hath her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to a Pension of a thousand Pound a Year. Mortimer is accus'd 'to have procured the late King's Death, 'to have been a means of the Scots escape at Stanhope-Park, for which he had a Bride of twenty thousand Pounds; to have procured the late Marriage and Peace with Scotland, which was so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; to have consumed the King's Treasure, besides all that was taken from the Spencers; to have been too familiar^b with the Queen, &c. And for these heinous Offences he is condemned of High-Treason, sent up to London, drawn and hang'd at the common Gallows at the Elms, now called Tyburn^c; there his Body remained two Days a Spectacle of Disgrace to all Beholders. And thus was the Cruelty and Ambition of Mortimer justly rewarded, and an Example of Terror given to the other Ministers about the King, who being now come to Age, wanted nothing but faithful Ministers to direct him in such Courses as might be most honourable for himself and the Kingdom, being of a Spirit able and bold enough to go thro' with any brave Actions, of which he had variety that offer'd themselves.

Mortimer hang'd at Tyburn.

King Edward summon'd to do Homage to the King of France.

King Edward's Title put in for it as his Right, being a nearer Relation to the deceased Kings; but the Regency was entrusted to Philip, because he descended from a Brother more capable of the Crown than a Daughter, of which Edward was descended.

And thus things remained till the Queen was deliver'd, which happen'd to be a Daughter; and Philip was received and crowned King of France by the Salick Law, maintain'd to be inviolable. Robert de Artois, a Peer of great Power, was a principal means of his Preferment, and the Exclusion of Edward. Shortly after this Settlement of the French Crown, Edward was summon'd to pay his Homage, and accordingly met King Philip at Amiens, where two Points were chiefly debated by the Council of both Kings. 1. Concerning the Quality of the Homage pretended to be due by the Council of King Philip, but deny'd by King Edward's. 2. About the Lands in Guien, which the last King Charles had detained from Edward, of which his Council required Restitution, as belonging to his Dutchy. The Resolution of this last Point was easie, because of the Treaty made between the said King Charles and Edward the Second the last of May, 1325. wherein their Rights were secured by mutual Protections, and Homage received, and paid to the said King Charles by the said Edward before he was King; which Protections were repeated, and agreed to be followed in this, with a Covenant, That if King Edward, would pursue his Right in Parliament, he should have Justice done him for the things in Controversie. But as for the Point concerning the Quality of his Homage it was agreed in general, That it should be done and received according to the usual manner of the former Kings; and a sufficient time was granted to King Edward, to enquire of it, and make Declaration of it; which being done, King Edward upon the 6th of June, 1329. in a Crimson Velvet Gown, embroider'd with Leopards, with his Crown on his Head, his Sword by his Side, and Golden Spurs on his Heels, presents himself in the body of the Cathedral Church at Amiens before King Philip, sitting in a Chair of State in a Velvet Gown of Violet-Colour embroider'd with Flower-de-luces of Gold, his Crown on his Head, and his Scepter in his Hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him^d. Then the Viscount Melun Chamberlain of France first orders King Edward to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King Philip; and then the Viscount putting both his Hands together between the Hands of the King of France, pronounced the Words of the Homage, which were these: 'You shall become Liegeman to the King my Master here present, as Duke of Guien and Peer of France, and you promise to bear Faith and Loyalty to him. Say *Tea*; and King Edward said *Tea*, and kissed the King of France, as Lord of the Fee, on the Mouth. The like Homage he did for the Earldom of Ponthieu. This Act of Submission, tho' condescended to by the King at that Juncture, yet he took himself wronged by Philip in exacting it so punctually of him, and was thereby so highly provoked and angred, that he resolv'd upon a Revenge, which he so severely performed afterward, as not only Philip himself, but all Christendom wish'd the Ceremony had been spared.

The Ceremony of paying Homage.

At King Edward's return home, he met with a Diversion from his Designs upon France by an occasion of the Alteration of Affairs in Scotland. The late Peace concluded with them was held so dishonourable by the King, that it was no ways convenient to keep it: However, that he

K. Edward breaks with Scotland.

* He was Beheaded at Winchester on the 19th of March, 1329.

^b She was commonly reported to have been with Child by him.

^c Mortimer was Hanged on the 29th of November, 1330. after King Edward had been in France to do Homage.

^d The French King invited the Kings of Bohemia and Navarre to be present at this Solemnity.

A. D. 1331. might not seem to break it^a he took the opportunity of their Differences to set it aside after this manner: The Minority of the present King (which is the misery of Kingdoms) being attended with the Emulations and Factions of the great Men, encouraged *Edward Baliol*, Son of *John Baliol*, (some time King of *Scotland*) thirty two Years after his Father's Deposition, to attempt the Recovery of that Crown; and accordingly by the Sollicitation of his Friends he comes out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, into *England*, where he was permitted underhand to get Aid; which all those *Scots* and *English*, which were of a Faction contrary to *Bruce* readily offer'd him, and with them he suddenly assaults the Governours of the Kingdom in the Nonage of the young King *David* (who was at that time with the King of *France*) and overcame them in a Battel, wherein many Noblemen, and thousands of the Common-people were slain, and thereupon was immediately crown'd King of *Scotland* at *Stone*. But his Party not being so strong as to maintain what he had gotten, or defend him in the Possession of it against those that oppos'd him, he was forced, notwithstanding his first Victory, to return again into *England* to get more assistance

K. Edward joins with Baliol the new King of Scots.

A Brave Action of the Lord Seton, Governour of Berwick.

of King *Edward*, who now shews himself in the Quarrel, joyns with *Baliol* against his Brother-in-law King *David*, and goes in Person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which after three Months Siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was again taken, and the whole Army of *Scots*, which came to relieve it at *Hallidown-Hill*, utterly defeated and routed, with the slaughter of seven Earls, nine hundred Knights and Baronets, four hundred Squires, and about thirty two thousand common Soldiers, as our Writers report, but theirs say but fourteen thousand^b; and thus was *Baliol* brought through a torrent of Blood to the Crown of *Scotland* again. In the Siege of *Berwick*^c one memorable Action of the Lord *Seton* is not to be pass'd over, related by the *Scotch* Writers, which is this: When the Lord *Seton* saw that the Relief he expected failed, and the Assaults of the Enemies were very violent, so that he could not hold out, he conditioned with King *Edward*, That if he had not Relief by such a time^d he would surrender the Town to him, and for the assurance of this Promise delivers him two of his Sons. King *Edward* soon after having notice of the approach of the *Scotch* Army, that it was greater, and came with more speed than was expected, and would be there before the Day, summons the Lord *Seton* to render the Town presently, otherwise he would execute his two Sons before his Face; and withal a Gallows is prepared within sight of the Town, and the young Gentlemen brought forth and put under the Executioner's Hands. The Lord seeing this, was doubtful what to do, being distracted between Love and Duty, till his Wife, the

Mother of those Sons, and a Lady of masculine Courage, comes to him and exhorts him 'to remember his Allegiance sworn to the King, the Love he owes to his Country, and the Dignity of his noble Family; that they had other Children left, if these were destroy'd, and themselves not so old, but that they might have more; That if they should be preserved from Death now, they might perish otherwise soon upon a worse occasion; That it would be an eternal Blemish upon his Name to yield up a Place committed to his Charge, and yet it is uncertain whether he could preserve his Childrens Lives by it; for how could he trust that King who had broken his Promise already, and therefore besought him not to prefer an uncertain and momentary Advantage before a certain and perpetual Ignominy. And so having recover'd his Resolution to hold it out, she withdrew him from the Walls of the Town, that he might not see the Sufferings of his innocent Children.

A. D. 1331. Reg. 5.

The next Year after this Battel at *Hallidown-Hill*, *Edmund Baliol* King of *Scots* did Homage to the King of *England*^e, as his superiour Lord, at *New-Castle*, and took his Oath of Fealty, binding himself and his Heirs to hold that Kingdom of him and his Successors for ever, with the Inheritance of five Countries next adjoyning to the Borders. So large a part of his Kingdom was he willing to part with, rather than be in danger of losing the whole; which yet was so far from securing his peaceable Enjoyment of it, that it rather embroiled the whole, by reason of the Discontent which most of the Nobility of *Scotland* took at this Act of Alienation of their Country; so that it created both Princes much Trouble, and cost a great Expence of Treasure to keep what they had gotten. The King of *England* had a fifteenth of their Laity, a twelfth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament held at *London*, granted to him for these Wars; and three Years together he went in Person with his Army into those parts, and never returned without so great Destruction and Bloodshed, that it is admirable how such a small Country could find so many Men to maintain their Quarrel, and fight for such barren Deserts. But *Edward* prosecuted the Business of *Scotland*, not merely to be Master of it, but so to settle it as that it might not be an hindrance to his greater Designs upon *France*, which he chiefly intended, and was the sooner put upon by the Instigation of *Robert de Artoys*, who being driven out of the Kingdom by King *Philip* his Brother-in-law, came over into *England*, and was here entertain'd with great Honour. This *Robert* was a Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*, being descended of *Robert* the Son of *Lewis VIII.* Brother of *S. Lewis*. He had long Contention with *Maud* his Aunt, Countess of *Burgogne*, about the Earldom of *Artois*, and

1333. King Baliol does homage for Scotland to Edward.

A Parliament at London.

Robert de Artoys instigates K. Edward against the French King.

^a King *Edward* also required Homage of the young King *David*, but was refused; which gave him a just ground for this Expedition, when fit Occasion offered, as it did in *Baliol's* Cause.

^b This Battel, according to *Henry de Knighton*, was fought on the 19th of July, 1333. and all the *Scotch* Historians place it under the same Year.

^c This Story is taken out of *Hector Boethius*, a *Scotch* Historian, but a Writer of no very good Credit, and seems designed not so much to honour the Name of the Lord *Seton*, as to blacken the Memory of this great Prince *Edward III.* for which Reasons 'tis rejected as a Calumny against the King by our *English* Writers of Judgment.

^d By two Manuscripts the Chronicle of *Lanercost* in the *Cotton* Library, and *Scale's Chronicle* a *French* Manuscript in *Bennet-College* Library in *Cambridge*, it appears, that after the fifteen Days Truce made with *Alexander Seton* was expired, the King summoned the Town; *Seton* answer'd, He did not yet doubt of Relief, and did not think himself obliged to surrender it. The King reply'd, That no Relief being come, he expected the Performance of the Treaty. The Governour prevaricating with him, he order'd one of his Sons, and not both to be hang'd (by the Advice of his Council) and upon this the Garrison and Townsmen came to new Terms, to have the Truce prolong'd for eight Days; in which time, if they were not reliev'd, they would yield up the Town. Which accordingly they did; and the *Scotch* Historians own, that *Seton* himself was compelled to side with *K. Edward*; which 'tis not probable he would have done by any Compulsion, had he us'd him so barbarously, and contrary to Articles. But those Authors are not very famous for Veracity, especially where the Cause of their own Country is concern'd.

^e At *Edinburgh*, in the beginning of February, 1334 or 1333, reckoning the Year from *Lady-Day*. Whereas the old Historians generally reckon'd it from *Christmas*.

A. D. 1336. King Philip, who marry'd his Sister, and the Ser-
vice he had done in advancing him to the Crown, counterfeited a Deed to overthrow his Aunt's Right; which being discover'd, made his Cause the worse, and moved the French King to give Judgment for her; and so the County of Artois was by Arrest of Parliament confirmed to her. This so offended Robert, that in his Passion he said openly, *That he would unmake the King by the same Power he made him*; which rash and bold Threat, spoke before many Witnesses, so incensed the French King, that he laid wait to apprehend him; but failing in that, he proclaimed him Traitor, confiscated his Estate, forbid all his Subjects, both within and without his Kingdom, to receive, comfort, or aid him, upon pain of Confiscation of all their Goods; and charged them all to seize his Person, and send him Prisoner to him. Whereupon this Prince finding no place in France safe for his abode, comes over into England, where he is joyfully entertain'd by King Edward, made one of his Council, and invested in the Earldom of Richmond; which Favours, that he might recompence, he set on foot a War with France, which lasted above an hundred Years, discovers the Councils of France, by which Philip had been advanced to the Crown, disapproves his Title, and prefers Edward's as most just. Upon which a Declaration was published, and sent to the Pope and all the neighbouring Princes, shewing the Usurpation of Philip de Valois upon the Crown of France. King Edward, who ever since his return from Amiens had been making Preparations against the King of France, and by the assistance of his Father-in-law William Earl of Henault, had drawn into a Confederacy with him the Dukes of Brabant and Geldres, the Earl of Juliers, Archbishop of Cologne, and Valeran his Brother, John of Henault, and other Princes of Germany, doth now strengthen his Interests farther, and by Gifts obtain'd of Lewis of Bavaria, the present Emperor, to be Vicar-General of the Empire, by which Office he might require all the Princes that confined upon France to serve him. And this the Emperor did the more readily, because Edward had stood for him against Frederick of Austria, who was a Competitor with him for the Empire, and had marry'd his Wife's Sister. Then, by the means of one Jaques de Artovile, a Citizen of Gaunt, who was a great Man, and a Leader of the Flemings in all their Tumults, he gained all the People of those Cities in Flanders, who maintain'd a kind of Liberty among themselves, and who were the more easily won, because their Wealth chiefly proceeded from the Wools of this Kingdom, which by a Parliament holden at London, in the 9th Year of the King's Reign, were forbidden to be transported unwrought, but Clothes should be made here; and to that end, liberty was allow'd to all such Artificers as would come over and make Cloaths here; no Man being allow'd to wear any thing but English Cloth, except the King, Queen, and their Children; nor any Man to wear any Facings of Silks or Furs, but such as could expend an

hundred Pounds per Annum. For by this Alliance they had not only a free admittance into the Kingdom, but had liberty of transporting Wools to uphold their former Trades; so that they advanced their own Interests, as well as the King's Strength. Edward having thus gotten a strong Party abroad, next seeks all ways to raise Money at home to carry on this chargeable Expedition. The tenth Penny is granted of Towns and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy, is granted in a Parliament of Northampton. All the Treasure which had been committed to Churches throughout England for carrying on the Holy War, was taken out for the King's use. The next Year all the Goods of three Orders of Monks, viz. Lombards, Cluniacks, and Cistercians, were likewise seized into the King's Hands, and another Subsidy as before granted at Nottingham. He likewise bestow'd many Honours upon Noblemen, to encourage them for this intended Action. Henry of Lancaster the younger was created Earl of Derby, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Hugh Audley Earl of Gloucester, William Clinton Earl of Huntington, William Bohun Earl of Northampton, Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk, and Prince Edward Earl of Chester and Duke of Cornwall. In the twelfth Year of his Reign, at a Parliament at Northampton, (as some write in the absence of the King) he had granted him by the Laity one half of their Wools, and of the Clergy the whole was exacted, and they were forced to pay nine Marks for every Sack of fine Wooll. The next Year after, a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wooll by the Commonalty. And now for the better management of his Work abroad (having settled his Affairs in Scotland) he goes over into Flanders, takes with him his Queen and Children, and lies at Antwerp; where, by the Persuasion of the Flemings, he took upon him the Stile, Title and Arms of the King of France, because they held they might the better justify their Actions in joyning with him, and dispence with their Oath made to the French King, never to bear Arms against him; and thereupon the League was made between them and King Edward.

The French King being sensible of Edward's Actions, was not behind him in his Preparations and Confederacies, having engaged on his part the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, (who had agreed to serve him against King Edward and his Adherents with three hundred Horse for fifty six thousand Florins.) The Bishop of Metz, Albert and Otto Dukes of Austria, Theodoro Marquis of Montferat, Ame Earl of Geneva; besides many Princes of States, and divers great Caprains of Germany, French Counts, Savoy, Dauphin, Spain, and other Countries. So that all the chief Kingdoms of the Christian World were either actually in Arms, or assisting in this Quarrel between these two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing before they came to engage, and much was endeavour'd by the Pope and King of Sicily, who being a great Astrologer foretold an ill Event of this Quarrel to the King of France; to have composed the Difference, but to no pur-

* The English had now plenty of Wooll, but no Skill to employ it. Wherefore as by this Act encouragement was given to such as had Skill, but no Stocks, to come out of Flanders and settle here; so accordingly many, glad of this opportunity to advance their Fortunes, came into England, and settled in great Farmers Houses at first, and after removed into Towns; from whence several sort of Woollen Manufactures were made among us; as, at Sudbury, Bays; at Colchester, Says and Serges; in Kent, Broad-Cloths; in Devonshire, Kerfies; in Wales, Frizes; in Westmorland, Kendal-Cloth, &c.

b These were Cells to the great Monasteries in France.

c The Prince was born at Woodstock in the third Year of the King's Reign; he was called the Black Prince, not from his Colour, but Fierceness in Battel. In his ninth Year he was made Earl of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall.

d He also agreed with David King of Scots to send him a sufficient Aid to recover his Right; and accordingly sent him several Troops to defend his Garrisons, and annoy England, engaging him to make no Peace with the K. of England without his consent.

e By the Rot. Alm. in the Tower it appears, that the Count Palatine of the Rhine was in the Confederacy with King Edward.

A. D. 1340. Reg. 14. *Why between the English and French.* pose. The War began on the Borders of each other's Dominions; King *Edward* sets upon *Cambray*, defended by the *French*; and *Philip* seizes on the Duchy of *Guien*, sending Count *Duc* Constable of *France*, with the Earls of *Poix* and *Arminiack*, who surprized many strong places of it; besides he had a great Navy at Sea, which committed a much Spoil on the Coast of *England*. King *Edward* entered *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierache*, and approaches near to King *Philip*. Both Armies were encamped between *Viron Fosse* and *La Flamenguerie*, and the Day for the Fight was appointed on the Friday after; the Armies on both sides made ready, but the *French* had the advantage by Numbers. Both sides were well furnished with brave Men, but yet departed without a Battle: The *French* esteeming it no Discretion to put the Person and State of their King to the hazard of a Fight within his own Kingdom; and the *English*, consisting of less Numbers, thought not fit to assail them. And so they passed the Day in facing one another, and nothing was done. Only this Accident fell out, which proved a matter of Sport afterward: An Hare starting before the Head of the *French* Army, a great Shout was suddenly made, which they who were behind supposing to have been at the Onset of the Battel, disposed themselves to fight, and some Esquires for their more Encouragement were, according to the Custom, presently Knighted, which were ever after call'd *The Knights of the Hare*. The next Morning early both Kings decamped, and the *French* retired to *Paris*, and the King of *England* to *Brabant* ^b.

K. Edward returns into England. King *Edward* having staid a little time at *Brabant* to settle his Confederates, and order his Affairs, leaves the Queen, and returns into *England* about *Candlemas*, after a Year's absence from thence, and lands at the Tower about Midnight, which finding unguarded, he was much displeased, and sends for the Mayor of *London*, whom he commanded to bring before him the Chancellor and Treasurer, with *John S. Paul*, *Michael Wath*, *Philip Thorp*, and *Henry Stratford*, Clerks, (who were Officers for his Receipts) and *John Sconer* Justice of the Bench; all which, except the Chancellor, were arrested and committed to Prison, as were also divers other Ministers of Justice and Accountants, upon Enquiry made into their unjust proceedings ^d. Then he call'd a Parliament in *London* in Lent, which granted unto him for the Custom of every Sack of Wool 40s. for every three hundred Wool-fells 40s. for every Last of Leather 40s. and so for other Merchandizes proportionably; which Imposition was to endure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve-months after. Besides there was granted of Citizens and Burgesses a ninth part of their Goods, a fifteenth of foreign Merchants and others; and the ninth Sheaf, Fleece, and Lamb for two Years. Also another tenth of the Clergy. And for his present Supply he had Loans of divers wealthy Persons, and the City of *London* lent him twenty thousand Marks. In Consideration of which Grants and Contributions, the King (besides his Pardons to divers kinds of Offenders) remitted all Amercements for all Transgressions in the Forests, Reliefs and Scutage, unto the first time of his going into *Flanders*. Be-

A. D. 1340. Reg. 14. sides all Aids for the Marriages of his Sons and Daughters during his Reign, pardoning and remitting all ancient Debts and Arrearages, both of his Farmers and others, any ways due either in the time of his Ancestors or his own, till the tenth Year of his Reign, (excepting such as were compounded for, and order'd to be paid into his Exchequer) and now likewise he confirmed the Great Charter.

During King *Edward*'s stay in *England*, *William* The English Montague Earl of *Salisbury*, and *William Ufford* General taken in France. Earl of *Suffolk*, who were left in *Flanders* to oppose the proceedings of the *French*, having performed several great Exploits with happy Success, and presuming upon their Fortune, were in an Encounter about *Lille* so overmatch'd with Numbers, that they were both taken and sent Prisoners to *Paris*, to the great Joy of the *French* King; who now, to hinder the King of *England*'s return, had prepared a mighty Navy in the Haven of *Sluce*, consisting of two hundred Sail of Ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand arm'd Men in the Port, ready to encounter him upon his landing. King *Edward* being inform'd of it, provided a like Number of Ships well manned, and puts out to Sea upon *Midsummer-Eve*, being met the next Day with a Navy from the North-parts, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Morley*. With these Forces he encounter'd the Enemy, which The French Fleet destroyed by the English. lay in the way to intercept him, with such Courage and Strength, and so great advantage of Wind and Weather, that he defeated their whole Navy, took and sunk all their Ships, slew thirty thousand Men, and landed with as great a Glory as such a Victory would yield, which being the first that the *English* ever got by Sea, was the more honourable to him. Most of the *French*, rather than endure the Arrows and sharp Swords of the *English*, leaped into the Sea. This Loss was so great, that the *French* dare not tell the King of it, and therefore set his Jester on work to discover it to him, who going into his Presence in a seeming Passion, cry'd out often, *Cowardly Englishmen, Dastardly Englishmen, Faint-hearted Englishmen*. The King at length asked him, Why he call'd them so? The Jester answer'd, *Because they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, as our brave Frenchmen did*. By which the King apprehended the Overthrow of his Fleet, which the *French* attribute to one *Nicholas Buchett*, one of their Commanders, who had manned his Ships with Soldiers of the baser sort, who would serve for small pay, and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Soldiers, in regard they required greater Wages, as it hath often happen'd, that the Avarice of Commanders hath been the Cause of great Defeats. But notwithstanding this Loss of the *French* by Sea, their King, in those Martial Times, was soon supply'd with Power sufficient out of his own and Confederates Dominions to make a strong Opposition against the victorious and mighty King of *England*, who suddenly sets down before *Tourney* with all his own and his Adherent's Forces. And from *Chyn* (a place near it, where he lodg'd) sends his Cartel, July 17. to *Philip de Valois*, lodging at *S. Andrews Les Air*, with his mighty Army, declaring, 'That he with the Strength of his own Kingdom, and Assistance of the *Flemmings*, was come to recover his Right in the Kingdom of *France*, unjustly detained

^a They enter'd the Haven of *Southampton* upon Sunday, took it, killed many, and carried away much Plunder.

^b This Year King *Edward* first took upon him the Title and Arms of *France*; and when he Landed in *England*, he quartered the Arms of *France* in his Great Seal.

^c At this time was *Lionel Duke of Clarence* born.

^d He committed also the Lord *Nicholas de la Beche* Constable of the Tower, and *Andrew Aubrey* Mayor of *London*; but this was not done till after the Truce made with the *French* King.

^e 'Twas the Lord *Robert Ufford*, the Earl of *Suffolk*'s eldest Son.

A. D. 1340. Reg. 14. K. Edward challengeth the French King to a single Combat. from him, contrary to the Laws of God and Man; and since no other means could prevail, he was forced to fly to the Sword. But because the Controversie was between them two, he offer'd, that the shedding of Christian Blood, and Destruction of the Country might be spar'd, to try their Right by Combat in close Camp, Body to Body, or each of them accompany'd with a hundred choice Persons; which, if the said Philip refused, then to join Battle within ten Days after, before the City of Tournay.

The French King's Answer to King Edward's Cartel and Challenge. Philip de Valois return'd an Answer to this Challenge, the last of July, in this manner: 'Philip by the Grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England. We have perused your Letters sent to the Court of Philip de Valois containing certain Requests to the said Philip; but because it appears, that those Letters and Requests were not written or made unto us, we will in no sort answer you. But seeing by the said Letters, and otherwise, we understand, that you, guided by your own Will, without all Reason, have entred our Kingdom of France with an Army, and have done no small damage to our People and Country, contrary to the Duty of a Liege-man, who have lately sworn Homage to us, acknowledging us, as by Right, King of France, and hath promised that Obedience that is due from the Vassal to his Liege-lord; as in manifest by your Letters-Patents under your Great Seal, which we have with us, and you ought to have with you: Therefore our Intention is, as becomes our Honour, to chase you out of our Kingdom, as we firmly hope in Christ (from whom we have our Power) to do. Because by this War, which you have most wickedly begun, our intended Journey into the East is hinder'd, great numbers of Christians there murdered, that Holy Service neglected, and the Church dishonoured. And whereas you say, You are assisted by the Flemings; we assure our selves, that they will not so far forget their Honour and Fidelity to our Cousin their Earl, and us, their supreme Lord, as to act so much against the common Good. The French Historians write, that King Philip sent word to King Edward, by the Messengers of this Letter, 'That by his Cartel he ventur'd nothing of his own, but only expos'd another's Dominions, which was unreasonable; That if he would hazard the Kingdom of England (tho' it were less) against the Kingdom of France, King Philip would enter the Combat in close Camp with him, upon Condition, that the Conqueror should enjoy both Kingdoms: To which, they say, Edward would not consent. The single Combat being thus rejected by both sides, Edward went on with the Siege of Tournay, which held out three Months, so that nothing was effected but the Destruction of the Country. All Christendom impatiently expected the Event, and both Kingdoms were in doubt of the Consequences of it, till Jane de Valois, Sister of King Philip, and Widow of William Duke of Henault, the Father of Philippa the Wife of King Edward, undertook to negotiate a Peace between her Brother and Son; and leaving her Nunnery at Fontenelles*, with indefatigable Industry travell'd so long, from one to the other, till at last by her Advice and Treaty she obtained a Parley, which produced a Truce for a Year, so that these enraged Princes dismissed their Armies, and the French King return'd home, and Edward with his Queen into England, having remained three Years in those parts; in which time his Queen brought him two Sons, Lionel, afterwards

Duke of Clarence, and John born at Gaunt, first Earl of Richmond, and after Duke of Lancaster. But King Edward's Condescension to this sudden Truce had really no other motive, but his want of Treasure; which notwithstanding the great Impositions laid upon his Subjects, came short, and must be supply'd, as indeed it was, yet after some Delays, which thus happen'd: The King at his last being in England had removed his Chancellor, and imprison'd his Treasurer, with other Officers, who were most of them Clergymen, and still kept them under Confinement; which Severity, tho' just, yet so angered John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, (on whom the King laid the Blame of his Wants) that he wrote a bold and sharp Letter to the King to this Effect: 'That it was for the Safety and Happiness of Kings and their Kingdoms, to use wise and grave Counsellors favourably and kindly, alledging many Examples out of holy Scriptures to prove the flourishing Condition of such as took that course, and the Miseries of those that did the contrary. Then he advises him to call to mind, how his Father, being guided by evil Counsel, vex'd the Nation, putting many of the Nobility to Death contrary to Law, and to consider what were the ill Consequences of such Actions; and that he himself at first, through the ill Conduct of such as managed his Affairs, had almost lost the Love of his People; but afterward, by the great Care and wise Management of his Nobles and Bishops, his Affairs were again brought into such Order, as that he recover'd his Honour; and now remains in so great Credit with his People, that all, both Clergy and Laity, have yielded their assistance to him, more than any of his Royal Ancestors; by which means he hath triumphed over the French and Scots, and is reputed the noblest Prince in Christendom. But now, through the wicked advice of such as affect their own Advantage more than his Honour, or the Welfare of his People, he hath caused several Clergymen and others to be arrested, and kept in Prison by undue Proceedings, contrary to the Laws of England, which he was by his Coronation-Oath bound strictly to observe, and against Magna Charta, which whosoever shall presume to break, are to be excommunicated by all the Bishops, according to the Bull of Innocent IV. So that by these Actions he had brought no small Danger upon his Soul, and Damage to his State and Honour. Then he tells him, That if he went on in this manner, he would certainly lose the Hearts of his People, and their Help, so that he would not be able to carry on the War in hand, but expose himself to his Enemies, to the great hazard of his Person and Kingdom. And therefore advises him to call an Assembly of the Nobility, and prudentest Men of the Land, and consult with them (without whose Assistance and Counsel he could not govern the Kingdom well, nor go through with his present Designs) concerning what is amiss. And whereas, said he, some Persons about you, by their Flattery and Cunning, betray and deceive you, we do hereby pronounce them Excommunicate, and beseech you, as your Spiritual Father, to esteem and deal with them as such. Besides, he urges, that whereas through the Negligence and Falshood of some of his Ministers, the City of Tournay was not taken; the Matter might be examined in Parliament, and a diligent Enquiry made, into whose Hands, ever since the beginning of the War, the Wools and Moneys raised

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15. Archbishop Stratford's Letter to the King.

A Truce made between the two Kings by Jane de Valois.

* It should be Fountain en Tarrres.
F f

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15. have come, and how they have been bestowed, and by whose fault it was that the City of *Tourney* was not taken, but left in that manner it was; and that as a just Prince he would punish such as were found guilty, and not condemn or misuse his Subjects without legal Tryal. This Letter bore Date *January 1.*

The Archbishop's Letter to the Chancellor R. Boufer; and a second Letter to the King and his Council.

Another Letter he wrote to *Robert Boufer* (or *Bourebier*) Chancellor of *England*, relating what Contributions the Clergy had given the King by their free consent, and that nothing more was to be exacted of them, requiring him 'to do nothing contrary to the Law of *Magna Charta*; and that if any Writ, Commission or Precept, had gone out of the Chancery, contrary to it, or to the Privileges and Liberties of the Church and Kingdom, he should within ten Days after the Receipt of these his Letters (as he said the Chancellor was bound to do) recall, and make void the same. This Letter was dated *January 28.* After this he wrote a third Letter to the King and his whole Council, declaring, 'That whereas, 'contrary to the Liberties and Privileges of the Church and Kingdom, contained in *Magna Charta*, *John de S. Paul*, *Michael de Wath*, *Robert Chickwill*, *John Throp*, and *Henry Stratford*, were arrested, committed to Prison, and there detained, without being indicted or convicted of any notorious Crime; and that whosoever by their Counsel had put the King upon such proceedings, had incurr'd the Sentence inflicted in the Canon, which he had caused to be published both in his own Diocese, and those of his Suffragans. And therefore besought the King and his whole Council without delay to release the said Prisoners, otherwise he threatens, that according to his Pastoral Charge, he would proceed to the Execution of the Sentence; concluding, That it was not in his Intention in the least to include in it the King, Queen, or their Children, as far they could be excused. And for this end he sends to the Bishop of *London*, and all his other Suffragan Bishops, and having complained of the great Wrongs done to the Church by Laymen, charges him and them not only to publish in their Churches, but fix up in all eminent Places, the Sentence of Excommunication against all Offenders that should break those Articles of *Magna Charta*, which he annexed to his Letter, that (as he said) no Man may pretend Ignorance of their fault.

The King sends an Answer of the Archbishop's Letter to the Bishop of London.

The King being thus roused by the Archbishop's Letters, sends his Apology immediately to the Bishop of *London*, in a Letter to him; wherein having declared first how much he had honoured and trusted the Archbishop, he accuses him of unjust and deceitful Dealing in his Trust, and says, 'That it was by his Counsel and Advice he undertook this action against the *French*, and was assur'd by him, that he should not want sufficient Treasure to go through with it: So that he need do no more than provide Men to execute the Design; That notwithstanding this Promise, through the Negligence or Malice of the Archbishop and his Officials, those Supplies which were granted by his Subjects in Parliament, were so badly collected, and sent over so slowly, that he was forced (to his great Grief and Shame) to accept of the last Truce, and through his extreme Want to come into the hands of Usurers. These Actions gave him just cause to look into the management of his Offices, of whom he found some so guilty of Male-administration of Justice, and such Corruptions and Oppressions of his Subjects, that he removed the greatest of them from their Places; and the lesser, who were in the same

Crimes, he committed to Prison, and there detained them, that by strict Examination he might find out their unlawful Proceedings, of which none could give him so good Information as the Archbishop, to whom he had for a long time committed the whole Administration of the Kingdom. And therefore being desirous to confer with him at *London* about these publick Affairs, he had sent a Messenger on purpose to him, his trusty Servant *Nicholas de Cantelupe*, to summon him thither. But the Archbishop had refused to come to him, alledging, That he stood in fear of some Persons about the King, and would not run the hazard of departing from his Church. That after this he sent *Richard Stafford*, with the Steward of his House, with a promise of safe Passage under his Seal; but then was answered, That he would have no Conference with the King but in open Parliament, which he knew could not at that time be conveniently called. Then he aggravates the Archbishop's undutiful Behaviour and false Dealings towards him; declaring, That tho' by God's providence and an Hereditary Right he was advanced to the Throne of *England*, yet he abhorred all Abuses of his Regal Authority, and desired nothing more in this World than to govern his Subjects with such Mildness and Justice, as that he might more deserve their Love than Fear. That notwithstanding this his Care to govern well, the Archbishop had wrongfully (by his Letters published in divers parts of his Kingdom) injur'd his Innocency, and slander'd his most faithful Counsellors and Officers, who administered Justice, giving out, that the People were oppress'd, the Clergy ruin'd, and the Nation burthen'd with heavy Taxes; and many Exactions, which the King argues could be done with no other design, but to raise Sedition among his People, and to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects from him. Lastly, To shew the Archbishop's Failings, he declares, That he himself, while he was under Age, had by his Advice made so many prodigal Donations, unlawful Alienations, and excessive Gifts, that his Treasury was now utterly exhausted, and his Crown-Revenues mightily diminished; and that the Archbishop, being corrupted with Bribes, had remitted without any reasonable cause great Sums which were due to him, applying to his own use, or of others not well deserving of them, many Advantages and Revenues, which should have been preserved for his necessary support. And therefore concluded, That unless he desisted from his rebellious Obstinacy, he intended in due time and place to proceed against him; injoyning him to publish all and singular these his wicked Actions, and to cause others to do the like, for the more clear manifestation of his pious and princely Intention in relieving his own and his Subjects Wrongs. This Letter was said to be penned by *Adam Bishop of Winchester*, and bare Date the 12 of *February*, Anno Reg. 15. Thus the Difference between the King and his Officers, whose Actions must not be too sharply look'd into, was ended, and the grand Imputation rests upon the Archbishop, who is charg'd with the Receipt of great Sums, and vehemently urg'd by the King's Creditors to pay them. Shortly after this a Parliament was held at *London*, in which the King was hard put to it to satisfy their Demands; for he was earnestly petition'd by the whole Assembly of the three States, That the Great Charter of their Liberties, and the Charter of Forests might be duly observed, and that whosoever of the King's Officers did break the same should lose their

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15.

The Archbishop accused of many Crimes.

The King petition'd to observe the Charters.

A. D. 1341. their place; That the high Officers of the Kingdom should be elected, as they were in former times, by Parliament; but the King stood strongly upon his own Election and Prerogative, but yielded (that he might gain his Designs, as he confessed) that those Officers should take an Oath in Parliament to do Justice to all Men in their Offices; and a Statute was made for that purpose, and confirmed with the King's Seal, to secure that and many other Grants to his Subjects, which notwithstanding were for the most part soon after revoked.

The Truce of Tournay expired. The Truce agreed upon at Tournay, and concluded at Arras, for one Year, by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, yielded a Cessation of Arms, but not of Plots against each other. Lewis of Bavaria the Emperor being won over to the King of France's side, became his sworn Confederate, and revoked the Vicarship of the Empire, which he had lately confirmed to the King of England, giving this as the Reason in his Letter to King Edward, That he had made the Truce at Tournay without his consent; which Edward fully and discreetly answer'd. But instead of this remote and inconstant Confederate, Providence brought him another, more near and more serviceable to his design, within that Kingdom, after this manner: The Inheritance of the Duchy of Britain happen'd to be in Controversie between Charles de Blois, Nephew to King Philip, and John de Monfort, upon this Title. Arthur Duke of Britain had by Beatrix his first Wife two Sons, John and Guy, and by Toland Countess of Monfort his second Wife, John de Monfort. John Arthur's eldest Son having no Issue, left his Neice Jane, his Brother Guy's Daughter (her Father dying before him) to succeed him in his Duchy. This Jane Charles de Blois marries on Condition, that his Issue by her should inherit the same; and after Marriage he is invested in it, and had Homage done to him during the Life of John their Uncle. But after his Death John de Monfort claims the Duchy, and goes to Paris to do Homage for the same to the French King; but Charles de Blois in Right of his Wife opposing him, the Controversie was referred to the Parliament, who gave Sentence for Charles. Monfort being enraged, immediately repairs to the King of England, and doth Homage to him for the Duchy, by whom he was received with great Applause, and his Title (tho' bad in France) was made good in England. Wherefore he returns again into Britain with Comfort and Abilities to oppose his Competitor; but after some Encounters, was taken and committed close Prisoner to the Louvre in Paris. His Wife the Countess of Monfort, Sister to Lewis Earl of Flanders, being a Lady of a Masculine Courage, prosecutes her Husband's Quarrel, puts on Armour, leads and encourages her People, surprises and defends many places of Importance in Britain; but at length, being overpower'd by the Forces of Charles de Blois, she begs assistance of the King of England, and obtains it, and hath it sent thither under the Conduct of the Lord Walter de Manny, which relieved her for the present, but not long, her Enemies being too powerful to be subdued with small Forces. Wherefore Ed-

ward, who was not sparing of Aids for his own designs, being solicited again by the Countess, who came over in Person to treat with the King about farther Supplies, and make an Alliance by tendering a Match between her Son and one of the King's Daughters, sent over greater Forces with her, under the Command of the Earls of Salisbury, Pembroke, and Suffolk, the Lords Stafford, Spencer, and Bourchier, with Robert de Artois Earl of Richmond. Many were the Rencounters between the English and French, many Castles were surprized, and recovered; in which Robert de Artois, at the Siege of Vannes, received his last Wound, but was brought over into England to die, leaving behind him, tho' many Marks of Valour, yet the dishonourable Name of a Rebel to his own Country, against which he had not only instigated Edward, but served him six Years. Shortly after these Supplies were sent into Britain, King Edward followed in Person with more, and lying before Vannes, which was lately recovered by the French, John Duke of Normandy, eldest Son to the French King, sent to aid Charles de Blois with an Army of forty thousand, came to give him Battle; and being ready to engage, two Cardinals, sent for that purpose by Pope Clement VI. undertook to mediate a Peace, and after much Solicitation procured a Truce for three Years, upon Condition, that the Pope and Court of Rome should hear and examine the Differences between the two Kingdoms, but not determine them without the Consent of both Kings. This Cessation of Arms gave space to both sides to provide for greater Quarrels, tho' in Britain small Skirmishes continued.

King Edward being returned home after the Conclusion of the Truce, made an Expedition into Scotland against King David, and drove him into the Islands. At this time the Isle of Man was conquer'd by William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, whom the King made Governour of it, under the Title of King. At the King's return from Scotland, solemn Tournaments were held at Dunstable, where two hundred and thirty Knights met him to exercise themselves at that Pastime (the only one then in request) as they did afterwards at Smithfield, Windsor, and other places. A Society also of Knights of the Round Table, in imitation of King Arthur, was now instituted, and a large Chamber of two hundred Foot round erected for the same at Windsor, many Strangers out of foreign parts being drawn to joyn in it. The King of France also erects the like Martial Society in France. About this time also began the Order of the Garter, being appointed at a solemn Feast at Windsor, which was held there many Days; not from the Countess of Salisbury's Garter, which the King is said to have taken up in Dancing with her, but only as an Emblem of the close Combination in Honour and Loyalty which ought to be among those that are admitted into that Order. For it would be a Dishonour to that Noble Institution, which is perform'd with so much Religious Ceremony to imagine it should arise from an Act of Lightness. But besides the Exercises of Arms, which the King promoted at this time, he took also special Care of the Government; and that the Abuses of it might be re-

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15.

The Death of Robert de Artois.

1343.

Knights of the Round Table, and Order of the Garter instituted.

a During this Truce, the Scots, by the Instigation of the King of France, infested England; and the King of England, to justify his own intended Proceedings against them, complain'd of the Breach of the Peace to the Pope.

b He offer'd in the same Letter to be the Mediator of a Peace between them.

c By a Letter, which is set down at large in Mr. Speed, and Fox, p. 351, 352. with the Emperor's Letter to him.

d Mr. Asmole in his History of the Garter, p. 185. fixes the Institution of the Order of the Garter to the 23d of April, 1349. five Years afterwards.

e The Original Book says, It was deduc'd from an Action of King Richard I. at Acon, who commanded a Garter to be ty'd about the Legs of some of his Chief Captains, to stir up their Valour, by wearing such a Badge as brought them always under his Observation in the Fight. They are twenty-six, and their Badge is a blew Garter.

A. D. 1343. formed, he called a Parliament at *Westminster* to consider upon, and administer a speedy and suitable Remedy for them. And the first thing they endeavoured to cure, was the Collation of Ecclesiastical Benefices upon Strangers, of which the Earls, Barons, Knights and Burgesses grievously complained. This they try'd to effect, by sending a Letter to the Pope, *Clement VI.* the Cause of it, in humble manner representing to him, 'How inconvenient it was, and derogatory to the State of the Kingdom of *England*, that such Reservations, Provisions, and Collations of Benefices, as had been formerly used, should be continued, because the Churches of *England* had anciently been endow'd by noble and pious Persons, that the People might be instructed by their own Countrymen in their Mother-Tongue. But by the Usurpation of some of his Predecessors, Strangers and others, sometimes Enemies to the Realm, were preferred to many of them: by which means the Profits of them were sent out of the Nation, the Cures neglected, Alms and Hospitality refused, the Houses ruined, the Charity and Devotion of the People much lessened, and many other Disorders (contrary to the Intention of the Founders) occasioned, which they could not suffer any longer; and therefore besought his Holiness to revoke all such Reservations, Provisions and Collations, that fit Men of the Natives might supply the Cures, and without delay to signify his Intention in this matter, otherwise they would take speedy methods themselves for a Redress. These Letters were dated in full Parliament, *May 28. 1343.* and with them the King sent his Letters to the same effect, by Sir *John Shordich*, a grave Person, and of great Understanding in the Law; but at this time so unwelcome to the Court of *Rome* upon the account of his Message, that he departed without Leave or Answer; which, tho' the Pope sent afterward, yet the King and Parliament proceeded in their design of Redressing this Grievance, and made 'the Statute of Provisors, prohibiting all such Provisions and Collations within this Realm upon pain of Imprisonment, or Death to any such Person as shall for the time to come present or admit any Person or Persons, who was so preferred by the Pope, to the prejudice of the King's Royal Prerogative; and to this end were Writs directed to all Archbishops, Bishops, and others who were concern'd, strictly forbidding them to act any thing contrary to this Statute. In this Parliament Archbishop *Stratford* was upon his submission, but with much difficulty, accepted to the King's Favour. There was also a long Debate concerning Wools how they should be assessed in several parts of the Realm, and what they should pay for Customs, when they were exported; and three Marks and a half upon every Sack was mentioned, but nothing was at this Session concluded. The Prince *Edward* also being then about thirteen Years old, was created Prince of *Wales*, and Commissioners were appointed to be sent to the Pope to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, according to the Articles propounded in the Truce, which were *John Bishop of Exeter*, *Henry de Lancaster* Earl of *Darby*, *Hugh la Dis-*

pencier Lord of *Glamorgan*, the King's Cofins, *A. D. 1344.* *Ralph Lord Stafford*, with others.

The next Year after another Parliament, or rather the same prorogued, was held at *London*, in which, after many Contests, a tenth was granted the King by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity, for one Year; and a certain Gold-Coin, called the *Floren*, of base Alloy, which had been coined for the *French* Wars, cryed down, and Nobles of finer Metal coined, to the great Content of his Subjects; for whose Conveniency there were appointed places at *London*, *Canterbury* and *Tork*; to exchange their Monies in. Shortly after this the King caused General Musters to be made throughout the Kingdom, and a Certificate returned to him of all sufficient and expert Bowmen, and other Persons able to bear Arms. A Commission also was sent into every Country, to enquire into every Man's Abilities; and all Persons, that had from five to ten Pounds a Year in Lay-fee, were appointed to find an Archer on Horse-back; they that had twenty five Pound, a Demilance; and so proportionably above. The King having thus gather'd an Army, goes over in Person into *Flanders* to make the People there firm to him; and at *Sluce*, *Jaques van Arteville*, with other Commissioners from the chief Towns, came to him, where a Motion was made, That either *Lewis* their Earl should do Homage to the King of *England*, or be disinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* received for their Lord. Upon which King *Edward* promises to erect their Country into a Dukedom. *Arteville* was forward to entertain the Motion, but the other Commissioners desired leave to acquaint their Towns with it, which were willing to have the Protection of the King of *England*, but did not care to purchase it by disinheriting their Natural Lord. *Arteville* notwithstanding undertakes to induce them to it, and for that end goes to *Gaunt* with five hundred *Welshmen* for his Guard, as he pretended, against one *Gerhard Dennis* Provost of the Weavers, who sought to destroy him. But the People, who had been so often led by him into Mutinies, now rose up unanimously against him, and a Cocker with an Ax struck out his Brains. King *Edward* having thus lost his principal Agent, was very angry. But the Towns sending a Message to excuse themselves of this Accident, which the People of *Gaunt* were only to be blamed for, and promising him to persuade their Prince (whom they could not consent to disinherit) to become his Hornager, and to do him all faithful Service themselves; they so pacified the King, that he renewed the League between them; And so he went on to prosecute his other Designs. And now the Wars in *Guien* began to grow hot: The Earl of *Darby*, General of the Army, assaulted and took in *Villia-Franche*, *Agemois*, *Angolesme*, *Rions*, *S. Basil*, with many other Cities and Castles. The *French* King sent his eldest Son, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, to encounter him, who recover'd the Cities of *Angolesme* and *Villia-Franche*. These Skirmishes happen'd before the Truce was expired. The King of *France* blamed *Edward* for this breach of the Peace, and *Edward* accused him for the first Cause, in that he had instigated the Scots to invade his Realm, and entertain'd King *David*,

The Statute of Provisors.

Archbishop Stratford reconciled to the King.

Arteville kill'd at Gaunt.

The Wars in Guien.

* The Commons were at first earnest to have the Pope's Power quite ejected out of the Realm, for his intolerable Encroachments upon the King's Subject's Rights, but at last were brought to gentler methods of dealing with him by Letters.

b The Pope's Provisions were thus made: When any Bishoprick, Abbacy, or good Benefice was likely to be void, the Pope having notice of it by some of his Agents, here, would by an Act of Provision predispose of such Places to such Foreigners as he pleas'd, whereby Patrons were defeated of their Presentations, and *Englishmen* of their Preferments, unless they would buy off the Provisions.

c Notwithstanding this Act, Pope *Clement* sent two Cardinals the next Year with certain Provisions for Benefices next vacant, to the value of two thousand Marks; but the King and Nobles sent them back with Letters, purporting a full Resolution to withstand them.

A. D. 1346. Reg. 20. when he fled from him. Thus both being prepared for a Quarrel, the Peace was quite laid aside, and the War began.

R. Edward goes with a mighty Army into Normandy
This mighty and active Prince King Edward had now begun the 20th Year of his Reign, and being full of Courage and Youth was very eager upon his Expedition into France; for which he prepared the greatest Fleet that ever yet cross'd the Seas for France; and over he pass'd into Normandy in July, leaving for the Wardens of England in his absence the Lords Percy and Nevill, and taking the young Prince with him, who was about fifteen Years old, to give him a Specimen of the Labours and Achievements of Princes to attain Glory. His Army consist'd of four thousand Men at Arms, and ten thousand Archers, besides Welsh and Irish, which follow'd him on foot. He had with him the Earls of Hereford, Northampton, Arundel, Huntington, Warwick, Suffolk, and Oxford; the Lord's Mortimer (afterward made Earl of March) John, Lewis, and Roger Beauchamp, Cobham, Lucy, Bassett, Barkley, Willoughby, and divers others both Knights and gallant Captains. He had also of late entertain'd Godfrey de Harcourt, a great Favorite of the French King's; but upon some discontent, or because he was suspected of favouring the English Party in Britain, for which the King of France had a little before executed Oliver de Clifton, Bacon, Percy, and Geoffrey de Malestroit, Men of Note, was forced to fly, and came to King Edward, with whom tho' he staid not long before he made his Peace with his Master, yet he did his Country and King much mischief. For upon King Edward's landing with his mighty Army in the Isle of Constantine in Normandy, by his Conduct he was made one of the King's Marshals, and the Earl of Warwick the other, the Earl of Arundel being appointed Constable. The King being landed, divided his Army into three parts, the one to march on his left hand along the Sea-Coasts, and the other on the right, conducted by the two Marshals, and himself in the midst with the main Body of his Army. The Earl of Huntington, Admiral of his Fleet, was order'd to take all the Ships he could find on the Sea-Coasts. The three Armies by Land lodg'd every Night in one Field. And first he sacked Charanton, burnt and destroyed the City, and slew all the Inhabitants, as well unarm'd as arm'd, saying, 'That he made them Sacrifices to Bacon, Percy, and others, (whose Heads he saw fixed upon the principal Gates) unjustly put to Death by Philip. Thence he marched forward, and took St. Loo, a rich Town for Merchandise, and plunder'd it. Then he marched to Caen, and after some Skirmishes became Master of it, and put all the Country into so great a terror, that Falaise, Lyseaux, and Honfleur, strong wall'd Towns came and render'd themselves to him. This done, he marches into the Isle of France, to provoke the King of France to Battel, giving out, that he would wrestle with him for his Kingdom in the Eye of all France, on the great Theatre before his Capital City of Paris.

King Philip in the mean time was not idle in making all possible Preparations for his own Defence, and had gather'd one of the finest Armies (as the French Historians relate) that ever was seen in France, made up of French, Lorainers, Germans, and Genoeses, which he led towards Meulan, where it was said King Edward waited for him; but upon the News of his coming retreated, or

as it was reported fled for fear, tho' the Event shewed, 'twas rather out of Policy. King Philip follows him, and overtakes him at a Village call'd Arenes, which signifying Sand, might have told Philip on how weak a Foundation he built his hopes of Victory, when he accounted all his own, because he was at home. King Edward retired, to gain the River of Some at Blanquetaque, where it is fordable at Low-water, but the Passage was to be disputed with the Sword, King Philip having sent Gondemar de Fay with a thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to guard it. King Edward notwithstanding resolves to pass or perish, and plunges foremost into the River, crying out, *Let them that love me, follow me.* At which words the whole Army boldly crowded forward, striving who should follow his brave Example the closest, and presently gained the Shoar. Gondemar astonish'd with this sudden and unexpected adventure, so affrighted his People with his fearful Looks, that after a short and disorderly Encounter, they all fled before the English; but the Shame was greater than the Loss, because they had a safe retreat at Abbeville, and S. Requeir, which were hard-by. King Philip enraged with this dishonourable Victory, resolved to revenge it, and presently to provoke King Edward to Battel. His Council advis'd the contrary, that he should suffer his Troops to rest a few Days, and recover their Spirits, and King Edward to spend his. But their King had not Patience to stay above one Day in Abbeville, but being elevated with hopes of Victory, marches into the Field to bid Edward Battle. King Edward more cool and weary, managed his Business with admirable Discretion; having very strongly encamped himself at Cracy, and on all sides by Trenches and other means secured his Army, which consisteth but of thirty thousand Men, but in Order and Courage double the number. The Van-guard he gave to the Prince^d, and for his Guides the Earl of Warwick, Godfrey de Harcourt, the Lords Stafford, Delamare, Bouchier, Clifford, Cobham, Holland, Sir John Chandois, Sir Bartholomew Burmarsh, Sir Robert Nevill, with eight hundred Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand Welshmen. The second Battel was committed to the Earls of Arundel and Northampton, the Lords Rosi, Willoughby, Bassett, S. Albin, Multon, and others, which consisted of eight hundred Men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. The third Battel, or Re-guard, was led by the King himself, having seven hundred Men at Arms, and two thousand Archers. The Army being thus rang'd, the King on a white Hobby rode from Rank to Rank to view them all, the one Marshal on his right Hand, and the other on his left, encouraging every Man to stand for his Right and their Honour. The French King's Army was greater both in shew and strength, being above sixty thousand fighting Men well arm'd: Of which the Chief Commanders were, Charles Earl of Alanzon the King's Brother, John de Luxemburge King of Bohemia, Charles de Blois the King's Nephew, Ralph Duke of Lorrain, the Earl of Flanders, Nevers, Sancerre, and the Dolphin of Viennois. On the Night before the Battel came Ame Earl of Savoy, with a thousand Men at Arms more to assist their King, which gave him such an assurance of Victory, that he long'd for an Encounter. The Vanguard he committed to Count d' Alanzon, the King's Brother, the Rear to the Earl of Savoy, and led the main Battel himself.

A. D. 1346. Reg. 20.

King Edward's Bravery at the River Some.

The manner of King Edward's ordering his Army.

The French Army, and of the ranging of it.

^a Of a thousand Sail of Ships, and smaller Vessels. Two hundred Ships of War and Gallies, and eight hundred Transport Ships.
^b Twelve thousand Welsh, and six thousand Irish Foot; a thousand Archers, and four thousand Horse. In all 32000 Men.
^c Cressy.
^d Then about sixteen Years of Age.

A. D. 1346. His Heat would hardly permit him to hear any Counsel of what was fit to be done. The old King of Bohemia advised, that the Army should first take some repast, and that the Infantry, consisting of about fifteen hundred Genoeses, with Cross-Bows, and sure Men, should make the Front, and the Cavalry to follow, which were both agreed to and done. But the Count de Alanzon took it so ill, that the Genoeses were put in the first Rank, that in his Fury, contrary to Order, he caused them to change their Place with Disorder, and so much to the Anger and Provocation of the Soldiers, that they were more furiously bent against the Captain than the Enemy. While this was doing there fell a piercing Shower of Rain, which dissolved the Bowmen's Strings, and made them unuseful; and then soon breaking up, the Sun shone full in the Face of the French, as if Heaven had joyned with the English in this Victory. King Edward, who had posted himself on the top of a Windmill-Hill, beholding from thence the present posture of the Enemy in changing their Places, and through the accident of the Rain resolves to take the advantage of both, and instantly sends a Party to charge them, without giving them leave to settle themselves. The discouraged Genoeses immediately give Ground, which when the Count de Alanzon perceived, he comes up in great Rage with his Horse, crying out, *On, on, let us make way upon the Bel-lies of these Genoeses, who do but hinder us*; and so forced his way through the midst of them, attended with the Earls of Lorrain and Savoy, and the Dolphin of Viennois, and held on his course till he came up to the English Battel, where he found the Prince better settled, attended on all hands with Troops of Archers, whose Strings having not felt the Rain, poured such Showers of Steel upon them, as cooled their Fury, and disorder'd them. The French King seeing his Brother in great danger, makes up to disengage him; whereupon the Fight grew so hot and doubtful, that the Commanders about the Prince sent to the King to come up with all his Power to assist them. The King demands of the Messenger, Whether his Son were slain or hurt? Who answer'd, Neither, but likely to be overpower'd. Well then, said the King, Go back and tell them that sent you, That so long as my Son is alive I will hearken to nothing, whatever happens; for I would have him carry away the Honour of this Victory. And thus being left to defend themselves, they bore up with such Courage, as that they recover'd the advantage by having killed the French King's Horse under him, so that he had almost been trodden to Death, had not he been saved by the Lord John Beaumont his new Pensioner. But this Accident so encouraged the English, and disheartned the French, that the English soon gained the greatest Victory that ever the French lost, having slain upon the Place, and in the Pursuit, thirty thousand; of whom the Chief were Charles d' Alanzon, John Duke of Bourbon, Ralph Earl of Lorrain, Lewis Earl of Flanders, Jaques Dauphin of Viennois, Son to Imbert, who after gave Dauphin to the Crown of France; the Earls of Sancerre, Harcourt (Brother

to Godfrey) and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of fifteen hundred. The French King himself with a small Company got to Bray in the Night, where he was received with the Tears and Lamentations of his People, whom yet he sought to comfort all he could. Some few Troops, that held together, sav'd themselves by retiring to Places adjoining. This memorable Victory happen'd upon the Saturday after S. Bartholomew's-day, being Aug. 24. 1346.

King Edward managed this Victory with as great Moderation as he won it; and first having embraced his Son, and commended the Valour he shewed that Day, he rendered Thanks to God, whose Aid he had before begged at the beginning of the Battel; and early the next Morning, being Sunday, he sent out three hundred Lances, and two thousand Archers, to discover what became of the Enemy, who met great Troops of Soldiers coming from Abbeville, St. Requier, Roan and Beauvais, (ignorant of what had happen'd) conducted by the Archbishop of Roan, and Prior of France, whom they likewise defeated, and slew seven thousand more. Our Writers also report, That so great Numbers of Stragglers, which fled from the Battel, and lost their Way in the Fog the next Morning, were slain, as equal'd the kill'd in the Field. So great a Loss did France sustain by this one fatal Battel.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King Edward this Year, there was another of greater Importance gotten in England by the Queen and his People over the Scots, who being set on by the French to divert the War there, entered the Kingdom with sixty thousand Men, (as our Writers report) assuring themselves of Victory, because, as they supposed, the main Strength of it was in France. But they found the contrary. For the Lords of the North, as Gilbert de Hurfrivile Earl of Angus, Henry Percy, Ralph Nevill, William Daincourt, with the Archbishop of York, Bishop of Durham, and others of the Clergy, gather'd so strong an Army, and so well order'd them by the encouragement of the Queen (who was with them in Person) as that they utterly routed this great Army, took King David Prisoner, with the Earls of Fife, Menteth, Murrey, and Sutherland, the Lord Douglas, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and others, and slew 15000 Scots. This Victory happen'd likewise on a Saturday, and six Weeks after that of Cressy. And as if Providence had design'd to make this Year in all places Triumphant, the Aids sent to the Countess of Monfort in Britain, under the Command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, overthrew and took Prisoner Charles de Blois, the Pretender to that Duchy, and with him Monsieur La Val, the Lords Rochford, Beaumanoyr, Loyacque, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires; and there were slain in the Encounter the Lord De La Val, (Father of him which was taken) Viscount Roban, Monsieur De Chastean, Brian de Malestroict, De Quintin, De Direval, great Lords, besides many other worthy Warriours, Knights and Esquires, to the number of seven hundred. Thus all places fell before the Sword of Eng-

A. D. 1346. Reg. 20.

King Edward's Behaviour after the Victory.

The King of Scots conquer'd by the English, and their King David taken Prisoner.

The English Captains at the Battel of Cressy.

^a In Gi Villani's Italian History is mention'd, That the old King of Bohemia was kill'd in the Battel of Cressy. His Arms were three Ottrich Feathers, and being taken by the Prince, he afterwards us'd the same Devise, which has ever since been born by the Princes of Wales, his Successors. According to this Author, James King of Majorca was also kill'd in this Battel.

^b He said to him, Dear Son; God give you Grace to go on as you have begun; you are my best Son, you have acquitted your self nobly, and truly deserve the Crown for which we fought. The Prince made no Reply, but bow'd down almost to the Ground.

^c Seven thousand Men of the Inhabitants of Abbeville, St. Requier and Roan were slain the next Day; and besides these, the Archbishop of Roan and the Grand Prior's Troops were defeated, their Leaders and most of their Men being kill'd on the Spot.

^d This successful Battel was fought at Nevills-Cross near Durham.

^e One John Copland of Northumberland took him and the King as a Reward of his Courage, gave him 500 l. a Year, to him and his Heirs for ever, and made him a Knight Banneret.

^f The 17th of October.

^g The Earl of Derby also obtain'd a Victory over John the Dauphin in Normandy.

A. D. 1346. King Edward pursuing his Victory in France, marches on directly forward, and without meddling with the great Cities of *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, which were near, sets down before *Calais*^a, a Town of more Importance than any for England, and the Gate for all the rest, which *John de Viennes* Marshal of France, and the Lord d' *Andreghen*, a great Man in his time, commanded. All that Winter King Edward having shelter'd his People as in another Town built of Sheds, and Coverts to dwell in, furnished with all Provisions, lay without any Molestation of the French King, who was now likewise besieged with the Miseries of his own Estate, which was not only his real Misfortune, but thought his Fault. The King of France was in great Necessity, which must be supplied from a People who groaned under the Burthen of Poverty, and were very discontented for the ill management of the Treasure, the falshood of the Financiers, the crying down of the Money, want of Trade, greatness of Taxes, &c. No way could be found to set all things to rights, but by an Assembly of the States, wherein all the Financiers, Receivers and Managers of Moneys, are called to an account, and the Treasure is committed to the disposal of the Clergy and Nobility, to take away all suspicion of ill Dealings. *Pierre de Effars* Treasurer of France was committed to Prison, and obliged to pay a great Fine to the King, and the other Officers and Accomptants forced to restore at once what they had been gathering many Years. The Banquiers, Lombards, and other Usurers are put to the Press for their unlawful Exactions, their Interests being proved to exceed the Principal, which was confiscated to the King, and the Interests given to the Debtors. Thus was the poor oppressed People a little satisfied, and the King's Necessities supplied, by which he was enabled with the ready Service of his Nobles and ablest Subjects to get another Army into the Field the next Spring to relieve *Calis*, but approaching it could find no way open to attempt it; the King of England being Master both of the Haven, and possessed of all other ways that were possible; and having^b the *Flemmings* his Friends, who with a huge Army had besieged *Ayre*, and did much mischief on the Confines of France, which to oppose, while the King called *John Duke of Normandy*; the Prince out of *Guien*, *Henry of Lancaster* Earl of *Darby*, having an Army of twelve hundred Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and three thousand Foot, *English* and *Gascoignes*, took in most of the Towns of *Zantonge* and *Poitou*, besieged and sacked *Poitiers*; and so returns to *Bordeaux* with more Plunder than they could well carry. Thus the French suffered every where, and their King was not able to relieve them. But at length, to shew his Will more than Ability, he sends to the King of England, to solicit him to appoint some place of Battle, and he would encounter him. King Edward returned him an answer, 'If he could make his own way to come thither to him, there he should find him; but he would not leave the Place, now he was ready to take it, having lain so long at it with great Labour and Charge. Then two Cardinals were sent by the Pope to mediate for a Peace, but nothing could be effected. So that the French King was forced to break up, and retire to *Paris*, leaving *Calis* to the Mercy of the

Besieger; which when they understood, they sent to desire a Parley, had it granted, and therein received this final Sentence, 'That six of their chief Burgeesses should be sent to the King bareheaded and barefooted, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, the Keys of the Town and Castle in their Hands, and submit themselves to the King's Will, and the rest he would pardon. This Sentence being related to the miserable Townsmen, they were in great Lamentation about the choice of this Sacrifice, who of them it should be that must die for the rest till one among them stands up, and spake boldly to this effect: 'Fellow-Citizens, I have so often exposed my Life in this long Siege for my Country, (and have been every Day so ready to die) that I am now most willing to sacrifice my Life, as my last Oblation for it, and will cheerfully carry my Head to the victorious King of England, not desiring to survive the Destruction of my miserable Country. This free and resolute Speech so wrought upon the amazed People, that now they strived who should be one of the six, and cryed out, *Let us go, let us go unto Death; it is our last Duty to our Native Soil*. So that six are presently chosen, and sent according to the King's demand, presenting themselves on their Knees to the King, and beseeching him to shew Mercy unto them. The King commands them instantly to be carry'd to their Execution, and would not in regard of his Oath be persuaded to spare them by all the Intreaties and earnest Petition of his Council, till the Queen, great with Child, fell on her Knees before him, and with Tears obtained their Pardon, and had them given her. Which done, she caused them to be cloathed, gave them their Dinner, and six Nobles a Man, appointing them to be conveyed safely through the Army, and set at liberty. An Act of Mercy worthy of so great a Queen. The King, tho' in this he was severe, yet was he more sparing of Blood than his Grandfather *Edward I.* and had more of compassion, as he shewed by one Act in this Siege. When Victuals within the Town began to fail, and all unuseful Persons, as old Men, Women and Children^d were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again, as he might have done, to consume their Store, but suffered them to pass through his Army, gave them Victuals, and two Pence a-piece to every one. And thus was the strong Tower of *Calis* gotten, Aug. 3. 1347. after almost a Year's Siege, with infinite Cost and Labour. All the Inhabitants were turn'd out of it, being forced to seek new Dwellings, and a Colony of *English* placed in it; and so it remained in the possession of the Crown of England two hundred and ten Years. And now this Triumphant King having made a Truce for some few Months, and taken care to secure what he had gotten, goes over with his Queen, Prince, and many of his People into England, to spend some time in Feasts and Triumphs, carrying over such abundance of Spoils, that every House almost had some part, and the *English* Wives are grown extremely fine with French Ornaments. And to add to this Glory, the Princes Electors of Germany send in the midst of this Jollity to the King, to signify that they had chosen him King of the Romans^e; but he refuses the Office, tho' it was of great Dignity, because it was out of his way, and would be burthensome to him to

A. D. 1346. Reg. 20.

The Queen's Mercy to free condemned Citizens.

1347. Calis is taken.

^a On the 7th of September 1346.

^b The King of France sought to draw away the *Flemmings* from the King of England, by Promises of Freedom, Trade and Gifts, but could not prevail with them.

^c *Eustace de St. Pierre*.

^d To the Number of seventeen hundred.

^e The Archbishop of *Mentz*, *Rodolph* and *Rupert* Counts Palatine of the Rhine and Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lewis* Marquess of *Brandenburgh* and *Lusatia*, and the two Dukes of *Saxony*, elected King *Edward* Emperor. *Stow*, p. 245.

A. D. 1347. manage^a. But before the end of this Year Eng-
land's Mirth was turn'd into bitter Mourning, by
Reg. 21. the invifible Sword of Heaven. A contagious
Pestilence, which firft beginning in the Eaft and
South parts of the World, fpread into all parts of
the Kingdom of Chriftendom, and raged fo violently in England,

that it is faid to have destroyed more than half
of its Inhabitants, fo that the Church-Yards were
not large enough to bury the Dead, but they were
forced to purchafe new Ground for that purpofe.
1348. In London there died in fix Months 57374 Perfons,
and other Cities and Towns fuffered as deeply, ac-
cording to their proportion. This Plague was at-
tended with as mortal a Famine, Murrain of Cat-
tle, and Barrennefs of the Ground, caufed through
the Contagion of the Air, and want of Huf-
bandry.

But all the former Calamities did only caufe a
fhort Ceffation of Arms between the two Princes,
not deter them from perfecuting their Quarrel;
Edward's Kingdom was not fo emptied, but he
made a fhift to keep his Fields and Troops
full. The firft Action after it was his Paflage
over to Calis, upon an Information of a Plot con-
trived by the French to furprize the Town after
this manner: Monsieur de Charmy^b Governour of
St. Omers had treated with Americ de Pavia, whom
King Edward had left Governour of the Caftle of
Calis, and promifed him twenty thoufand Crowns
to be admitted into the Caftle. Americ accepts
the Offer, and appoints a Night for the Buftnefs,
in which Night King Edward, being inform'd by
Americ, arrives with three hundred Men at Arms,
and fix hundred Arches. Monsieur Charmy fets out
likewife the fame Night from S. Omers with his
Forces, and fent a hundred Men armed before with
the Crowns to Americ to poffefs themfelves of the
Caftle. The Men accordingly were let in at the
Poftern-Gate, the Crowns received, and them-
felves put in hold; which done, the Gates of the
Town are opened, and the King marches out firft
to encounter Monsieur de Charmy, coming on with
his Forces, who perceived himfelf betray'd, and
therefore put his People into the beft pofture of
defence he could. The King of England, becaufe
he would not be known to be there in Perfon, put
himfelf and the Prince under the Colours of the
Lord Walter Manny, and then fell to a fharp En-
gagement with them, in which he was twice beaten
down on his Knees by Mongeur de Riboumont, a
ftiong and valiant Knight (with whom he fought
hand to hand) but recovered himfelf, and in the
end took Riboumont Prifoner. Charmy was alfo
taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward
the Night after (which was New-Years-Night)
feafted with the Prifoners, and gave Riboumont
in honour of his Valour a rich Chaplet of Pearl
1349. (which he wore himfelf) for a New-Years-Gift,
forgave him his Ransom, and fet him at liberty.
The reft paid dearly for what they got not, and
were warned how they deal again in the fame
kind^c. Yet the English not long after had better
fuccefs by the fame Arts, and got the Caftle of
Guifnes (a place of great Importance near Calis)
for a Sum of Money given to one Beauchamp a
Frenchman; of which Caftle, when the French
King demanded Reftitution, in confideration of
the Truce, King Edward returns answer, That for

things bought and fold between their People, there
was no Exception in the Truce; and fo held it.

Shortly after this, the French King in whole
Fate it was not to fee better Fortunes, dy'd, and
left his diftrefled Kingdom to his Son John, who
endured far worfe Calamities. For in his and the
two following Reigns, the English became fuch
powerful Matters of France, that they turned all
into Blood and Confufion, and might have been
absolute Masters of it, had not their Civil Dif-
fentions among themfelves given France time and
leave to recover its Liberty and Strength. King
Edward the next Year went again in Perfon with
his Fleet to Sea, to encounter certain Spanifh Ships
paffing from Flanders, loaden with Cloth and
other Commodities, which after a fharp Fight,
and much Blood fhed on both fides, he took, with
their Cargo of rich Goods. And this he did, be-
caufe the Spaniards the Year before had entred
the River Gironne, and taken certain English Ships
laden with Wines, and flew all the English. In
the mean time, the King's Forces in Guien were
not idle, but there were many Conflicts between
the French and them. In Britain alfo the War
continued, and was hotly maintain'd between the
two Ladies, the Widow of Monfort, and the Wife
of Charles de Blois (who was a Prifoner in Eng-
land.) Divers Propofitions of Peace had been
made by the Pope's Legates, and Commiffioners
had often met, to the great Expence of both
Kings, but nothing was concluded; and fo tem-
porary Truces were fet on foot to gain time.
Thefe Delays not only confumed our Men, but
Treafure, for the War was not able to maintain
it felf, tho' invafive. The Money was here al-
ter'd, and abated in Weight, and yet made to
pafs according to the former Value. And where-
as before there were no other peices of Money,
but Nobles, and half Nobles, with fmall pieces
of Silver called Sterlings; the King caufed Groats
and Two-pences of equal Value with the Sterling-
money to be coined, which raifed the Prices of
Commodities, that ufually rife or fall, according
to the plenty or fcarcity of Money, made Ser-
vants and Labourers to raife their Wages. Where-
upon a Statute was made in the Parliament now
held at Weftminfter, to reduce the fame to the
ufual Rates given before the late great Mortality.
This caufed much difcontent among them, efpe-
cially againft William Edington Bifhop of Win-
chefter, the King's Treafurer, who was thought
the Advifer of the Abatement of the Coin. In
this^d Parliament alfo were feveral Orders made
for the governing and ordering the Staple, be-
caufe the King being difpleafed with the People
of Flanders for difappointing him of the March
between his Daughter and their young Earl Lewis
(who was efaped into France, and marry'd to
the Duke of Brabant's Daughter) had removed
the Mart, or Staple of Woolls from their Towns,
which were greatly enriched thereby, and caufed
it to be kept at Weftminfter, Chichefter, Canterbury,
Lincoln, Warwick, York, Newcastle, Exeter, Car-
marden, Brijfol and Hull, judging it more conve-
nient to enrich his own Towns, than Strangers,
by the Commodities of his Kingdom. An Act
alfo was made in this Parliament that all Wears,
Mills, and other Stoppages of Rivers, which hin-

^a He was perfwaded againft it by his Queen; for that the Pope, who had caus'd Charles King of Bohemia to be crown'd Em-
peror, and moft of the Ecclefiaftical Electors, the beft Friends in thofe Days, would have been his Enemies.

^b The Lord Geoffrey de Charney.

^c The King turn'd out Sir Americ de Pavia, and made the Lord Beauchamp Governour of the Caftle. The Sir Americ fell
afterwards into the hands of the French, and for his Perjury to them was degraded, his Tongue cut out, and then hang'd
and difmember'd. Du Cefne.

^d Befides the following Acts made this Parliament, there was alfo an Act made, forbidding, that any Perfons fhould bring any
Bull, or Instruments from Rome into the Realm, or carry any Procefs thither, to the prejudice of the King's Subjects, under
pain of incurring a Premunire, i. e. being put out of the King's Protection, and forfeiting their Lives, Bodies, Goods and
Cattels. Stat. Prov. 27. Edw. 3. c. 1.

A. D. 1351. Reg. 25. dred the Passages of Lighters, Boats, and other Vessels up and down the Country, should be removed. An Act very advantageous to the Kingdom, but through Bribing and Corruptions of great Men, it took no effect. So that that Age had only the Honour of making so good an Ordinance. It is said also, that another Act was made this Parliament at the earnest Request of the *Londoners*, that no common Whore should wear any Hood, except striped with divers Colours or Furs, and their Garments reversed, the wrong side outward; a good design to make so foul a Sin become infamous, and at length odious.

After this Parliament, *Henry* Earl of *Darby* is created Duke of *Lancaster*^a, and *Ralph* Lord *Stafford* Earl of *Stafford*, and *Charles de Blois*, who had been a Prisoner long in *England*, was released for forty thousand Florins, and permitted to return into *Britain* to provide the same. Great Mediation was made by the Pope to reconcile the two Kings, and Commissioners met to conclude a Peace. Articles were propounded, of which the Chief was, viz. 'That the King of *England* should hold all the Lands of the Dutchy of *Aquitain* without Homage, and quit his Title to the rest of *France*, but the *French* would not yield to it, (tho' after they were forced to accept of the same Article at the Treaty of *Brigigny*.) Whereupon the King of *England* being incensed, would not here of any farther Prorogation of the Truce, tho' much urged to it by two Cardinals sent on purpose from *Avignon* by Pope *Clement VI.* and prepares a-fresh for the War. And first the Prince of *Wales* grown now a Man, is appointed by Parliament to go into *Gascoigne*, with a thousand Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a great number of *Welshmen*; and in *June* following sets out with three hundred Sail of Ships, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*, the Lords *Chandois*, and *James Audley*, Sir *Robert Knolles*,^b Sir *Frank de Hall*, and many others.

1353. Edward is again in France, & did nothing. About *Michaelmas* following the King himself went over to *Callis* with another Army, taking with him his two Sons, *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, now Earl of *Ulster*, in right of his Wife *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir to *William Burgh*, and *John* of *Gaunt* Earl of *Richmond*. There met him at *Callis* a thousand Men at Arms out of *Germany*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which he had hired, so that his Army consisted of three thousand Men at Arms, and two thousand Archers on Horseback, besides Archers a-foot. The City of *London* sent him three hundred Men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one Livery, at their own Charge. But with all this great Force he could effect nothing, because the *French* King would not be drawn to engage him, in regard he was too powerful, and his People under discontent; but he so removed all Provisions out of his way, that the King of *England* was forced to return. The Disturbances of *France* arose at this time from *Charles* King of *Navarr*, who had marry'd *Jane* the *French* King's Daughter, a Prince of an active Spirit, subtil and proud, by reason of his great Estate and high Blood, being the Son of *Lewis* Count *D'Eu*, and *Jane* Daughter to King *Lewis* *Huttin*, who was disinherited of the Crown of *France* by *Philip* the *Long* her Uncle, by the *Salick* Law, but preferred by him to be Queen of *Navarr*, in whose

Right this *Charles* her Son had the Title of that Kingdom, and other great Inheritances with it. But he not being content with them, coveted also the Countries of *Champagne* and *Bry*, which belong'd to his Mother by the same Right as the Kingdom of *Navarr* did; and taking himself wrong'd enter'd into violent Courses; but not daring to complain directly of the King, he falls upon the Constable of *France*, as the Chief of his Council, and one of whom he was most jealous, in regard of the King's Favour to him, and in the end caused him to be murth'rd in his Bed at *L'Aigle* in *Normandy*, rushing himself up into his Chamber, with his Brother *Philip* of *Navarr*, two of the *Harcourts*, and divers others of his Retinue; and then flying to his City of *Eureux*, justifies the Act to be lawful. The *French* King, tho' much displeased at the cruel Fact, yet was forced not to resent it, and promises the King of *Navarr*, if he would come and crave his Pardon, he should have it. Upon this he appears at *Paris* before the Council to give a Reason of the Fact, is condemned as guilty of Treason, (notwithstanding the King's Promise) and committed to Prison, and could be hardly released at the Request of three Queens, viz. his Mother, Sister and Wife. Being dismissed, he goes presently in his Passion and offers his Service to the King of *England* (who knew well enough how to make use of such a powerful Member) and withal surprizes several pieces in *Normandy*, endeavouring all he could to draw the Affections of the People from their King, when he had most need. These Injuries the *French* King for a while dissembles, till he could find some advantage against him, which at length fell out thus. *Charles* his eldest Son being lately invested in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, was visited by all the great Men of the Country, among whom came the King of *Navarr*, and is Royally feasted at *Roan*. The *French* King having notice of it at *Paris*, sets out with a Body of Men, takes him at Dinner with his Son, and without any process of Law causes four of the Chief that massacred the Constable to be presently executed, of which the two *Harcourts* were part, and sends the King of *Navarr* under a strong Guard to *Arras*, and his chief Servants to other Prisons. This sudden Execution enraged the Friends of *Navarr*, and especially *Philip* his Brother, who with *Jeffrey Harcourt* the Uncle of the executed Brethren, posted over into *England*, exclaiming against this barbarous Murther, begging aid of King *Edward* in revenging so notorious an Injustice, and offering him their Hearts, Goods, Towns and Havens to let him into *Normandy*, which the King was not backward to accept and entertain.

And first the King sends over the Duke of *Lancaster* with four thousand Men at Arms, who by the help of so great Forces, wins many strong Towns; and in the mean while himself, that he might be well furnished for so great an Action, obtains of his Parliament, which he called for that Purpose, a Tax of fifty Shillings of every Sack of Wool for six Years next ensuing; by which Imposition it was thought (say our Histories) that our King was able to expend a thousand Marks Sterling a Day; so great a Vent was there at that time for Wools. Soon after this Parliament broke up, the King, as hardy as courageous, went with his Army to recover *Berwick*, tho' it was then Winter, which had been of late

^a This was done by the general Consent of the whole Parliament, and he was invested by the Cincture and Sword, with Power to hold a Court of Chancery, in the County of *Lancaster*. Rot. Pa. 25. Edw. 3. Pr. 1. N. 18.

^b This Expedition was in the Year 1355. and Sir *Frank van Hall*, whom Mr. *Daniell* places among those who went with Prince *Edward* to *Gascoigne*, commanded the German or *Flemish* Auxiliaries, that served the King in *Picardy*. *Henry de Knighton*. Rob. Aves.

A. D. 1355. *Reg. 29.*
Edward the Third.
 surprised by the Scots, and not only recovered the Town, but had the whole Kingdom resigned to him by *Robert Balliol* King of Scots, who had indeed the best Title to that Honour, but had not so good an Interest as his Competitor King *Alexander*^b (then a Prisoner in England) who had a very powerful Party there, yet both of them were Kings to their own sides, to the great Distraction of the Kingdom. So that all the neighbouring Nations were in great Troubles, but England, which flourished with Victories and Triumphs. While the King was busied at home, the Prince of Wales enters *Guien*, passes over *Languedoc* to *Tholouse*, *Narbonne* and *Burges*, without any opposition, destroying and spoiling the Country where he went; and being loaden with spoil, returns to *Bordeaux*. The French King being thus assaulted on all hands, gathers together all the Force he could, and first goes against his Enemy in *Normandy*, and recover'd many of his lost Towns, and might have prevailed there, had not the Prince of Wales, who was got abroad again, and had invaded *Turaine*, obliged him to carry his Army from thence to oppose him, and stop his Course; to which end he marched towards him with his whole Army, causing all the Towns and Passages upon the River *Loir* to be strongly guarded. The Prince knowing himself too weak to encounter so great Forces as the French King was bringing up against him, retreats again through *Turaine* and *Poitou* towards *Bordeaux*, but was pursued by the French, who within two Leagues of *Poitiers* had him at an advantage. At this Instant came two Cardinals

1356.

from the Pope to mediate a Peace between them, and prevailed so far upon the Prince, that he was contented to restore to the French King what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice to his Honour, in which he said, *He stood accountable to his Father and his Country*. But the French King supposing that he now had his Enemy at his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages, and surrender up himself and Army into his Hands, to be used according to his Discretion, otherwise (notwithstanding the Legate's Persuasions to milder terms) he would immediately set upon the Prince with his Army (which was six to one^c). The Prince being reduced to these Straights, that he must yield either to dishonourable terms, or fight immediately, prepares for a Battel, taking what advantage he could of the Ground, and providently getting the benefit of the Vines, Shrubs and Bushes on that side, where he was likely to be assaulted most furiously by the French Horse. The Success answered the Prince's Expectation; for the French Cavalry, to whom the French King designed to give the Honour of the Victory, with some discontent to the rest, being upon their first assault entangled among the Vines, were so disorder'd and gall'd by the English Archers, without harm or danger to themselves, that they were forced to give ground, and the whole Army was by that means conquer'd, and the Prince, who must have been ruined by delay, purchased so memorable a Victory, as was

never before attained by the English with so few hands. For the French King himself and youngest Son *Philip* (who valiantly defended his Father, when his other two Brothers had forsaken him, for which afterward he had the Title of *Hardy*, and Dukedom of *Burgogne* given him) were taken Prisoners, and with them *Jaques de Bourbon*, Count de *Pontbieu*, the Archbishop of *Sens*, *John d'Artoys*, Count d'*Eu*, *Charles de Artoys*, his Brother Count de *Longueville*, *Charles* Count de *Tancarville*, the Counts of *Vendosme*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other eminent Lords, besides two thousand Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, which the Conquerors holding to be too great a Number to be kept Prisoners, released many of them. The French, who best knew their own Losses, relate, that there were slain in this Battel seventeen hundred Gentlemen, among whom were fifty two Bannorets, and many of the Nobility, as *Peter de Bourbon*, the Duke d'*Athens* Constable of France, *Jan de Clermont* Marshal, *Jeffrey de Charny*, High Chamberlain. Three of the French King's Sons escaped (for they were all in the Battel) viz. *Charles* the Dauphin, who was the first so entitled, *Lewis* afterward Duke of *Anjou*, and *John* Duke of *Berry*, all of them Men of great Action in the following times. This Blow might seem to have given France a compleat overthrow, and subdu'd it entirely to the Crown of England; but that it was a Body of so many strong Limbs, and so great extent, that it is almost impossible to weaken it so much, but that it will recover at length again, as it did soon after. The Prince of Wales in this Battel gained a double Victory, the one by his Sword, and the other by his Courtesie; for he visited the Captive King with all the Reverence and respect due to his Majesty, comforted by the Examples of like Fortunes in War, and assured him of all fair Treatment, according to his Dignity. The Chief Nobles, who attended the Prince in this Action, were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkley*, and *Basset*, and of *Gascoigne*, *Le Capital de Benfe*, the Lords *Pamier*, *Chaumont*, and others. But the most remarkable Instance of Honour and Valour was the Lord *James Audley*, who having vowed to be the foremost of the Battel, performed his Word, and confirmed it with many Wounds, for which the Prince having rewarded him with five hundred Marks per Annum, Fee-simple in England, he presently gave it to four of his Esquires, who had underwent the same Dangers with him. The Prince knowing it, asked him, Whether he did not accept his Gift? He answer'd, *Yes*; but those Men had deserved it as well as himself, and had more need of it. The Prince was pleased at this Reply, and gave him five hundred Marks more, as if he resolv'd, that so much Worth should not go unrewarded.

All things being carefully settled and accommodated by the Prince after the Battel, he retir'd with his Prisoners first to *Bordeaux*, and shortly after he passes with great Glory into Eng-

A. D.
1356.
Reg. 22.

The first
Dauphin of
France.

The King of
France tak-
en prisoner.

The Prince's
love to Cou-
rage.

The French
King hath
the Prince of
Wales at an
advantage.

The Prince
obtains a
great Victory
at the
Battel of
Poitiers.

^a It should be *Edward Balliol*.

^b King *David*. There was no King *Alexander*, either of the *Balliol* or *Bruce* Family. *Tallent*.

^c King *Edward Balliol* spent the rest of his Days in England on a Pension of 2000 l. a Year allowed him by the King.

^d Or *Beaufort* and *St. Vastis*.

^e The French had six thousand Horse, and as many Foot; the English, according to the *Seigneur Riboumont's* Account, who was sent by King *John* to view Prince *Edward's* Army before the Battel, not above eight or nine thousand Men in all. The two Armies fought in the Field of *Beauvoir*, six Miles from *Poitiers*, on Monday the 19th of September, 1356. *Froissard*.

^f He was taken by *Sir Denis de Morbeque*, a Knight of *Artois*, in King *Edward's* Service.

^g The English are said to have taken more French Prisoners than their whole Army contained.

^h The Prince is said also at this time, after he had given most devout Thanks to God for this wonderful Victory, to have given all his Soldiers particular Thanks for their Bravery, and dispensed as great a Largeness to every one of them, as the Straightness of his Fortune at that time would allow.

A. D. 1357. *land*^a, now the Theatre of Triumphs: The French King was lodg'd at the *Savoy*, then a noble Palace of *Henry Duke of Lancaster's*. Many Prisoners upon reasonable Ransome, and not a few upon the French King's Word (who undertook for them) were releas'd and sent home honourably. *David King of Scots*, who had been a Prisoner eleven Years in *England*, was at the earnest Solicitation of his Queen *Joan*, King *Edward's* Sister, releas'd; upon an Obligation to pay him an hundred thousand Marks Striveling^b in ten Years: The Security the King had of *France*, was a means to grant this Prince his Liberty. The French King remained a Prisoner in *England* four Years, in which time many Overtures and great Offers were made for his deliverance, but nothing effected. *Charles* the Dauphin, a very prudent Prince, who manag'd the Kingdom in his Father's Captivity, endeavour'd all he could to procure a Contribution of his factious People to ransom his Father, but could not prevail. A Parliament was at length called to consult about it, and the Dauphin very gravely propounded to them the necessity of recovering and redeeming their King, in order to the Safety of the Kingdom; but after many Meetings of the Committee of fifty, to whom it was referred to avoid Confusion, there was a Resolution produced to the Dauphin, much different from what he expected: For instead of an Aid and Contribution, they require a Reformation of the State; and first the Bishop of *Laon*, who was chosen their Speaker, besought him to keep secret whatsoever should be spoken to him by the States. The young Prince answers, That it was derogatory to his Station in the Kingdom to receive Rules and Laws by his Father's Subjects, and thereupon commanded them upon their Allegiance, to speak their Intentions. The Bishop then complains of the ill Management of the publick Revenues, demands a speedy Redress, and that Commissioners should be appointed to call all Persons answerable to an Account. 'That all the present Managers of the Treasury should be displac'd; That the Moneys and all Affairs of State should be manag'd henceforth by four Bishops and twelve Burgeses, of which those of the City of *Paris* should be the Chief, and that without this Council the Dauphin should do nothing; and in Conclusion, they require, That the King of *Navarre* should be set at Liberty: Which things, if he would cause to be granted, they would give any reasonable Tax for Redemption of their King. To these Demands the Prince desired time to give an Answer, thinking by delays to separate and disunite their Councils; but the Deputies at length grew cold, and so nothing was done at that Meeting, save that it so much infected the Subjects, and especially the People of *Paris*, that they demanded to have the King of *Navarre* deliver'd immediately according to the Decrees of the Deputies; and at length so prevailed with *Pinguigny*, the Governour of *Artoys*, who had the keeping of him, that he was releas'd after nineteen Months Imprisonment, comes to *Paris* accompany'd with a stately Train, and so much Confidence, as if he would shew that he intended to revenge himself, and was receiv'd with universal Joy of the Citizens; to whom he declares with great Eloquence, what Wrongs he had receiv'd, and intimated, that he had a Title to their Crown, and so put that City

into such a Combustion, that the Redemption of the King was quite laid aside, and the Prince was forc'd by an Act of Abolition to pardon the King of *Navarre*, and all his Complices for all former Offences to pacifie them. The Prince seeing the Perverseness of the *Parisians*, went to other Cities and Provinces to solicit for Moneys towards the Redemption of his Father, leaving his Brother *Philip Duke of Orleans* at *Paris* to keep them in the best Order he could, in his Absence. The Province of *Languedoc* is highly commended in the French Histories for the first who made the largest Offers to purchase their King's Liberty, in the Assembly of the three States at *Thoulouze*, promising in it to their Governour the Count *D'Arminiacque* not only to contribute their Revenues, and moveables, but to sell their Wives Jewels to raise a sufficient Sum for it; and to testify their Sorrow for their King's Misfortunes, they order'd, That no costly Cloaths, Feasting, Plays, or other Pastimes, should be us'd in their Province, during the time of their King's Captivity. *Champaign* follow'd this Example; but nothing could prevail with the People of *Paris* to give any thing. The King of *Navarre* had won them not only from their Obedience, but taught them to put off all Humanity, and put them into such Flames of Rebellion, that when the Dauphin return'd to the City, the Provost of Merchants beset his House with three thousand Artificers in Arms, and rushing up into the Prince's Chamber with some of his Company, slew *Jan de Conflans* and *Robert de Clermont*, in his Presence, because, as he pretended, they being his chief Counsellors, had given him bad Advice; takes off the Prince's Hat from his Head, and having put on himself his own as the City Livery, went out to the Throng, and caused the Bodies of these two Noblemen to be drawn along the Streets, that the Rabble might applaud the Murther. Then the Provost writes in the Name of the whole City to all the great Towns to join with them, and take their Livery, as the Prince had done for the Reformation of the State; and in the mean time, they compos'd a Council among themselves, of which the Bishop of *Laon* was President: And the Provost, with some of the University chief Heads, assuming a Sovereign Power to order all Affairs of State as a Commonwealth. In so great a confusion was the Kingdom without an Head, and so ready to shake off all Regal Authority and Power. The Dauphin thus disgraced and perplexed, with much Difficulty got out of that tumultuous City, and flies into *Champaign*, where he assembled the States at *Vertus*, whom he found Loyal and ready to yield him all Assistance. The rest of the great Towns refusing also with much Difficulty to joyn with the City of *Paris*, offer him their Aid: So that he was much encourag'd, and likely to have effected his Desires in a short time, had not the King of *Navarre*, who sought his Destruction, rais'd new Troubles in the State, and taken Arms against him; by which means not only he was much hinder'd in his Designs, and the Malecontents of the Nation encourag'd to disturb the Peace (for the Peasants, who had been undone by the Soldiers, and miserably plunder'd by their Lords, armed themselves in the Country of *Beauvaisis*, and reveng'd themselves upon the Gentry and such as had done them wrong, spoiling and burning their Houses, killing their Wives and Children in a barbarous manner, and Troops

The State of France during their King's Captivity.

A. D. 1357. Reg. 31.

Contributions for the Redemption of the French King.

A Tumult in Paris.

Some Cities hold Loyal, but the King of Navarre promotes Tumults.

King of Navarre set Liberty.

^a He Landed at *Plymouth* on the fifth of *May*, 1357. and went with his Royal Prisoner by easie Journeys to *London*, where King *John* made his Publick Entry, mounted on a stately white Courser, the Prince of *Wales* riding by his side on a little black Nag. *Froissard*.

^b Sterling.

^c Till he could send to his Father, whose Answer was, He had rather continue a Prisoner to an Honourable Enemy, than return Home, and be a Slave to his own Subjects.

A. D. 1259. Reg. 32. of disbanded Soldiers, who had nothing to subsist of, joynd together in Companies, and ravaged the Kingdom) but also hinder'd the Redemption of their King; so that King Edward, who longed to fill his Treasure with a large Price for his Ransome, began not only to exact Homage of the Captive King for his Kingdom of France, but resolv'd to make an end of this Work with the Sword, and take Possession of the Kingdom of France by Force^a, which the Captive King would not resign to him. Wherefore he passes over into France with eleven hundred Sail, and Lands at Callis with a mighty Army^b, which he divided into three parts, committing one to the Conduct of the Prince of Wales, another to the Duke of Lancaster, and the third he leads himself: And first he marches to the City of Arras, which he took within three Days, thence into Champagne, where the Cities of Sens and Nevers are surrender'd to him. The Dutchy of Burgogne being terrify'd with these Examples, redeem'd it from Spoil, by paying to the King two hundred thousand Florins of Gold^c. Being furnished with this Treasure, King Edward marches up to Paris, where the Dauphin (who having lately overcome the Faction, and executed the principal Mutiners, was created Regent) had posted himself with a considerable Body of Men, who in the common Danger flocked together to defend their Country, and would not (by the Example of his Father and Grandfather) be drawn out to hazard them, but only stood upon his Defence; which the King of England seeing, after many Provocations, he rais'd the Siege and^d returned into Britain to refresh his Army. In the mean time, the Regent lays in a great store of Victuals, and provides that he might have enough to maintain his Soldiers without oppressing the Inhabitants, and with extream Diligence so fortify'd the City, that King Edward returning with all his fresh Power, was not able to do any thing against him, as he expected; and so the City, that so lately was like to have endanger'd the whole Kingdom, was now the only means to save it. From Paris therefore King Edward goes with his Army towards Chartres with a design to besiege that City; but in the way he was so affrighted with a terrible Storm of Hail, Thunder and Lightning, which fell upon his Army, that he vow'd he wou'd make Peace with the French King upon any reasonable Conditions, as he shortly after^e did at the Treaty of Britigny near Chartres upon these Articles, viz. 'That the Country of Poitou, the Fiefs of Thouars and Belleville, the Countries of Gascoigne, Agenois, Perigort, Limosin, Cahors, Torbe, Bigorres, Rouergue, Angoulesm in Sovereignty, with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories; Monstruel on the Sea, Pontbieu, Callis, Guines, La Merke, Sangote, Boulogne, Hames, Vales, and Onis, should be under the Command of the King of England; That King John should pay for his Ransom three Millions of Scutes of Gold, of which six hundred thousand to be presently paid in hand, four hundred thousand the Year following, and the remaining part in the two next Years upon reasonable demand: And in Consideration of the former Grants, the King of

England, and his Son the Prince of Wales as well for themselves as their Successors, for ever should renounce all the Right which they pretended to the Crown of France, the Dutchy of Normandy, the Countries of Tourin, Anjou and Main, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dutchy of Britain, and the Earldom of Flanders; and within three Weeks King John should be carry'd to Callis, and set on Land at the King of England's Charge, except the Expences of his House. And for the sure Performance of these Articles on the King of France's part, the King of England was to have these Hostages deliver'd to him, Lewis Duke of Anjou, John Duke of Berry (his Son) Philip Duke of Orleans his Brother, John Duke of Burgogne, the Counts of Bloys, Alençon, S. Pol, Harcourt, Poncian, Valentinois, Grand Pre, De Brenne, Des Forrests; the Lords Vaudemont, Coussey, Piennex, De S. Venant, De Preaux, De Momerancy, De Garanciecis, La Roche, Guion, Estou-teville, Le Dauphine, d'Avergne, d'Andrigil, and De Craon, sufficient Securities for the said Sums and Conditions. The Scots also were not to be aided by the French King, nor Flemmings by the English: Charles King of Navarre, and his Brother Philip were likewise comprehended in these Articles, &c. This Agreement of Peace enter'd into by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons Charles and Edward, and sworn to by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages were thereupon deliver'd to King Edward; who departing from Honfleur, brought them over into England, leaving the Earl of Warwick in France to compleat the Peace. King John is honourably attended to Callis, ready to be deliver'd at the Payment of the first part of his Ransom, which to raise the City of Paris, pays one thousand Royals, and by their Example other Cities contributed their Proportions: And so King John was again set at Liberty^f after having remain'd about five Years a Prisoner in England, the two Kings parting from each other with all outward Demonstrations of Brotherly Love.

King Edward being returned home, calls a Parliament, wherein the Form of Peace between him and the French King was read, approv'd on by all the States, and an Oath taken by all the Nobility to observe the same for their parts. And here the King restored the Houses, Lands, and Tenements, which he had taken from the Friars Strangers, An. Reg. 12. to maintain him in his French Wars; which now being ended, he granted them to them again in as free a manner as they before had held them: A rare Example of Justice in this King, it being seldom known that a Prince will part with any thing he hath gotten. And now was the Glory and Happiness of England a little allay'd by a great Mortality, call'd, The Second Pestilence, by which many Noblemen died, of whom the chief was Henry Duke of Lancaster, one of the Royal Blood; a Prince eminent for his Wisdom and Valour, who had been a chief Actor in all these Wars, and a principal Support to the Crown of England, whose Daughter and Heir was a little before marry'd to John of Gaunt (by a Dispensation from the Pope for their too near Consanguinity) whereby he was Duke of

King Edward goes to France.

Paris stands out against King Edward.

The Treaty of Britigny.

A. D. 1359. Reg. 33.

The King of France freed.

1361. A Parliament call'd to ratify the Peace of Britigny.

A great Pestilence again.

^a He made a Vow never to return into England till he had brought France to his Terms.

^b It consisted in all of an hundred thousand Men. Froissard.

^c Amounting to about 35000 L. Sterling.

^d He had not been in Britigne before in this Expedition.

^e Yet with a seeming Unwillingness, and by the importunate Persuasions of the Duke of Lancaster, and Simon de Langres the Pope's Legate.

^f A Scute of Gold is 3 s. 4 d. Sterling, or as others 6 s. 8 d.

^g The Treaty was ratified by the Dauphin Regent of France before King Edward returned to England. Du Chesne.

^h The 15th of October, 1360. he was but four Years one Month a Prisoner. On the Peace King Edward left off the Title and Arms of France.

A. D. 1342. *Lancaster.* And shortly after, by the like Dispensation, the Prince of *Wales* marries the Countess of *Kent*^a, the Daughter of *Edmund*, Brother to *Edward II.* The King upon this Marriage gives to the Prince of *Wales* the Duchy of *Aquitain*, reserving to himself Homage and Fealty; and shortly after sent him over with his Wife and Retinue to keep his Court there. His Son *Lionel* Earl of *Ulster* is sent into *Ireland* with an Army of fifteen hundred Men, to guard his Earldom against the *Irish*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* in *November*, and continued till the Feast of *S. Brice*, his Birth-day, and fiftieth Year of his Age. This Day, that he might render remarkable to his People, and make it a Jubilee, he shewed himself exceeding Gracious to the Nation, freely pardoning many Offenders, releasing Prisoners, recalling banish'd Persons, &c. And upon a Petition of the Commons order'd, that all Pleadings which before were in *French*, should be made in *English*, that the Subjects might understand the Law, by which he holds what he hath, and is to know what he doth. An excellent Act, and worthy of so great a Prince; but he had deserved greater Honour, if he could have freed it from those Difficulties and Mysteries, which render it a greater Affliction to the People than a Remedy. In it also was made a Statute for Purveyors (as there had been many before) enacting, That no Provisions for the King's Court should be taken up, but for ready Money, under a severe Punishment. For which Easements the Parliament granted him 26 s. upon every Sack of Wool transported for three Years. And so both People and Prince were generally pleased, saving that some particular Men look'd upon themselves aggrieved by removing the Staple from *England* to *Calis*, on purpose to enrich that Town of his own acquiring, which might make it to be born withal. And as this greatest of *English* Princes was careful to enlarge his Dominions, and make his People Great abroad, so also to reform their Vices, and make them Good at home. And to this end, in the next Parliament held at *Westminster*, Anno Regn. 37. he caused to be enacted certain sumptuary Laws to prevent all Excess both in Apparel and Diet, appointing every degree of Men, from the Shepherd to the Prince, what Habits and Stuffs they should wear, prohibiting all Ornaments of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs to all, except Persons of Quality; by which foreign Superfluities were excluded from the Nation, and our own Manufacture only used. The Labourer and Husbandman appointed but one Meal a day, and what Meats they should eat, &c. By which means Gluttony and Drunkenness, those Vices which have enfeebled the Nation since, were totally banished. So careful was this wise and frugal King to preserve his Subject's Estates from excess. And as provident was he for the ordering and securing of his own Treasure, committing the Custody of it to Conscience and Religion. For by a Certificate sent to Pope *Urban*, Anno Regn. 39. concerning Pluralities, and the Estates of the Churchmen in *England*, there were more Clergymen in Office about the King, than about

any Prince in *Christendom* beside. For first *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Chancellor of *England*; *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, keeper of the Privy-Seal; *David Belknap* Parson of *Sommerham*, Master of the Rolls; ten Beneficed Priests, Civilians, Masters of Chancery; *William Mulse* Dean of *S. Martin le Grand*, Chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the King's Treasure and Jewels; *William Ashby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; *William Dighton* Prebendary of *St. Martin's*, Clerk of the Privy-Seal; *Richard Chesterfield* Prebendary of *St. Stephen's*, Treasurer of the King's House; *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundle*, Master of the King's Wardrobe; *John Newnham* Parson of *Fenni-Stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, and Keeper of the Treasury and Jewels; *John Rowsby* Parson of *Harwich*, Surveyor and Controulor of the King's Works; *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Ashby*, Treasurer to the King for the Parts of *Guines*, and *Marches of Calis*; *John Treys* Treasurer of *Ireland*, a Priest, and beneficed there. These Men, who were destitute of feminine Allurements to Expence and Pomp, and devoted to pious Thriftiness, were thought the fittest to be trusted with his Riches by this wise King.

Shortly after this^d three Kings came to visit *K. Edward* the King of *England*, the King of *France*, King of *Scots*, and King of *Cyprus*. The occasion of the *French* King's coming was chiefly to free some Hostages^e that remained here, and to clear himself of the Imputations, laid to him, for not observing the late Peace in all points; wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many Contests arose about it; so that in an Assembly of the States at *Paris*, certain Lords, whose Homages by the Treaty were due to the King of *England*, protested against it, alledging, 'That the King could not dispose of the Sovereignty of his Kingdom, nor alienate his Demesne, and therefore they would not submit to it. Nevertheless the *French* King, lest King *Edward* should look upon it as Contrivance between the King and his Subjects, published his Edict to command the Observation of the Treaty, and certified the King of *England* of it. Besides, he had resolved upon an Expedition to the Holy War, and desired to settle all things at Peace at home before his going. And these were the Occasion of his coming, and not his Love to the Countess of *Salisbury*^f, as was imagined by some. But howsoever it was, this King shewed a strange Inclination to return to his Goal, where he had endured so much affliction, and where shortly after his coming he ended his Life^g, much lamented of the King of *England*, who solemnly attended his Corps to *Dover*, from whence it was conveyed to *S. Dennis*, and there entomb'd with his Ancestors. The Debate for the Duchy of *Britain* was about this time ended by the Death of *Charles de Blois*, who was slain in a Battel near *Vannes* by *John de Monfort*, and the *English* Forces commanded by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Chandois*, and Sir *Hugh Caverley*. *John de Monfort* marries *Mary* the Daughter of King *Edward*, and by his Consent did Homage for that Duchy to *Charles* now

King Edward's Age at the 50th Year of his Age.

All Pleading to be in English.

was for abiding.

Edwards's Care to reserve his Conscience in Clergy.

A. D. 1362. Reg. 36.

visited by the three Kings at once.

King of France dy'd in England.

1364. The Quarrel about Britain ended.

^a She was called the Countess of *Salisbury* by some Historians, because she had in her Youth been betroth'd to *William Mountacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom she was divorced by consent.
^b Which the Prince paid to his Father before his Departure.
^c He granted a general and special Pardon. *Rot. Par.* 36. *Edw.* 3. c. 15.
^d One *Henry Picard*, a wealthy Citizen of *London*, magnificently treated these four Kings, to his great Honour. *Henry Picard* was Mayor in the Year 1347. when King *John* made his Entry into *London* as a Prisoner. He was a Wine-Merchant, and treated them at his House, since called the *Vintry*. *Stow's Survey of Lond.* p. 255.
^e To excuse his Son the D. of *Anjou's* stealing away from *Calis*, where he was out upon his Parole, being one of the *French* Hostages, and escaping into *France*, having broken his Word and Honour, engag'd to the *English* to be a true Prisoner. *Froff.*
^f As Sir *Richard Baker*, and some other modern Writers, falsely relate.
^g On the 8th of *April*, 1364.